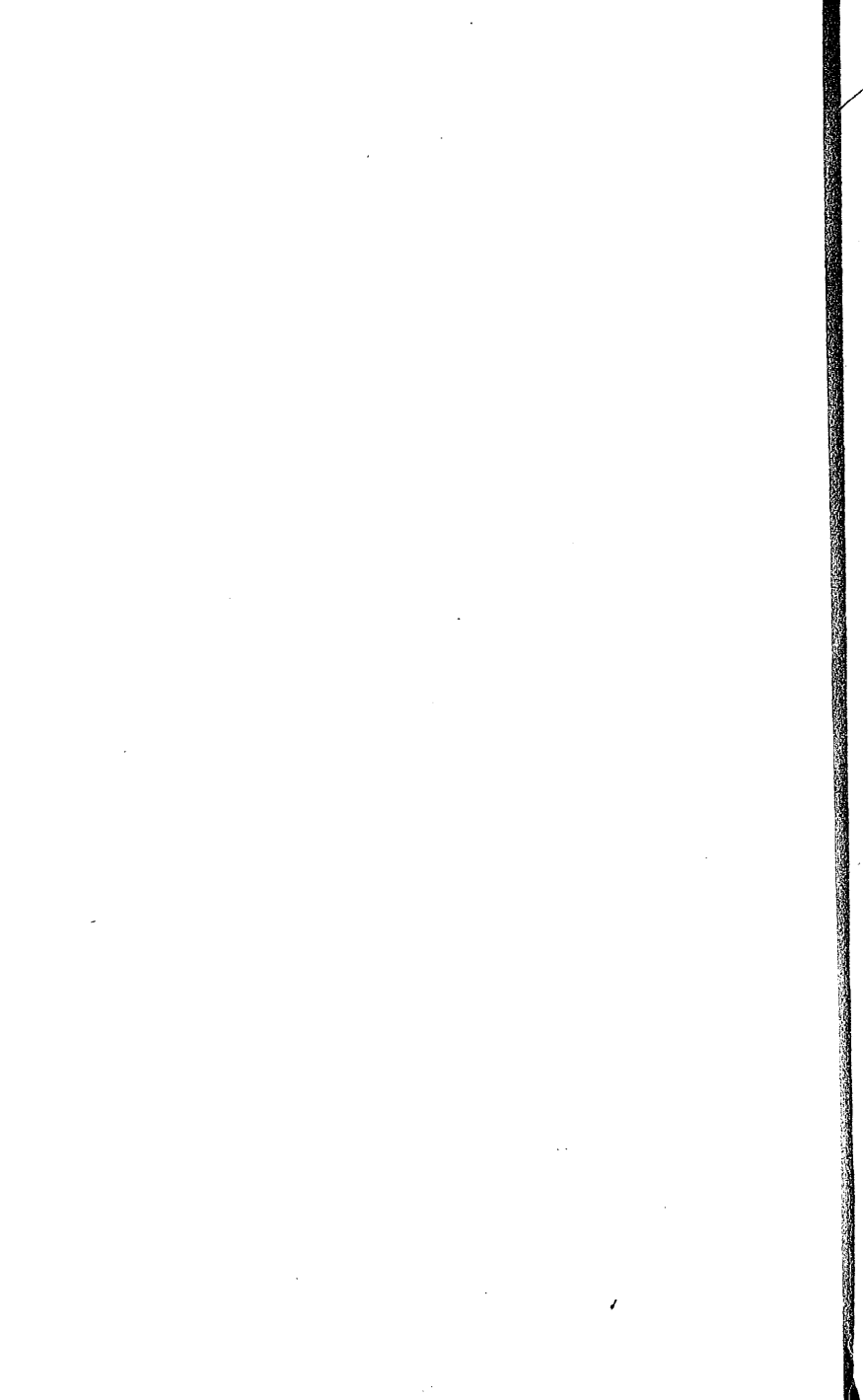


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# Catholic Mission Theory

(Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss)

*By*

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*A Translation*



1931

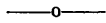
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## Paraphrase of Preface to First German Edition

This book sets forth a tentative effort toward the production of a scientific treatise on mission theory from the Catholic point of view. No pretension, however, is made to offer an exhaustive work: the author would present merely a sketch of something to be looked forward to in fullest detail, presumably from other hands, at a later date. But the production of such a complete work as here is suggested would be impossible of accomplishment at the present stage of the progress of research toward establishing an adequate basis for mission theory. Let it be understood, then, from the start, that this volume purports to be only the beginning of a vast work which certainly should and must be furthered and completed, in another connection, in the future. The text is in essence merely a somewhat amplified version of a course of lectures delivered at Muenster University, rearranged considerably and prepared for publication. The schematic endeavor is rather that of one making a first furrow in an uncultivated field, thus offering an incentive and encouragement for others to help break up the rough soil and proceed to intensive cultivation and practical and scientific utilization of the reclaimed territory. All this is merely to say that perhaps others, even now working here and there in patches of the same ground, may gradually come together in the realization of a thoroughly worked-over and prepared area, which may later be made of avail by one, or all, or by some other, taking advantage of these advance labors to finally bring forth the ultimate *Work* toward which all earlier experiments are always a necessary and inevitable contribution.

As the reader will observe for himself, the author has endeavored, in so far as opportunities for present research and materials would allow, to present the prob-

lem in its main outlines by means of the building up of a tentative theoretical structure on empirical grounds. To this end he has taken the utmost advantage of such positive and practical regulations as have been formulated from time to time in the history of the Church by the ecclesiastical and missionary authorities, although he is forced, on this very count, to ask the indulgence of the reader, for the simple reason that it was found impossible to get together sufficient material of this kind to fill all the gaps and enable one to build up a complete fabric on this side of the whole question: many desired documents were not to be found, use of many others was positively denied on the ground that their publication would not be suitable in this connection; and again, it must be conceded to be utterly beyond the powers of any one worker in this field at the present day to search out and bring to light *all* needed sources of this kind, or to exhaustively study all that come to hand, and so to be ultimately prepared to draw from them a thorough-going and satisfactory explication of mission law from this background.

Thus there must still lie open to individual research and adaptation a large field providing grateful, if arduous, tasks, especially for missionaries themselves who may perchance be scientifically inclined: from such, one may happily expect to obtain in due time many practical and sound deductions to complement the formulations of theoreticians.

And just because of this impossibility of gathering together at all times and where wanted the exact references and documents, to substantiate logical conclusions being drawn, it was often found necessary to draw largely upon materials and formulations contained in works of Protestant writers on mission theory. Thus only was it possible for the nonce to fill up the gaps here and there. In this connection I must acknowledge my obligations to the great work of Gustav Warneck, master-founder, so to speak, of the whole groundwork of Protestant mission theory. The whole methodical

scheme of Warneck's has been found so useful and apropos that its form has been largely adopted outright, except that in treating of specific subjects independent expedients as to approach and arrangement have been made use of so as to establish a *ground*, as it were, founded on Catholic ideology solely. Therefore, no one will, I think, blame the author for having leant strongly on the structural outlines of this Protestant writer and for having from time to time frankly borrowed from him. This has been done because there seemed to be a positive obligation to give as full and scientific an exposition of the subject in hand as in any way possible under the conditions of the moment for Catholics, and therefore to refer to pertinent matter wherever it might be obtained. And in truth, much in Warneck in the way of supplying a scientific basis for procedure is not at the present day to be found anywhere in any Catholic work on mission subjects: *this* has been drawn upon in consequence, advisedly, and of provisional necessity. For thus making use of what was found to be of all but indispensable value in Warneck, I have relieved Catholic students of the need of searching widely through Warneck's own volumes to find what might be required to fill out their scientific investigations of this subject: and finally, wherever Warneck is cited, his work has been then and there approved, reprovved, or used by way of drawing a distinction between the peculiar Protestant outlook as compared with Catholic points of view.

The present volume is therefore offered with some diffidence, as representing a pioneer effort of one willing to move out into unbeaten paths for the sake of urging the further advance of a great cause.

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## Preface to the English Edition

It has been thought highly desirable to prepare and publish an English translation of Prof. Schmidlin's *Missions-Lehre*, for the simple reason, if no other, that there is extant no Catholic work of the kind. And although, as Prof. Schmidlin plainly states in his own preface, the work pretends to be little more than a preliminary treatise offering inducement to others to go forward from this point to the production of something that may stand before the whole world of scholarship as a full and completely scientific presentation of the subject of Missiology according to Catholic principles, it is, as it stands, at least the only acceptable sketch we have. And it is as such that we offer it, not only to Protestant and Catholic scholars interested in scientific mission theory, but as a manual for class-room work in Catholic seminaries in general, and in particular for students and seminarians preparing directly for missionary careers. It is a hopeful and extremely gratifying sign that within the last few years in this country the subject of missiology, or mission science, has been definitely introduced in several institutions of higher learning as a required course of study in their scholastic departments. However, as has already been said, we are not aware of any work other than this of Prof. Schmidlin, as yet produced, capable of serving properly as a textbook or at least as suggesting a complete research into the subject under consideration, and pointing out the necessity of deriving from it a theory to cover the entire ground of this vast and comprehensive subject—comprehensive, that is to say, from the point of view of the missionary nature of the Church as such.

No thoroughgoing attempt has been made to reshape the work as might very possibly be desired for its general utilization in English-speaking countries; but a certain amount of revision, in so far as the pressure of time and circumstances would allow, has been undertaken.

A greatly extended bibliography, augmented principally by citations of English Works, has been added — although it was not the intention of the editor to give a complete bibliography on this subject. At least we believe that the book will furnish a proper point of departure, from intellectual and scientific standpoints, for mission students preparing to go out into fields afar, and a help for missionaries already at work who realize their lack of just such a scientific initiative in their practical present efforts, and finally, as has been said, as a suggestive incentive for scholars particularly interested in this branch of research to consider seriously and to seriously take steps toward the supplying of a complete, detailed, thoroughly corrected, and amplified work of the same import.

MATTHIAS BRAUN, S. V. D.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| AAS | Acta Apostolicae Sedis.                    |
| AKK | Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.      |
| AMZ | Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift.            |
| BM  | Bibliotheca Missionum.                     |
| CIC | Codex Iuris Canonici.                      |
| DMK | Düsseldorfer Missionskursus.               |
| EMM | Evangelisches Missionsmagazin.             |
| IRM | International Review of Missions.          |
| KM  | Katholische Missionen.                     |
| MKK | Missionswissenschaftlicher Kursus in Köln. |
| ZM  | Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.      |



# **Catholic Mission Theory**





# Preliminaries

## 1. General Introduction

Mission theory (or *Missionslehre*, according to the common usage of German scholars) may be defined as the scientific investigation and statement of the principles and rules which govern the work of spreading the faith. As the theory of the missionary art, it seeks to answer the questions as to why, whither, how, and by whom missions should be undertaken. Christian mission theory investigates and discusses, from these theoretical standpoints, primarily the spreading of Christianity. Catholic mission theory thus has for its special subject the laws which govern missionary activity in its Catholic form.

Instead of the German term, *Missionslehre*, many other names of foreign derivation have been suggested in Protestant circles. Sickels, Ebrard, Oosterzee, and others propose *halieutics*, that is, the theory of the 'fishing of men' (from *halieus* in the Gospel); Stier and von Zezschwitz suggest *kerystics*, that is, the theory of announcing the Gospel; Duff, Plath, and Harnack prefer *evangelistics*, that is, the theory of the preaching of the joyful tidings. In Daubanton's "Sendungswissenschaft," we meet a series of foreign-sounding expressions; such as, *thetics*, *organics*, and *agrics* (i. e., the theory of the mission field). To top all, the Dutch theologian Kuyper speaks of *auxanics*, *plethunics*, *prosthetics*, *apostolics*, *missionics*, *propagandics*, and the like. Warneck very properly rejects all these artificial terms, declaring them, on the one hand, too broad, and on the other, too narrow. He adds: "If one were absolutely determined to invent a foreign name which would bear the nimbus of a learned sound (*sic*), he would have to say *missionics*, *apostolics*, or *propagandics*, after the analogy of didactics, pedagogics, liturgics, poimenics, and the more recent diacomics. But, since the scientific character of a thing does not depend on the clumsiness of an unnatural or highly bombastic and enigmatic name, and since, moreover, we have already had enough of these tongue-splitting 'ics,' we intend to confine ourselves to the natural and universally intelligible term, 'Missionslehre' and hope that this term will be adopted for the theoretical division of mission science" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 27).

While the limitation of their subject to the Catholic field is the special characteristic of Catholic missiography and the history of Catholic missions, Catholic mission theory, on the contrary, is distinguished from non-Catholic, not so much by this limitation of subject, as by the special rules and principles which underlie its methodical statements.<sup>1</sup> However much the Catholic and Protestant missions may have in common, not only in technique (e.g., in their schools and their economic management), but also in such fundamental questions as their common opposition to Islam, heathenism, and irreligion, they are and must remain separated by ineradicable differences in essential elements of their confessions. On the one hand, the evangelical mission rests "through and through on the principles of the Reformation" (Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 28). By these principles we must understand, not the personal adoption of faith, the freedom of conversion, or the actual spreading of the Word of God; for these are the common property of every Christian mission, and are in no way specific marks of the Protestant. By these principles we must rather understand an all-pulverizing subjection or individualism; and this individualism is primarily responsible for the fact that Protestant missions are hopelessly divided in their fundamental dogmatic principles. Without a firm foundation, and with no settled goal in view, they can never develop into a true church mission, or acquire a fixed ecclesiastical organization. The Catholic mission, on the other hand, has, both theoretically and practically, a much more solid basis, thanks to its objective ecclesiastical character which is conditioned, both by the source of its sending and because of its results in organization. It is, however, by no means true, as Warneck declares, that the sole object of the Catholic mission is to bring about a purely external admission into the hierarchical institute of salvation, and that, in the pursuit of this object, the inner conversion of souls is entirely lost sight of. With the true and sincere conversion of the individual, which is the aim of every Catholic activity, is associated the organic extension of the Kingdom of God and the Mystical Body of Christ, since, according to the Catholic missionary conception, these two are inseparably united.<sup>2</sup>

The position of mission theory within the whole body of mission science is established by its analysis and the definition of its object. Mission science (or the science of

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<sup>1</sup> Schmidlin, *Einführung*, 16 sqq.; *ZM.*, I (1911), 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, X (1920), 152 sqq., and below, under *Sending* (Mission Subject and the Mission Goal). Other methodical and practical differences and consequences with which Warneck reproaches the Catholic missions (accommodation, substitution, secularization, tutelage, simultaneous baptism of many persons, preaching, Holy Writ, relations with the temporal powers, etc.) are either exaggerated or are errors which occur alike in Protestant and Catholic methods, and are thus neither fundamental nor specific. (Cf. *ZM.*, X (1920), 162 sqq.)

missions) has for its object the critical and systematic investigation and discussion of the spreading of the Christian faith, both in relation to its actual course, as well as with reference to its foundations and laws.<sup>1</sup> The branch of mission science which treats of missions in their concrete reality—their actual state and development, their actual incidents and conditions—is known as *missiography* when it deals with the present, and *mission history* when it deals with the past. Contrariwise, the theoretical branch of mission science discusses, on the one hand, the reasons for establishing missions—that is, the *why* and *whence*; on the other hand, there are discussed the methods of establishing them—that is, the *how*, the *purpose for which*, and the *means by which*, missions should be organized.<sup>2</sup> This explanation also establishes the position of mission theory in the framework of theology as a whole; in which, through the mediation of mission science, it should be ranked as a special and independent branch. Mission theory should not be regarded as a mere appendix to practical or pastoral theology, to which it is usually assigned by Protestant writers, sometimes being given a distinct position, sometimes divided between the several departments.<sup>3</sup>

From the definition and position of mission theory may be immediately deduced its peculiar structure and task. Viewing it from the methodological standpoint, one may divide it into fundamental (or basic) and applied (or practical) mission theory. According to the scientific method employed, and according to the subject matter, fundamental mission theory may in turn be divided into dogmatic, ethical, biblical, patristic, and apologetic. Similarly, applied mission theory may be subdivided into mission law (as the exposition of the norms of canon law for missions) and mission methodics

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, 14 sq., and my article in *ZM.*, I (1911), 10 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Einführung*, 19 sq., and *ZM.*, I (1911), 107 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 18 sqq., and *Einführung*, 7 and 22 sqq., where the position and independence of mission science itself, within theology and thus within science as a whole, is discussed.

proper (as the theory of mission procedure).<sup>6</sup> In the execution of our task, however, it will be better to accept the subject of mission theory, analyzed into its actual parts, as our principle of division, and to let the methodological viewpoint, as such, recede into the background for treatment in connection with the various sections. Accordingly, the question of foundation of the missions should be given first consideration; that is to say, inquiry should be made into the *why* of missions—into the reasons of arguments for them. Then should follow the treatment of the *how* of missions, according to the analysis of the mission idea into subject, object, end in view, and means. It will thus be necessary to consider the following questions: Who should engage in the missions, whether actively in the field or dispatching or aiding the missions at home? To what peoples and countries should missions be sent? What should be the aim of the missions, and in what direction should the conducting of them tend? With what means should the missionary work be carried on?<sup>7</sup>

By the solution of all these questions and problems, Catholic mission theory will assume a position of the highest importance. At present, many persons who are ill-informed as to its scope and aims are inclined to regard it as an idle pastime or an outgrowth of exaggerated specialization, failing to recognize that, both practically and theoretically, it is one of the most important and indispensable disciplines. If we consider it from the scientific standpoint, we must not only recognize it as

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 111 sqq., and *Einführung*, 19 sq. and 133 sqq. where these groupings are carried out.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below, and *Einführung*, 45 sqq., concerning the definition of the mission concept. There, also, this division is founded in a manner independent of Warneck, whose division is also founded on the idea and meaning of *mission*. One could also proceed from other points of view—for instance, according to the divisions of the mission method. Such other divisions, however, would be less scientific and would leave many points uncovered, although it must be confessed that a few details are somewhat neglected under our division. In this work we do not intend to deal further with mission theory or mission theology, in the sense of theology of, or for, the missions (apologetics, dogmas, morals, exegeses, etc.—that is to say, in so far as the practical foreign mission applies it [mission theology] to its subject, or modifies it). Cf. *Einführung*, 137, 142, 145, 156.

an integral part of mission science which, without it, is a defective fragment; but we must also acknowledge its contribution to the enrichment and elucidation of all theology in its apologetic, dogmatic, moral, biblical, canonical, and pastoral disciplines in the science of religion, and likewise in many closely related profane sciences. Still more important and illuminating is its concrete value for mission practice, which receives its scientific foundation and regulation from the principles and rules of mission theory. As the special science of their vocation, mission theory is at least as necessary for the active missionaries as is pastoral theology for priests entrusted with the care of souls at home. Finally, mission theory possesses a distinct importance and value for every friend of the missions, since it helps him to foster and extend the missionary thought in his own locality.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. History and Literature of Mission Theory

Warneck concludes the Introduction to his *Missionslehre* as follows: "The Roman mission literature lacks even the slightest approach to a mission theory, whether in ancient or modern times. Not even the individual stones from which a mission theory could be constructed are in existence."<sup>9</sup> This bold statement of the able representative of Protestant mission science shows merely his ignorance of our Catholic mission literature of earlier times. Granted that mission theory has seldom been systematically treated, the cause for this phenomenon must be attributed primarily to the fact that no need for such a work was felt. On the one hand, the official decrees of the Popes and Propaganda, with the practical precepts of the mission superiors, seemed sufficient for immediate needs. On the other hand, the practice of the different missionary fields diverged so widely that the elaboration of a uniform mission theory seemed impossible. Again, while the active missionaries lacked for

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Einführung*, 25 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 59; likewise, in his (Warneck's) *Abriss der protestantischen Missionsgeschichte*, 466.

the most part the methodical training which would equip them to undertake such a work, the scholars lacked the necessary leisure and interest.<sup>2</sup> To the Catholic Church, moreover, the missionary obligation and the uninterrupted missionary activity were so self-evident that there appeared to be no occasion for a scientific treatment of the subject, especially for a discussion of the principles underlying it. (Protestantism, on the other hand, because of the inner contradiction between a national church and the universalism of the missionary idea, felt a much more imperative need for its scientific treatment.) However, we are now under all the greater obligation of honor to disclose the light of our old mission theorists, which has been hidden so long under a bushel, and to show what contributions Catholic scholars have made to mission science in the course of the centuries.<sup>3</sup>

But we must here distinguish between mission theory in the objective sense—that is, in so far as it represents the mission concept which actually underlay the practice of missions—and its subjective issue in a literary and especially a scientific mission theory. (Mission theory in the objective sense has existed at all times since the Christian mission has existed; because, at the root of every practice there must rest an idea which has called that practice into being, which serves as its motive and regulates it while at the same time being the ideal reflection of that practice. This idea of the mission assumed a literary form when the first attempts were made to fix and develop it in writing; mission science dates from the time when methodical and systematic rules and principles were laid down for mission procedure.)

Christian antiquity supplies us with very valuable material for our subject. In the New Testament we must seek the basic principles of the earliest Christian mission theory. In the historical writings (the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles), and especially in the words of Our Lord and the Apostles, we find a rich fund of instructions and views on mission theory. The Apostolic Epistles, especially those of St. Paul, also supply us with a good store of material. On the other hand, the writings of the Fathers will help us very little, since the entire patristic literature does not contain a single treatise devoted

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Einführung*, 6 sqq.; *ZM.*, I (1911), 10 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 213 sqq.; Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*.

*ex professo* to mission theory. The reason for this strange phenomenon is that most of the Fathers, under the historically inaccurate impression that the Apostles had already proclaimed the Gospel to the whole world, accepted this proclamation as a completed fact, and contented themselves with the practical extension and theoretical defense of Christianity without undertaking any elaborate discussion of reasons or methods. During the first centuries of its history, Christianity developed, through its spontaneous vital force, as the religion of action,—as the *mustard seed*, or as the *leaven* which permeated all things. It possessed in itself a power of attraction that needed no mission to buttress it. Consequently, neither the Apostolic Fathers of the first century, nor the Apologists of the second, nor the Systematics of the third, nor even the Post-Nicaean Doctors of the Church, felt any necessity for such an exposition of mission theory. To them the Church appeared to be—as it actually was at the time—the promised mountain of the Prophets to which all peoples, allured by its radiant splendor, would flock without needing any one to fetch them.

The Apostolic Fathers (*Didache*, Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius) frequently cite the Bible to prove the world-call of the Church (cf. below, *Traditional Foundation of the Missions*). Again, if we examine the writings of the Apologists, we find that they display a tendency towards mission theory. The Irenics, like Justin Martyr and Minucius Felix, adopted an entirely friendly attitude towards paganism, and recommended the stressing of connecting links with it (that is, with the positive element). Others, like Tatian and Tertullian, took a more polemic stand, and emphasized the negative elements, or points of difference.<sup>4</sup>

Post-Nicaean or Post-Constantinian patristics furnish important material for mission theory. Although the missionary zeal of Christianity was beginning to wane during this period, it was reflecting intensively on itself and its origin. As a result, we find all the patristic writings of this time filled with thoughts on the missions. John Chrysostom and Augustine, especially, show themselves enthusiastic literary champions of mission zeal. The powerful penitential preacher of Constantinople, to whom his contemporaries and later ages have given the honorary title of "Golden-tongued," displayed a burning enthusiasm for the missions in his sermons, discourses, letters, and treatises, while he also lent the missions his practical support. In his writings he does not confine himself to proving the missionary obligation, but also discusses missionary means and methods. For the latter purpose he recommends (like the Apologists) the preaching of the Crucified Saviour and exemplary behavior on the part of the Christians. On the other hand, he condemns the employment of external force, which was then being increasingly utilized, and false accommodation to paganism. He holds up St. Paul as the model for the correct method of accommodation.<sup>5</sup> In his work, *de catechizandis*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Concerning Origenes, Streit in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 159 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hartung, *Johannes Chrysostomus und die Heidenmission*, *AMZ.*, 21 (1894), 310—326.



*rudibus* (i. e., concerning adult candidates for baptism), the Church Father, St. Augustine of Hippo, joins the circle of mission writers. In this tractate, which has two model catechisms as an appendix, he gives suggestions for the individual handling of catechumens—whether educated or uneducated, whether instructed separately or in a body. Besides this discussion of the principles for the exposition of doctrine, there is other important theoretical material scattered in the works of St. Augustine. The missionary obligation, the goal and tasks of missionary activity, the ways and means of pagan missions, are also treated in his writings. As to the goal of the mission, he takes into consideration the inner change of the individual and the permeation of the whole body of the people with the spirit of Christianity. Beside the direct missionary means (grace, preaching of the Word of God, the qualifications and example of the missionary), the far-sighted Church Father also recommends the indirect means, such as the effective development of religious life by social help, charitable activity, and schools.<sup>6</sup>

When the Roman Empire fell asunder, under the heavy blows resulting from the migration of nations, and the universal misery seemed to foreshadow the end of the world, it was again theological writers on the missions who rescued the Church from a fatal pessimism and persuaded her to take advantage of the favorable conditions of the time and to cast out her nets boldly for the onrushing Germanic tribes. All the Fathers who took part in this process of Christianization or described its progress (for example, Avitus of Vienne, Isidore of Seville, and Gregory of Tours) have left us, especially in their letters, scattered theoretical remarks. On the very threshold of the Middle Ages we meet an anonymous treatise in two books, entitled *De vocatione omnium gentium*. By proving that all men are called to salvation, although only a portion of them attain it (a problem which is extensively investigated), the author wished not alone to settle the semi-Pelagian controversy: he wished also to divert the thoughts of his contemporaries from the great catastrophe, towards the Divine Providence which, in this apparently overwhelming uprising of the pagan tribes, had the conversion of these very pagans in view; and likewise, towards the positive missionary tasks which thus arose for the Church.<sup>7</sup> The author of the work, however, is not Leo I (as Streit assumes), nor Prosper of Aquitaine (as others suppose), but some unknown writer—probably Salvianus of Marseilles, who displays similar traits in his *De gubernatione Dei*, a work similarly rich in gloomy and yet consoling thoughts. Among all analyses of mission methods and all preceding ecclesiastical mission ordinances (e. g., in the Apostolic Constitutions and the Papal Decretals)<sup>8</sup> first place must unquestionably be yielded to the *Letters and Instructions* of Gregory I, the great promoter of the missions of the early Middle Ages. He issued a series of highly useful and instructive suggestions

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Walter Gonsalvus, O.M.Cap., *Die Heidenmission nach der Lehre des hl. Augustinus*, Münster (1920).

<sup>7</sup> *Mission in Exegese und Patrologie*, 29; *Missionsgeschichte*, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Streit, loc. cit., 25 sq.

and precepts, especially to the missionaries dispatched to England. Although he had at first commanded them to destroy all idolatrous temples and pagan memorials, he corrected these instructions, after ripe reflection, in a second letter which directed them rather to change the pagan temples into Christian churches and to mold the pagan usages into Christian forms. This policy, he declared, would induce the people to give up more easily and gradually what they would not relinquish at once, and would win for the new religion an affection that could not be forced. This was an intelligent accommodation, such as St. Augustine had already enjoined when he recommended that the temples, statues, and groves of the pagans should not be destroyed, but should be consecrated to Christ (Epist. XLVII, *ad Publicolam*). The farseeing Pope recommended a similar missionary policy towards the Franks, Longobards, and the survivors of paganism in the islands of the Mediterranean. Already influenced by medieval ideas, he espoused at times harsher views, at least towards one's own vassals—for example, when he held it permissible, after instruction had borne no fruit, to torture slaves and imprison freemen for the purpose of making them accept the Christian faith (cf. *Kirchenlexikon*, VII, 1085).

This conception of the missions, which felt itself committed to the formation of the closest bond between Church and State, corresponded rather with the spirit of the Middle Ages than with the true Christian ideal. This mistaken conception came into great vogue, and was responsible for most of the mass conversions in Europe in medieval times. It must not be forgotten, however, that, side by side with this semi-political religious propaganda, proceeded quiet and peaceful missionary work which, while it was devoid of ostentation, effected a slow process of transformation among the people. Nor did this latter method lack its theoretical champions. Thus, beside Charlemagne, who furnished so typical an example of religious coercion in attempting the conversion of the Saxons, we see not only benevolent bishops like St. Ludger, but also such influential theologians and counselors as the Chancellor Alcuin. St. Ludger displayed a truly episcopal activity in healing the open wounds of the conquered people, and made earnest efforts to accomplish gradually their inner conversion. In his letters dealing with the conversion of the Avari, Alcuin deprecated all compulsion, and demanded that their adoption of Christianity should be voluntary, thus showing himself impelled by a genuine enthusiasm for the missions. Most gladly, he writes, would he himself set out to preach to the Avari, but as a poor sick man, he had nothing to give the mission except his prayers. Consequently, the lot of the bishops called to the work seemed enviable to him, 'for what servant of God' (he writes to the Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia) 'would venture to evade so pious an undertaking, which destroyed the slavery of Satan, and extended the service of Christ?' Taught by the mistakes committed in the case of the Saxons, he constantly urged the King to see that all coercion was avoided, that baptism was not administered prematurely or without previous instruction, and that pious and chaste preachers, who were

true imitators of the Apostles, were sent into the land. He impressed also on Archbishop Arno of Salzburg the importance, for missionaries, of zealous prayer and preaching, of selecting missionaries who would first preach by their example, and finally, the importance of being very indulgent towards the failings of the new converts.<sup>9</sup> Couched in the same spirit are the decrees drawn up by a conference of bishops, which was convoked by Charlemagne, to discuss the mission among the Avari. The conference declared that, inasmuch as the Avari were a completely uncivilized people who asked for reception into the Church under the pressure of defeat, great discretion should be exercised in administering baptism, and that instruction over a period of from seven to forty days at least should precede the sacrament; and that, moreover, since the request for the sacrament should be voluntary, the religious motives should be especially emphasized during this instruction.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, from the great missionaries themselves—especially from Saints Columbanus and Boniface, and also from St. Adalbert, Apostle of the Prussians, and St. Otto of Bamberg, Apostle of Pomerania—we have inherited writings which contain valuable deliberation on mission theory and methods.<sup>11</sup>

That the theology of the Late Middle Ages (the so-called Scholastic Theology) showed a deep concern in the theoretical side of the mission problem, needs scarcely to be said. At the very beginning of this period, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the famous preacher of the Crusades, in his five books entitled *De consideratione*, earnestly impressed the missionary obligation on the Pope, as the Supreme Pastor of the Church; and he did this, at a time when Western Christianity was engaged in a bitter conflict with Islam, for the purpose of recovering the tomb of Our Saviour from the hands of the unbelievers and thus extending the Kingdom of God. The high Scholastics under the leadership of St. Thomas Aquinas (II, 2, qu. 10, art. 8) and St. Bonaventure (Op. omnia, VII, 217 sqq., 252; VIII, 436) supply a solid dogmatic basis for mission theory. Dominican and Franciscan theologians (up to the time of Soto and Major) vied with one another in furnishing the missions with intellectual weapons and in arousing among the people at home a conviction of their necessity and justification, while other brethren of their Orders labored actively on the missions in the distant parts of the world. Humbert de Romanis, O. P., wrote his treatise *De praedicatione crucis* in the thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Raymond of Pennafort, of the Dominican, and Raymond Lully, of the Franciscan, Order, also give in their writings

<sup>9</sup> Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, 466 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Hauck, loc. cit., II, 464 sq.

<sup>11</sup> For example, St. Boniface discusses in his letters the matter of dealing with pagan superstition. Other works in this category are the treatises of St. Pirminius, entitled *De sacrilegiis* and *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, and also the Carolingian Mission Catechism, with appendix.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Grabmann, concerning the idea of missions in the writings of the Dominican theologians of the thirteenth century, *ZM.*, I (1911), 137 sqq.

eloquent expression to the missionary zeal with which they were consumed; while the mission colleges which they established assiduously cultivated mission theory and mission methodics. Besides many writings of value for mission apologetics, the indefatigable Lully, whose whole life was devoted to the study of the practical and theoretical aspects of the missions, and who first expressed the necessity of an Institute of Propaganda, wrote a series of treatises or memorials dealing directly with mission theory.<sup>13</sup>

Later, when the great discoveries of new continents and lands disclosed new and undreamed-of worlds for Christian missionary activity, and lent a tremendous incentive to mission practice, a deeper missionary consciousness developed in the minds of the people at home; and this consciousness in turn found its literary echo. Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer, has bequeathed us a mission tractate of a mystical nature, entitled *Libro de las Profecias* (1502), in which he quotes Scriptural texts (especially from the Psalms and the Prophets) to incite both himself and others to the missionary enthusiasm that was inseparably associated with his passion for discovery.<sup>14</sup> Again, although his other works are so inclined to naturalism and rationalism, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the greatest and most famous of all German Humanists, expresses purely Catholic sentiments in his famous *Ecclesiastes sive Concionator evangelicus* ("Instruction for Preachers"). Here, in wonderfully moving and vigorous words, which surprise us no less by their depth of thought and feeling than by their elegant diction, he impresses most earnestly on his contemporaries (including the Pope and princes) their obligation towards the missions, establishing these obligations by wonderful analogies and antitheses. He demands a mission that is not aimed at the exploitation of the conquered peoples; but which has as its sole object the salvation of immortal souls. The equipments and means which he recommends for missionaries are consequently of a truly apostolic character.<sup>15</sup> Dating from the same period is the treatise (an occasional writing, rather) of the Minorite, Nicholas Herborn, which must be classed as mission theory.<sup>16</sup> Besides his many controversial works, Bartholomaeus de las Casas, O. P., the great apostle

<sup>13</sup> *Petitio Raimundi pro conversione infidelium ad Coelestinum V. et ad Cardinales directa*, 1294; *Petitio Raimundi pro conversione infidelium et pro recuperatione Terrae Sanctae ad Bonifacium VIII.*, 1295; *Epistolae tres Raimundi Lulli*, 1298—99; *Liber de fine*, 1306; *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, 1309; *Liber Natalis*, 1311; *Disputatio Clerici et Raimundi phantastici*, 1311; *Petitio in concilio Generali*, 1311; and *De participatione Christianorum et Sarracenorum*, 1312, according to Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 599.

<sup>14</sup> Streit, in *ZM.*, VII (1917), 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Opera omnia*, V, 813 sq.; cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 1 sqq., erroneously cited as the chief Protestant witness, in Kalkar's *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, I, 53 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> *Epitome de inventis nuper Indiae populis idolatris ad fidem Christi, atque adeo ad Ecclesiam Catholicam convertendis, de insulis nuper inventis* (Cologne, 1532).

of the Indians, wrote, about this period, a work on mission theory, the manuscript of which has unfortunately been lost.<sup>17</sup> The first systematic attempt to lay a theological foundation for mission work, and to furnish a canonical solution of the involved questions of ecclesiastical law, was made by the Spanish Dominican, Francis de Victoria, in his fifth *Relectio*,<sup>18</sup> which, after dealing with the illegal colonial titles, discusses the "*Tituli legitimi*." Another Dominican theologian, Johannes Slotanus (van der Slooten) of Cologne, writing (1560) in the form of a popular debate between Peregrinus and Theoporus, recommends the missionary service after the manner of Erasmus.<sup>19</sup> Among the other Dominican theologians who dealt with the mission problem may be mentioned Isidorus de Isolani (1516) and Claudius Seysellus (1520); and among the Franciscans, Christophorus a S. Antonio (1524), Marquardus de Susannis (1558), and Johannes Lummius (1567).<sup>20</sup> According to Streit,<sup>21</sup> the first treatise *ex professo* on mission theory is that of Johann Foher, O. F. M., entitled *Itinerarium catholicum proficiscentium ad infideles convertendos* (1574), some preparatory studies upon the textual content of which were published, in an *Enchiridion*, in 1541. The first part of the *Itinerarium* deals with the vocation, training, and activity of the missionary, while the second discusses religious instruction and the sacraments (especially baptism and matrimony).

In 1588, during the heyday of the missions, Joseph Acosta published his monograph, entitled: *De procuranda Indorum salute libri sex* (Salamanca, 1588; Cologne, 1596, 1606, French translation, Lyons, 1670; cf., Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 167). This work, which was dedicated to King Philip II, is much more modern, complete, and logical than any of its predecessors, as well as much further developed in form and contents. Taking a middle position between optimism and pessimism, Acosta shows in the first book that one must not despair of the conversion of the pagans ("*quod non sit desperanda Indorum salus*"), however great may be the cultural, linguistic, and geographical obstacles, since many highly gratifying successes have been already attained and still greater ones might be expected if the servants of the Gospel did not themselves prove a hindrance. The second book discusses the "*Ratio praedicandi Evangelium*," and thus, mission methods. Acosta refutes at length the view that, because of their unbelief or (as some theologians believed) their unnatural crimes, war might be instituted against the barbarians, with the express flouting of an equal appeal to the *jus primi occupantis* or the papal assignment (193 sq.). In his positive solution of this question, the author sets forth as the ideal a truly "evangelical" mission procedure without any military equipment. As, however, this method could not be pursued literally, on account of the savagery of the barbarians and

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Streit, *ZM.*, III (1913), 276.

<sup>18</sup> Published with the other Lectures in 1557, 156b, and 1580.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Streit in *ZM.*, III (1913), 277 sqq.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Streit, *ZM.*, VII (1917), 4, according to the *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I.

<sup>21</sup> *ZM.*, III (1913), 275 sqq.

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in the absence of miracles (the reasons for this absence are treated of extensively in the ninth and tenth chapters), a new way should be adopted that was suited to this new race of men. This would be, as it were, a mixture of the two methods, since the missionaries were to have a military escort for their protection, which was permissible, both according to the natural law and according to the divine commission, to spread the Gospel. The third book treats of the civil administration in the subject pagan lands. As might be expected, this topic is discussed chiefly from the religious and missionary standpoint, chapter xvii discussing slavery among the Indians. The fourth book analyzes the qualities which should distinguish the missionary and the (American) Indian pastor. It also casts many gloomy side-lights on the moral and religious conditions prevailing among the mission clergy of the time: greed and incontinency are denounced as the chief failings of missionaries, while science (especially the knowledge of the vernacular for use in giving instruction and hearing confessions), probity, piety, purity, charitableness, and kindness are inculcated as the chief virtues. The fifth book contains a searching discussion of the content of Christian doctrine, as it should be presented by the missionary to pagans (the confessing of Christ, the Blessed Trinity, the Church, the Decalogue, idolatry, love of God and one's neighbor); it also discusses the method of instruction, the participation of the regular clergy (especially those of the Society of Jesus) in mission work, and finally the popular missions in the Indian parishes. The sixth and last book gives the regulations for the administration (in the mission fields) of the sacraments—especially for Baptism (which should not be administered too soon or without careful preparation); for Confession, as being necessary for the Indians, and therefore to be heard in all conscientiousness; for Communion, which it is forbidden to withhold from them; and for Matrimony (in connection with which many pagan abuses occurred). Acosta quotes from the Scriptures and the Fathers, from the ecclesiastical and synodal decrees (especially from the Council of Lima); and from history and experience. He does not mention the theologians whom he combats, except for a single reference to the Dominican, Dominic Soto.

Still more detailed and systematic, but far less clear and acute than Acosta's work, are the twelve books *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, written by the Belgian Carmelite, Thomas a Jesu (1st ed., Antwerp, 1613, dedicated to the Nuncio Bentivoglio; in *Collected Works*, Cologne, 1684).<sup>22</sup> In its style and orderly arrangement this work closely resembles a Scholastic treatise. Starting from the predictions of the Prophets relative to the missions, the author aims to arouse all Christians, but especially the secular and regular clergy, from their apathy towards the missions, while at the same time supplying a compendium on apologetics and methodics to those engaged in the missionary service. In the first book he shows the necessity, value, and dignity of mission work from the universal need of salvation,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Streit *BM.*, I, n. 340.

the value of the human soul, the command and example left us by Christ, the example of the saints, a comparison of this with other virtues, and the satisfaction which missionary work brings. After setting forth and justifying, in the ninth chapter, the thesis that all Christians are bound to provide for the salvation of the unbelievers, he investigates more closely, in the second book, who are under a special obligation to fulfil this task: (1) the Pope, who must send missionaries to all parts of the world, and to a certain extent also the Christian princes, secular and spiritual; (2) the regular clergy of every Order (whether cenobites or hermits), because of their special qualification for the mission and the indispensable advantages they derive therefrom, which are such that not even the most sublime contemplation or the strictest *clausura* can absolve them from this duty; (3) in a very special way the Mendicant Orders, because of their original vocation. After an introductory chapter on the necessity of creating a Congregation of Propaganda, the third book discusses the selection and the training of the missionaries, especially treating of the institution of seminaries and the various requisites with which missionaries must be provided. The fourth book treats of mission methods, both in the first stage and as the mission progresses (*de ingressu et progressu ministrorum inter infideles*): especially whether conversion may be accomplished under the protection of armed forces; for, while the Church has undoubtedly the right to compel, it is questionable whether this right should be exercised (this opinion is in accordance with that of Acosta). The fourth book also discusses how the missionary should present the Gospel and the Christian mysteries to unbelievers, their confirmation by miracles (and why these are no longer so frequent), the public religious discourses, and, in the second part of the book, the characteristics of the missionary. In the fifth book are solved the most important *dubia* which the missionary is wont to encounter: whether unbelievers may be compelled to embrace the Christian faith (*neg.*); to hear the Gospel (*aff.*), to discontinue idolatry and observe the natural law (*dist.*); whether they may be enticed with presents or kind services (*aff.*); whether and when the Christians must confess openly their faith and shed their blood for it, and so on. The sixth book treats of the Greek, and the seventh, of the Oriental, schismatics; the eighth, of heretics; the ninth, of Jews; the tenth, of the Saracens; the eleventh, of the pagans. In all these cases, the errors of the religious bodies are explained and refuted, and the methods of converting them discussed. Finally, the twelfth book contains a collection of papal privileges for missionaries. In the Appendix are given a *Catechismus generalis* and an "Instruction on the Treatment of Catechumens and Neophytes," which was written (but not published) by Cardinal S. Severino, whom Gregory XIII placed in charge of missionary affairs. The sources used for the work were the Bible, the Fathers (notably Chrysostom), the theologians and conciliar decrees, and especially Acosta.

Even the first edition of this comprehensive mission theory mentions the fact that the same subject had been already treated by

Anthony Possevin, S.J., in his *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* (Rome, 1593; Cologne, 1607). The later edition of 1684 refers to other treatises on mission theory, by Carmelites, which the present writer has not been able to consult: *Stimulus Missionum sive de propaganda a Religiosis per universum orbem fide*, by Thomas a Jesu himself (1610); *Zelus propagationis fidei*, by Hieronimus a Matre Dei (1620); a Trilogy (1. *Assertio missionum et rationum adversarum resolutio*; 2. *Instructio Missionariorum*; 3. *Liber Missionum*, by Johannes a Jesu (died 1615; Op., Cologne, 1622); finally, the *Theologia Carmelitana*, by Philippus a SS. Trinitate (died 1671).

Among the later writers on mission theory two Franciscans are prominent: Raymond Caron, an Irishman, and Dominicus de Gubernatis, an Italian. As a writer, Caron was comparatively unimportant, except for his *Apostolatus evangelicus Missionariorum regularium per universum orbem expositus* (Antwerp, 1653). Following evidently in the footsteps of Thomas a Jesu, Caron has left us a handbook on mission law and methods for the practical use of missionaries (especially those of the regular orders), in forty-seven paragraphs which are joined together without much system. These paragraphs supply the answer to definite questions: first, what is to be understood by *Terrae infidelium* and *Missionarii* (even here the word "mission" is conceived in the broader sense, and the dispatch of Catholic missionaries must emanate from the Pope); then, what qualities missionaries must possess; whether the superiors shall prescribe mission activity for their subordinates, and whether they may interfere with them in this matter; who is it that sends forth the regular missionaries—the Pope, the General, or the Provincial; under what title must the secular and regular clergy (popes, bishops, and pastors) and the Catholic princes provide for the missions and the support of the missionaries; should the unbelievers be compelled or enticed to embrace the faith; the great missionary activity of the Regular Orders, whose achievements and services are enumerated in order; the privileges and powers of the Regular missionaries; their obligations, especially with regard to their Rule; certain *Casus practici* which follow from the last; martyrdom and intercourse with unbelievers (or heretics). To this historical work, *De missionibus antiquis*,<sup>22</sup> Gubernatis prefixes a *Tractatus praeliminaris de Missionibus Apostolicis in Communi*. With the hair-splitting of terms so typical of the late Scholastics, he discusses: (1) *quid et quotuplex sit Missio* [c. 1] (*extraordinaria* and *ordinaria*; the popes, propaganda, bishops and general superiors are regarded as the commissioners of the missions); (2) *de necessitate Missionum Apostolicarum* [c. 2] (the wish of our Saviour and the wide extension of pagandom); (3) *quid sit Missionarius (missus s. apostolus) Apostolicus eiusque conditiones* [c. 4] *missionis auctoritas, doctrinae sufficientia, singularis vitae probitas,*

<sup>22</sup> This work, which appeared as Volume I of the *Historia Orbis Seraphici* (Rome, 1689), describes the missionary deeds of the Franciscans, which, the author complains, were passed over by many writers, especially the Jesuit Bartoli.



and in addition, other natural, moral, and supernatural virtues); *de modo proficiendi inter infideles* (eight classes of unbelievers are distinguished; force must not be used; workings of grace emphasized). Finally, the Apostolic privileges for missionaries are given, as well as the special relations of the Minorite Order with the missions. The sources are the same as those used by Acosta and Thomas a Jesu, and include especially Holy Writ, the Fathers, and the theologians.

A work of the English Franciscan, Erington, also merits notice—*Missionarius seu opusculum practicum pro fide propaganda et conservanda*, 1672. The treatise by the Belgian Carmelite, Matthias a Corona, is systematic in arrangement, and very profound, but it is to a large extent only a resumé of his predecessors. The work is entitled *Tractatus de Missionibus Apostolicis sive de utilitate sacrarum Missionum, virtutibus, privilegiis, officiis et potestate Missionariorum* (1675), and treats of: (1) the Benefits of the Missions; (2) the Virtues and Privileges of the Missionaries; (3) their Functions and Powers. The Dutch mission bishop, Rovenius, also wrote a *Tractatus de missionibus ad propagandam fidem instituendis* (1624), favoring the Secular clergy. Verricelli, a Secular priest, is the author of the book, *Tractatus de Apostolicis Missionibus*, which treats mainly of the canonical and moral aspects of mission life. Wilhelm Beier, also a Secular priest, published a tractate under the same title (1669), which is merely a compilation, and recommends the episcopate for the missions. A comprehensive investigation of mission law, from the standpoint of state and colonial policy, was made by the Spanish layman, Solorzano Pereira, in *De Indiarum jure* (2 vols., 1627). With him must be classed the colonial jurists de Freitas (1625) and Frasso (1677); the following writers on mission law, Zapata-Sandoval (1609) and Villaroel (1656) of the Augustinian Order, Agia (1604) of the Franciscan, Moreno (1637) of the Dominican, and Avendano of the Jesuit. Colin, S. J. (1666), wrote on mission exegesis; Alloza, S.J. (*Flores Summarum*, 1668), and other Regular clerics on mission ethics; Alonso de Sandoval, S.J. (1627), and de Silva, O.F.M. (1613), on mission pastoral theology. The medical mission which had been fostered in the sixteenth century by the Jesuit, Alonso Lopez, and the Augustinian, Farfan, found representatives in Hernandez, O.P. (1615), the Augustinian, Mercado, and the Mexican hermit, Gregorio Lopez (1672).

With regard to the special questions which most interested the writers on mission theory and agitated them most violently, the juridical position of the colonial rulers and the subject Indians held first place in the speculative field during the sixteenth century, and the position of the missions in canon and state law, during the seventeenth. During the sixteenth century, the practical question which attracted the attention of the writers was the administration of the sacraments; during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the rite controversy which arose in India and China. Las Casas, especially, proclaimed himself in his writings the protector and champion of the rights of the natives. He was supported by his brothers in re-

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ligion, Ramirez, Garces, Canus, and Soto; while his views were combated by such opponents as Sepulveda and Quevedo. The sacramental controversy found a temporary settlement in the Church Ordinance of 1539, in Mexico, in the dogmatic injunction of 1570, and in the Handbook of Zarate in 1583.

Weak effusions, based entirely on the earlier writers, characterize the mission literature of the eighteenth century. The *Exhortacion evangelica* of Laczano, S.J. (1706), and the *Clamores apostolicos* of the Franciscan bishop, des Agueros (1731), deal with the home encouragement of the missions; the *Manuale Missionum Orientalium* of the Franciscan, a Breno (1726), and the tractate *De ratione tradendae philosophiae designatis orthodoxae religionis propugnatoribus* of the Dominican, Mamachi (1743), describe the development of the foreign missions; mission pastoral theology furnishes the subject for numerous earnest monographs, written especially by Augustinians; Velarde, S.J., and Parras, O.F.M., wrote on missionary canon law; while the medical mission was treated by the Jesuits, Clain, Esteyneffer, and Montenegro; as well as by the Augustinian, Cacho, and the Franciscan, Gimbert. The Chinese and Malabar rite controversy produced a flood of polemical writings, which are rarely of a scientific character and very frequently indicate that the authors had little love for truth.<sup>24</sup>

In answering the Protestant accusation, we can point proudly to the numerous and significant products of Catholic mission theory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We cannot, however, escape a feeling of regret when we think that nothing of equivalent importance was produced in the two succeeding centuries. The grievous afflictions which shook Church and State to their very foundations, about the opening of the eighteenth century, brought the foreign missions to the verge of ruin. Such periods do not furnish the incentive and leisure necessary for scientific reflection. Mission literature, however, was not entirely neglected during this era; but it enjoyed a renaissance which was due especially to the influence of Romanticism. The shameless attacks which were then made on the Orders and their missions also evoked many defensive works, while the brisk activity of Protestants in the missionary field and the enthusiasm of the Romantics for the missionary past lent an incentive to mission apologetics. The polemical writings, about the end of the century, concerned themselves mostly with special questions. A more comprehensive theme, however, was chosen by Rhó in *La fecondità della S. Chiesa Romana* (Brescia, 1818). The first book points to the prophecies which declare that the true Church must be extended to all nations; the second book furnishes evidence of the wonderful extension of the Catholic Church in the missionary lands; the third book gives an appraisal of the special circumstances attend-

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *BM.*, I; Streit, *Der Missionsgedanke in seiner neuzeitlichen Entwicklung*, *ZM.*, VII (1917), 1 sqq., and Schmidlin, *Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, *ZM.*, I (1911), 213 sqq.

ing this extension. The other form of apologetics, which attacks the weak points of one's adversary, was chosen by the later Cardinal Wiseman, in *La sterilità delle Missioni intraprese dai Protestanti* (Rome, 1831). The Catholic mission field found a skilful, but unfortunately too passionate, apologist in the English convert, Marshall, whose *Christian Missions, Their Agents, Their Methods and Their Results* (3 vols., London, 1862) has been translated into many languages and frequently reprinted. This work compares Catholic and Protestant missionary work with a view to establishing as strong a contrast between them as possible. While we may admit immediately that the objective truth is not always attained in this work, Warneck's retort was too extravagant and served as a direct challenge to Catholics. The booklet by J. J. Gaume (*L'évangélisation apostolique du globe, preuve . . . de la divinité du Christianisme*, Paris, 1879), is, as its title suggests, a defense not so much of the missions as of Christianity in general, while Malé's booklet (*Les missionnaires catholiques et les missionnaires protestants*, Paris, 1864) contrasts the missions of both confessions. The last also is the plan of the work of Perrone, S.J. (*L'apostolato cattolico ed il proselitismo protestante ossia l'opera di Dio e l'opera dell'uomo*, 2 vols., 1862).

Closely connected with mission apologetics are the stimulating works which endeavor to induce the people to co-operate in the spreading of religion. The number of such works has been growing steadily during the last decades, and it is impossible to enumerate and characterize the articles in mission periodicals and the brochures which come under this heading. Although much of this material is pure gold, much also is mere tinsel, while by far the greater part shows only works of a popular-scientific character. As early as 1852, the *Cenni sulle Missioni* appeared in Milan, and the following chapters of this work may be mentioned: "The Vast Number of Unbelievers," "Their Unhappy State," "The Benefits of the Catholic Missions," "The Need of the Missions," "The Gratitude of the Missionaries and Neophytes," "Catholicity of the Work of Spreading the Faith." Other Italian works of propaganda are those of Giacomo Scurati (*Zelo per la conversione degli Infedeli*, Milan, 8th ed., 1898), Paolo Manna (*Operarii autem pauci! Riflesioni sulla vocazione alle Missioni Estere*, Milan, 1909), and Mioni (*La conversione del mondo infedele*, Milan, 1920; *Manuale di Missionologia*, 2nd part, 1922). Among the German writers, the following may be mentioned: Emilie Huch (*Bis an die Enden der Erde*, 2 vols., 1903; *Ein grosses Glück und eine heilige Pflicht*, 1909); Hermann Fischer, S.V.D. (*Jesu letzter Wille*, rev. ed., Steyl, 1923); Linckens, M.S.C. (*Missionspflicht und Missionsdienst*, Hiltrup, 1910); Wallenborn, O.M.I. (*Gehet hin und lehret alle Völker*, Fulda, 1912); Weber, O.S.B. (*Menschensorge für Gottesreich*, 2nd ed., Freiburg, 1918). To the same category belong those works which may to a certain extent be regarded as school manuals for the home promotion of the missions, for example: J. Neumaier, *Missionsunterrichtsbüchlein, catechetischer Unterricht über Ursprung, Wirksamkeit und Unterstützung der katholischen Missionen*

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zur Beförderung der Teilnahme an der Missionsbruderschaft (Regensburg, 1846); Josef Ziegler, *Rosen und Lilien, eine Sammlung von schönen Beispielen aus dem Gartenland der katholischen Missionen, und die Hauptstücke des Katechismus für die Schule verteilt* (Regensburg, 1901); Spieler, P.S.M., *Licht und Schatten* (Freiburg, 1914); Schwager, *Die katholische Heidenmission im Schulunterricht* (2nd ed., Steyl, 1913); Heinz, O.M.Cap., *Religionsunterricht und Heidenmission* (Freiburg, 1914); Fischer, S.V.D., *Beispielsammlung aus der Heidenmission* (Steyl, 1912), and many others of his pamphlets, especially the first part of the booklet, *Für Christi Reich*, and of the mission prayer-book, *Hilf Seelen retten* (Steyl, 1919); Ditscheid, *Die Heidenmission für Schule und Haus* (Cologne, 1911). The following works may also be enumerated in this connection: Freitag, S.V.D., *Missionsfest* (Steyl, 1913); Arens, S.J., *Die Mission im Festsaal* (Freiburg, 1917); and *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindeleben*, Freiburg, 1918); the collected sermons of Huonder, *Die Mission auf der Kanzel und im Verein* (3 vols., Freiburg, 1912—14); Streit, O.M.I., *Missionspredigten* (3 vols., Freiburg, 1913); Väth, S.J., *Die Entscheidungsstunde der Weltmission* (Aachen, 1920). All these works are devoted both to arguments supporting the missions and the methods of fostering their encouragement at home; but they make no claim to a strictly scientific character. Scientific contributions of a more comprehensive character have been devoted to the biblical foundation of the mission. Starting from the missionary idea in the Old Testament, Meinertz (*Jesus und die Heidenmission*, Münster, 1925) establishes, first, the universalism of the person and doctrine of Jesus, and then, His missionary designs culminating in His command to teach all nations, and finally, shows how the missionary idea is treated by the individual Evangelists and developed further in the first preaching of the Gospel. The exegetical foundation of the missions from the Old Testament furnishes the work of Paul Heinisch (*Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung im Alten Testament*, in *Biblische Zeitfragen*, Series 8, fasc. 1—2, Münster, 1916) with the following chapters: (1) "The Universalism of the Mosaic Religion"; (2) "The Religious Position of Foreigners According to the Mosaic Law"; (3) "Proselytes in the Old Testament"; (4) "The Predictions of the Prophets"; (5) "The Expectations of the Psalmists"; (6) "The Universalism of the Books of Wisdom." One of the questions bearing on the foundation of the missions is treated in the tractate of the later Cardinal of Cologne, A. Fischer (*De salute infidelium*, Essen, 1886), and that of Pies (*Die Heilsfrage der Heiden*, Aachen, 1925), both of which deal with God's provision for the salvation of the pagans to whom the Gospel is not preached.

The renaissance of the missions lent an incentive also to the literary cultivation of mission methods and pastoral theology. In 1843, the later Capuchin, Bishop Hartmann, wrote his *Psychologia arti pastorali applicata in usum missionariorum* (ed. Jann, Stanz, 1914). José Areso, O.F.M., issued his manual for the missionary students of the Franciscan Order (*El Jóven Seráfico instruido en la excelencia, merito, practica y frutos de las misiones*, Barcelona, 1862); Fernan-

dez is the author of *Missionariorum vocatio, probatio, missio*, 1908). The following works are valuable: *Notae addititiae ad Gury*, by the Parisian missionary, Corre (Hongkong, 1909); the works of Michel (White Fathers)—(1) *Questions pratiques sur le mariage* (Maison-Carrée, 1903); (2) *Questions pratiques sur le baptême et la confirmation* (*ibid.*, 1914); the comprehensive treatises of Eloy, *Compendium theologiae moralis* (3 vols., Hongkong, 1908); Souarne, *Mémento de theologie morale* (Paris, 1907), and Borgomanero's collection of *casus*, entitled *Questiones practicae* (Rome, 1910). Useful hints may be also found in the publications of Msgr. Zaleski, formerly Apostolic Delegate to India—(1) *François Xavier*; (2) *Les missionnaires d'aujourd'hui*; (3) *The Apostle of Ceylon* (Einsiedeln, 1910—11). Here also belong the manuals of the various mission territories, although these possess rather the character of sources for mission theory. A remarkable work, but questionable in some of its views, is that of the Scheutveldt missionary, Kervyn (*Méthode de l'apostolate moderne en Chine*, Hongkong, 1911); the first part explains the obstacles in the way of the conversion of the *literati*, mandarins, and people of China; the second part describes in detail the missionary means and the art of applying them. The special question of the training of catechists is the subject of a memorial which Marnas addressed to the bishops of Japan (*Note sur le rôle important des catéchistes pour l'évangélisation du peuple au Japon*, Lyons, 1891). The problem of the native clergy, which repeatedly occupied the pens of the writers of the nineteenth century, has evoked important investigations in recent years. In *Le Christianisme et l'Extrême Orient* (2 vols., Paris, 1907), Canon L. Joly maintains that missionary work has met with complete failure in Farther India, China, and Japan, and that the fundamental reason for this failure is the lack of a native clergy; he demands a thoroughgoing change of missionary methods in close imitation of the procedure in Apostolic times. After the violent controversy between the author and the Jesuits (Brou, Damerval) had subsided, the fundamental work of Huonder, S.J., appeared (*Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*, Freiburg, 1909). In this work are discussed the importance of the native clergy, their historical development, the question of native bishops, the seminaries, and finally the difficulties and obstacles to be encountered. On account of their close connection, mission methodics and pastoral theology often extend into the domain of mission law, especially in practical manuals. Among works on mission law should be mentioned those of Corominas, O.P. (Philippines, 1871), Zitelli (*Apparatus Iuris Ecclesiastici . . . in usum episcoporum et sacerdotum praesertim apostolico munere fungentium*, Rome, 1886), Dantes Munerati (*De iure Missionariorum*, Turin, 1905), and Löhr (*Beiträge zum Missionsrecht*, Paderborn, 1916). Valuable material is also contained in the fascicles of Vermeersch, S.J. (*De Religiosis et Missionariis supplementa et monumenta periodica*), which have been appearing since 1905; also in the articles by Friedrich, Braam, Lux, and others, in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, and by Grentrup, in the *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* and in his mono-

graph, *Ius Missionarium*, vol. I, Steyl, 1925. Concerning the literature of the medical missions, cf. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*.

The unusual increase of interest in mission science since the beginning of the present century must have also assisted the theoretical division of this science, and especially the attempts to bring the whole science into one system. This object was accomplished first by the academic lectures at the University of Münster. The encyclopedic and methodological side of the subject was first made accessible to the general public in the *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft* (Münster, 1917). The *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* also opened its columns to all branches of mission theory, and has published many valuable articles, while in the *Katholische Missionen* have appeared in more popular language scientific contributions to mission theory. Popular in tone also are the treatises entitled "*Aus Missionskunde und -geschichte* (Aachen). To this category finally belong the reports of the two courses on mission science: (1) the Course on Mission Science at Cologne for the German Clergy, September 5—7, 1916 (Münster, 1916); (2) the Course on Mission Science for Women Teachers given at Münster, September 7—9, 1917 (Münster, 1917). These two reports were edited by Schmidlin. The Düsseldorf Mission Course for Missionaries and Priests who are Religious, October 7—14, 1919, has been edited by Schwager (Aachen, 1920). Furthermore, there are the reports of the *Louvain Missiological Week*. This was inaugurated in 1923 and has been held every year since.

### Protestant Literature on Mission Theory

The history of Protestant mission theory, which we can only review briefly here, begins with a downright negation—a negation which Protestants have, on the one hand, vainly tried to explain away, and on the other, to excuse; but of late the fact itself has come to be quietly admitted, however painful the acknowledgment may be. It is today generally conceded that not only did Luther and Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin, fail to encourage missionary activity,—which thing fundamentally would not in itself be of far-reaching significance,—but they were even unconscious of an obligation towards the missions: in fact, the very idea itself of missions was apparently lacking to them. This strange apathy towards the missions, which Protestantism inherited from its founders,—an apathy, which characterized it even into the nineteenth century, and which was in very striking contrast to the contemporary missionary zeal of Catholics,—cannot be satisfactorily explained (as even Warneck admits) by the historical fact that, because of the colonial possessions of the Catholic powers, the pagan world beyond the ocean was shut off from the Protestant horizon. Even if there were any force to this argument, it would apply only to the first period, since Holland and England began to establish colonies in the seventeenth century. The Protestant indifference towards missions arose from the fundamental theological views of their creed,<sup>28</sup> and especially from the prevailing negative

<sup>28</sup> For example, their assumption that the Apostles had already preached the Gospel to the whole world.

and antagonistic tendency of the whole so-called Reformation, which was more intent on destroying the old ecclesiastical order than on the further extension of the kingdom of God.<sup>26</sup>

It was only in the so-called "age of orthodoxy" that isolated Protestants, instigated largely by Catholic missionary activity and literature, began to indulge in theoretical discussions in favor of pagan missions. Some recognized the ecclesiastical obligation towards the missions, at least in principle, while regarding the fulfilment of this obligation as temporarily inopportune; others favored immediate action. The first Protestant mission writer, who, when challenged by Beza, enunciated an absolute and unqualified missionary obligation and based his views on biblical and historical grounds, was a Spaniard, Adrian Saravia, Professor at Leyden.<sup>27</sup> His example was followed in Holland, especially by Justus van Heurn (or Heurnius)<sup>28</sup> and Hoornbeek,<sup>29</sup> professor of theology at Leyden. For the introduction into Germany for this new attitude towards the missions, chief credit must be given to the three writings published in 1664 by the fanatically minded Freiherr von Weltz.<sup>30</sup> Like a lonely preacher in

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ostertag, *Die deutsche Reformation und ihr Verhältnis zur Mission* in *Ev. Miss. Mag.* (1857), 7; Sell, *Der Ursprung der vorchristlichen und der modernen Mission* in *Zschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche* (1895), 472 sq.; Lachmann, *Luther und die Heidenmission* in *ZMR.*, (1896), 65 sqq.; Drews, *Die Anschauungen reformatorischer Theologen über die Heidenmission*, in *Zschr. f. prakt. Theol.* (1897), 1 sqq., 293 sqq., 289 sqq.; Kawerau, *Warum fehlte der deutschen evangel. Kirche des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts das volle Verständnis für die Missionsgedanken der Hl. Schrift?* (Breslau, 1896); Plitt-Hardeland, *Geschichte der luther. Mission* (1894), 3 sqq.; Kalkar, *Geschichte der christl. Mission*, I, 8 sqq.; Warneck, *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen* (1899), 9 sqq. Catholic writers: R. Streit, *Die theologisch-wissenschaftliche Missionskunde*, 14 sqq.; Meinertz, *Recht und Pflicht der christlichen Heidenmission*, 8; Schmidlin, *Reformation und Gegenreformation in ihrem Verhältnis zur Mission*, in *ZM.*, VII, 257 sqq., also the literature cited in that volume. Cf. also the lecture, *Missionsidee und Missionstat der beginnenden Neuzeit*, in the *Mission Course for Women Teachers* (Münster, 1917), 43 sqq.

<sup>27</sup> In his work entitled, *De diversis ministrorum evangelii gradibus, sicut a Domino fuerunt instituti et traditi ab apostolis atque perpetuo omnium ecclesiarum usu conformati* (Frankfurt, 1591). Cf. Grössel, 70, Drews, 309, Warneck, 40.

<sup>28</sup> His work, *De legatione Evangelica ad Indos capessenda Admonitio*, 8 cap., 1618 (Grössel, 21 sqq.), enumerates six chief grounds for instituting the missions, and also makes suggestions for the training of missionaries and concerning mission methods.

<sup>29</sup> *De conversione Indorum et Gentilium* (1665), dealing particularly with the education of missionaries, and demanding a Protestant counterpart of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

<sup>30</sup> *Eine christliche und treuherzige Vermahnung; Einladungs-trieb zum herannahenden grossen Abendmahl; Wiederholte treuherzige und ernsthaftige Erinnerung, die Bekehrung ungläubiger Völker vorzunehmen.*

the desert, he justifies the missionary obligation with moving appeals to the will of God, the example of godly men, the church prayers, and the procedure of the Papists. He refutes objections, and also makes some practical suggestions—for example, he urges the founding of a "Jesus Society." He was opposed especially by the Superintendent Ursius.<sup>21</sup> The great Leibnitz, who had been captivated by the idea of the missions, as a result of his intercourse with some Chinese Jesuit missionaries in Rome, also championed the new policy energetically and successfully in his writings.<sup>22</sup> These incentives among others contributed greatly to the Pietistic mission movement, which was introduced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, chiefly by Hermann Franke,<sup>23</sup> in various treatises, and by Conrad Mel in his *Pharus missionis evangelicæ*,<sup>24</sup> which is preserved in manuscript form. Others who expressed themselves more or less favorably towards the missions were the theologians, Prætor and Meisner, Balduin, Calixt, Scultetus, Gerhard Jr., Duräus Dannhauer, Havemann, Vaïel (cf. Grössel, 8 sqq., 78 sqq.), the pedagogue, Comenius (cf. Warneck, 28), and the Pietists, Spener and Scriver (op. cit. 35 sq.). However, the overwhelming majority of Protestant theologians,<sup>25</sup> as well as the official church, regarded the mission activity as an outgrowth of Pietistic fanaticism, and opposed it on historical and dogmatic grounds (cf. Warneck, 23 sqq.).

Finally, about the middle of the nineteenth century, influenced, on the one hand, by Catholic mission romanticism and, on the other, by the sentimental theology of Schleiermacher, Protestant theologians exchanged their hostile attitude for one of friendliness towards the missions. The first sign of this change is given in Petri's *Die Mission und die Kirche* (Hanover, 1841), which discusses the relations between the Church and the missions. The aims and model for the Protestant missions were supplied on the ethical side by Schleiermacher (*Christliche Sitte*, 1843, 308 sqq.) and Rothe (*Theol. Ethik*, V, 1871, 483 sqq.), and on the pastoral side by Ehrenfeuchter (*Die prakt. Theol.*, 1889, 206 sqq.) and Zezschwitz (*System d. prakt. Theol.*, 1876, 153 sqq.). Monographs of a scientific character on mission theory were published by Plath, in his *Evangelistik* (1883), and Buss,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Grössel, *Justinianus von Wetzlar, der Vorkämpfer der luth. Mission* (1891).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Plath, *Die Missionsgedanken des Freiherrn v. Leibnitz*; Merkel, *G. W. v. Leibnitz und die China-Mission*; also *KM.*, 48, 156 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Kramer, *Aug. H. Francke* (1880).

<sup>24</sup> The full title is *Pharus missionis evangelicæ, in quo veritatis demonstratio, causæ moventes, conversionis præparatoria, tentamen legationis evangelicæ, subsidia necessaria, ut et modus conversionis et conversorum conservatio.*

<sup>25</sup> Especially Gerhard in his *Loci theologici* (cf. Warneck, 25 sqq.). Porta (cf. Grössel, 72 sqq.), Hunnius, Ehringer, Müller, Brochmand, Eichsfeld, Osiander, Musäus, Zentgrav, the Wittenberg theological faculty in its advice to the Imperial Count Truchsess v. Wetzhausen. Cf. Warneck, 23 sqq.



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under the title of *Die christliche Mission, ihre prinzipielle Berechtigung und praktische Durchführung* (1876), which displays liberal tendencies.<sup>56</sup> There also appeared a number of unimportant works justifying the missions, such as those by Hoffmann, Reiff, Plath, Christlieb, Büttner, Luthardt, Kesselring, Mirbt, Tschackert, Kähler, Kranz, Warneck, etc.<sup>57</sup>

The first scientifically planned work on mission theory is Warneck's *Evangelische Missionslehre* (Parts I and II, 1897; Part III, 1902). After six introductory chapters on missions and mission science in general, he discusses, in Part I, the bases of the missions—dogmatic, ethical, biblical, ecclesiastical, historical, and ethnographical; Part II deals with the mission societies (the mission subject), the first section being devoted to those sending forth the missions, and the second section to the active missionaries. Part III discusses the organization of the missions: (1) the mission territory (mission object), (2) the task of the missions, (3) the missionary means (mission methods), and (4) the aim of the missions. This work of Warneck, while not always strictly scientific, was a truly epoch-making achievement. It contains an abundance of original and stimulating ideas, and deserves consideration even from Catholics, in whom it must inspire the wish for a Catholic counterpart. With regard to the contributions made to mission theory outside of Germany, Warneck declares that they are "only preliminary studies or at best attempts at a mission theory"<sup>58</sup> (*Missionslehre*, I, 50 sp.). More or less dependent on Warneck, but following their own arrangement and methods, are the Protestant works on mission theory in other languages: in Swedish, by Tottie (1892); in Norwegian, by Jørgensen (1892); in Danish, by Størensens (1911); and in Dutch, by Daubanton (1911). In Germany, besides Warneck, Grundemann especially deserves to be mentioned as an authority on mission science. He published his views on mission theory in his *Missions-Studien und Kritiken* (2 vols., 1894—98), and his views on the home mission organizations in his work, *Das heimatliche Missionswesen; Beiträge zur wissenschaftlichen Behandlung desselben* (1916). In Part I of his recently published *Evangelische Missionskunde* (1920), Richter discusses the basis of the missions; in Part II, mission theory; and in Part III, mission apologetics. Various special questions have been treated in monographs—for example, the Mohammedan missions, by Zwemer and Simon; accommodation with the animistic religions, by

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 52 sqq.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Strümpfel's *Wegweiser*, 7 sqq.; Streit, *Die theol.-wissenschaftliche Missionskunde*, 19 sqq.

<sup>58</sup> Anderson, *Foreign Missions, Their Relations and Claims* (New York, 1870), three volumes, really fifteen lectures delivered in American seminaries; Somerville, *Lectures on Missions and Evangelism* (Edinburgh, 1874), also eighteen academic lectures; Cust, *Notes on Missionary Subjects* (London, 1888), a very unsystematic work; and, among recent works, Hooten, *The Missionary Campaign, Its Principles, Methods, and Problems*. Additional literature is given in the bibliographical compilations of the *IRM*.

Johann Warneck (*Die Lebenskräfte des Evangeliums*); the active mission movement of modern times, by Mott, and others. Many investigators have taken as their topic Catholic missionary views and missionary methods, and thus their works usually display polemical tendencies. To this category belong: G. Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission* (1884); *Idem*, *Der gegenwärtige Romanismus im Lichte seiner Heidenmission* (1888); Zahn, *Evangelischer und römisch-katholischer Missionsbetrieb*, in *AMZ.* (1884); Mirbt, *Die Missionsmethode der römisch-katholischen Kirche*, in *AMZ.* (1901); Buchner, *Die römische Aggression und ihre Abwehr in Verhandlungen der 9. Kontinentalen Missions-Konferenz* (1897), and in very recent years, Michael, Böhmer, Pfisterer, Oetli, Frick, and others.

Finally, many of the studies and writings emanating from non-missionary circles supply valuable suggestions. A non-Christian work of this character, coming from the mission field itself, is Ku Hung Ming's *Chinas Verteidigung gegen europäische Ideen* (Jena, 1911). To this class also belong a number of works relating the observations and researches of travelers (Rein, *Japan nach Reisen und Studien*; Skovgaard-Petersen, *Aus Japan, wie es heute ist*; Francke, *Ostasiatische Neubildungen*; Keyserling, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Philosophen*, Hackmann, Witte, Ku Hung Ming, Paquet, etc.). Colonial literature, especially, contains many inquiries into the activities and methods of the missions; of these studies some are of a disparaging character, while others commend the work of the missionaries. The most important German work of this nature is Rohrbach's *Kulturpolitische Grundsätze für Rassen- und Missionsfragen* (1909). The Proceedings of the German Colonial Congresses, with the addresses and discussions at the sessions, also contain some valuable material which reveals mission problems in a new light. This is particularly true of the Colonial Congress held at Berlin in 1910.

### 3. Sources for Mission Theory

When we come to consider the sources for mission theory, we find the same sorry situation as in the case of mission literature. Very frequently, it is true, all that is required is the literary utilization of the hidden treasures, but in most instances the sources themselves are either entirely unavailable or defective. Besides, frequently the sources and literature on this subject cannot be clearly distinguished, and consequently the literature—especially the mission periodicals—must be utilized as an indispensable alternative or substitute. It must not be thought, however, that the theory of Catholic mission practice has had until now no literary connecting links with, or point of departure from, the sources given

below. The material is available in abundance, and the only task that remains before a complete and sound mission theory can be created is the scientific assembling and utilization of the material at hand. Catholic mission theory must first of all be guided by the divine precepts, as they are recorded in the Gospels and other books of Holy Writ. Other fundamental sources and rules will be found in the deposit of Christian tradition and ecclesiastical teachings, and also in the dogmatic and moral doctrine of the Church. These basic sources will, of course, serve as dogmatic criteria and beacons for our guidance rather than as significant and available information, because their positive definitions have little direct relation to mission practice, and this relation can usually only be determined by deductive reasoning.

The general sources just mentioned have a special importance for fundamental and home mission theory. The writings of both the Old and the New Testament are used to supply the biblical foundation and grounds of the missions; the traditional grounds for the missions are drawn from the writings of the Church Fathers and theologians; the dogmatic from the dogmas and the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See, with the help of speculation; the apologetic from nature, reason and experience, both present and past.<sup>1</sup> For the basis of the home missionary organizations, sources in the strict sense are almost entirely lacking, except for a few canonical definitions, the constitutions of the mission societies, the statutes of mission associations and the like.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, it is primarily foreign missions for which we have to compile the theoretical sources.

As sources for our practical guidance in the case of the foreign missions, we have available, first of all, the materials on mission law, which are indispensable for the Catholic missions on account of their hierarchical organization. The material of this kind which the more loosely organized Protestant missions possess cannot vie with the Catholic materials, either in extent or value.<sup>3</sup> Because of their universal character, the laws, decrees, ordinances, and decisions of the popes and of their mission congregation, the Roman Propaganda, stand in the front rank. Many of these decrees have been published separately, such as Paul III's *De baptizandis incolis Occidentalis et Meridionalis Indiae* (1537) and the decree on the Rite Controversy. The papal decrees dealing with the missions are printed verbatim and in chronological order in the *Ius Pontificium de Propaganda Fide*—at least, in the seven volumes of the *Partes Prima* (published by Martini,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmidlin, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, 135, 141 sq., 147, 154 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 117 sqq.

1888—97)—and also in the earlier collections, *Constitutiones Apostolicæ S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (1641) and *Bullarium Pontificium S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (1775—1839). An epitome from the *Bullarium Magnum* was also published for the missions by Alexander Guerra. Propaganda decrees of more or less fundamental bearing may be also found verbatim in *Pars Secunda* of the *Ius pontificium* (1909), and in a partly condensed form in the *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide*,<sup>4</sup> which also gives the most important records of the Sessions of the Congregation and the solution of *dubia*. In the first edition of the last-named work, which is much more convenient and explicit for practical use, the material is grouped under three main headings, after the example of the general *Corpus Iuris: de personis* (the mission personnel, especially the mission hierarchy), *de rebus* (in two parts, *de sacramentis* and *de locis et bonis sacris*), and *de fide et moribus* (including some missionary means). Neither the *Ius pontificium* nor the *Collectanea* necessarily lends legal authority. Each document possesses only such validity as attaches to its nature—that is, its authority depends, first, on whether it emanated from the Pope or the Propaganda (and, in the latter case, whether the Propaganda acted in virtue of a special papal delegation or not); and secondly, on the intention of the authors of the documents (whether the decrees were meant to bind permanently and universally, or were merely particular decisions of a temporary authority).<sup>5</sup> The new *Codex Iuris Canonici* contains some additional material concerning the missions, but does not at all attempt to supply all the mission laws still in force; its definitions, however, are universally valid and unconditionally binding.<sup>6</sup> The new Curial Decrees and Acts, in so far as they concern the pagan missions, are systematically collected and discussed as to their essentials in the monthly publication, *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*; in so far as such Decrees and Acts deal with the Regular Orders, they are given in the *Supplementa et Monumenta periodica de Religiosis et Missionariis*, which Father Vermeersch has published quarterly since 1905. In the *Monumenta*, the documents are given verbatim; in the *Supplementa*, their purpose and meaning are discussed.

To the general sources of mission law also belong a multitude of special ordinances emanating from the Superiors of individual missions or Orders. Highly important, because they are rich in materials for mission theory and possess validity for a whole mission society or diocese, are the Synodal Acts and Statutes of the Councils or Episcopal Conferences held in a mission territory. We possess such Syno-

<sup>4</sup> In the first edition of 1893, the decrees are arranged according to subject; in the second, which appeared in two volumes in 1907, the arrangement is chronological. This work was based on a collection made by the Mission Seminary of Paris in 1880, supplemented and elucidated by the *Monita ad missionarios S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide* (1669 and 1874).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 164 sqq., and Pieper. *Ein Blick in die missionsmethodischen Erlasse der Propaganda* in *ZM.*, XII (1922), 31 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 26 sqq.

dal Decrees for South America and India, from the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Collectanea maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniae et Novi Orbis*, by Joseph Saenz de Aguirre (1693), contain in the fourth volume the Acts of the first three Provincial Councils (1581, 1591, 1601), of which the earliest (1581) had been already published separately by José Acosta, and also the Acts of the ten Diocesan Synods of Lima held prior to 1604. In 1769 Lorenzana published the Decrees of the first two Provincial Councils of Mexico (1555 and 1565), and in 1770 he published the Acts of the third (1585). All these American Synods are included in the fifth volume of the *Coleccion* of Tejada y Ramiro (Madrid, 1855). The Acts of the first five Councils of Goa (1557, 1575, 1585, 1592, 1606), and of the Synods of Diamper (1599) and Tonking (1670) are published by Levy Maria Jordao in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum* (Appendix, Vol. I, Madrid, 1876). The subsequent Mission Synods up to the year 1871 (Vaticanum) may be found in the *Collectio Lacencis (Acta et Decreta S. Conciliorum Recentiorum)*. Besides the American, Oriental, and Colonial Councils, we must also take special notice of those of the First Synod of Pondicherry for India, in 1844, and of the Second, in 1849, of Szechwan for China (1803), of Bishdish for Cochin-China (1841), and a Council for Yunnan (1859), which is recorded in manuscript only. In the Propaganda Collection of the most recent Synodal Acts, we notice those of the following Provincial Councils, which agree essentially in wording: Bombay (1893), Verapoli, Goa, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, and Agra (1894; published 1895); also the Diocesan Synods of Verapoli (1889), Lahore, Agra, and Allahabad (1890), Coimbatour (1891), and Hyderabad (1902), besides which Huonder mentions those of Colombo and Bangalore (1888), Madras (1889), and Bombay (1898); and for Farther India, the Regional Synods of Tongking (1900 and 1902, published 1905 and 1914), also (according to Huonder) those for Cochin-China, Cambodia and Ciampore (1893). For China we have the Regional Synods of Peking, Shansi, Hankow, Szechwan and Hongkong (*Decreta quinque synodorum in Sinis habitantium*, 1880), the three later Synods of Peking (1886, 1892, and 1906), the second of Hankow (1887), the third of Szechwan (1909), the second of Hongkong (1891), the third of Hongkong (1907), and the earlier Vicarial Synod held there (1875); also the *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setschuen et Hongkong* (1910), the Synods of Shensi I (1880), II (1885), III (1891—Tongyunenfang) and IV (1908). For Japan and Corea we have the first Regional Synod of Nagasaki (1890) and Tokyo (1895). From the African missions come, besides the Synodal Decisions of Ague for Dahomey, which appeared as a *Directorium* (1898), the Synodal Decrees of Duala for Cameroon (1906), of Libreville (1901), the Resolutions of the East African Episcopal Conference in Daressalam (1912), the Synodal Statutes of Villa Maria (1909), and the Episcopal Conferences of the Belgian Congo in 1907, 1910, 1913 and 1920 (*Mission cathol. du Congo belge*, 1914 and 1920).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmidlin, *Die neuesten Missionssynoden als missionsmethode*

Very limited in their sphere of application, but nevertheless very instructive and full of material for mission theory, are the mission instructions of the individual superiors of missions and separate Orders. The different missionary Orders had these instructions as early as the sixteenth century. Thus, the Franciscans had the "Instructions of General Angeles Quiñones for the Mexican missionaries (1523) and the outlines of mission law in the *Estatutos Generales* (1585); they had also the Missionary Appeal of Zummarraga (1533) and the Memorial of Garces (1537). The Dominicans had the Regulations of Father de Jesus (c. 1570); the Jesuits, the suggestions of their Generals Ignatius, Lainez, Aquaviva, Borgia, and Vitelleschi, as well as those of Francis Xavier for India, of Valignani for Japan, of Acosta for Peru, and of Nobrega for Brazil. In the eighteenth century the American Mission of the Franciscans issued a *Statutorum generalium compilatio* (1704), and that of the Capuchins, the *Estatutos y Ordenaciones de las Misiones* (1740).<sup>8</sup> To this same class belong also the highly valuable *Instrucciones ad munera apostolica obeunda*, issued in 1665 for the Paris Missionaries of China and Farther India, and later published as the official Manual of the Propaganda under the title *Monita ad Missionarios S. Congr. de prop. fide* (1669, 1744, 1807, 1840, 1853, 1874, 1886, 1893). In the nineteenth century, almost every missionary society received its statutes—e. g., the Carmelites (1842 and 1902), the Paris Seminary (1847 and 1865), and the Missionary College of the Franciscans of Tarija in South America (1876). The Capuchins received a Mission Statute with valuable explanations by Father Antonius a Reschio (1893); the Benedictine missionaries of St. Ottilien had the instructions of Abbot Weber on the outlines and objects of their missionary activity (*Euntes in mundum universum*). The Mariannahill Fathers received from Abbot Amandus: (1) "Instructions for Those in Charge of the Training of Youth" (1896); (2) "Instructions for Those Who Are Active on Our Missions" (1897); (3) "Rules for the Attainment of Uniform Efficiency in the Missions" (1898). The White Fathers received from Cardinal Lavigerie Instructions,<sup>9</sup> which were explained and supplemented by Hirth (*Directoire pour le catéchumenat à l'usage des missionnaires de Nyansa méridional, Maison-Carrée*, 1909) and Streicher (Pastoral Letter, 1909). The Fathers of the Holy Ghost received from Libermann *Instructions aux missionnaires* and *Lettres spirituelles*, and the Picpus Fathers received their Rules (Elenchus). There also exist in particular mission territories rules for mission practice which are partly made by the superiors, and partly dictated by custom, but which are usually printed exclusively for the missionaries and can thus be obtained only with great difficulty. To this class belong the *Normas* for the Capuchin Mission in Araucania, the *Directoire* for Bagamoyo, the Instructions of Bonjean for

*dische Quellen*, in *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 78 sqq. *Idem*, *Noch einige neuere Missionssynoden und -handbücher*, *ZM.*, XV (1925), 303 sq.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Streit in *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I, n. 902.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hallfell, *Die Missionsgrundsätze des Kardinals Lavigerie in Düsseldorf Missionskursus*, 184 sqq.

Jaffna and of Laouenuan for Pondicherry, the *Reglement* of the missions in Manchuria and the *Parvae Regulae* for Honan.<sup>10</sup>

We now come to the manuals on mission methods which occupy a middle place between sources and literature for mission theory. These are generally limited to a district, but possess a certain authority as bearing the prescribed approbation of the Propaganda and also in many cases because of the standing of the author. For Africa we have, besides the *Directoire de Bagamoyo*, the Directories of Dahomey (*D. et Coutumier*, 1898) and Madagascar (1888; third edition for Central Madagascar, 1908), which are also in French; the manual for the missionaries of the Vicariate of Khartoum by Geyer (1914) in German. For India proper, besides the Directory for Jaffna by Bonjean (1901, 1903, 1921), the Directory for Pondicherry (1879) with Monsignor Laouenuan's Instruction (1883) and the writings of the Apostolic Delegate Zaleski (especially *Les Missionnaires d'aujourd'hui*), we have a *Manuale Missionariorum* by the Capuchin, Viktorius von Appeltern (1909 and 1911, devoted indeed to moral casuistics), and recently a work in English by Joseph Carroll, O.M.C. (1917). A *Directoire* for Cochin-China and Cambodia (1904) and a *Directorium pro Birmania meridionali* (1917) have been printed in Hongkong for Farther India. Besides the rather missiographical monograph of Kervyn (*Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*), the *Praxis Missionariorum* of Rizzolati (Hongkong, 1853), and the *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses* (1881 and 1918), we have a *Manuale in usum Missionariorum Shantung Meridionalis* (1897 and 1910, which developed from the *Monita* of 1886 and 1894), a *Missionarius Instructus* by the Franciscan Carllassare for Hupeh (1901 and 1905), a *Directorium Missionariorum* by Bishop Ybañez, O.F.M. (1913 and 1922; new edition revised according to the *Codex I. C.*), with a *Supplementum* (1916) and *Adiumenta pro regimine missionum* by the Lazarist Bishop Fabrègues (1914). Lastly, we have a *Directorium Missionis Taikui in Korea* (Hongkong, 1914).<sup>11</sup>

Finally, also in so far as they are not theoretically determined and utilized, the experiences and facts of mission practice afford us an almost inexhaustible mine for practical mission theory, whether these experiences and facts are in the form of mission reports of present conditions, or of missionary history of the past. From the actual procedure of individual missionaries or of missionaries as a class,—from the whole missionary activity at the different times and among different peoples,—we can learn how the missions are managed and have been managed, and thus how they ought, and ought not, to be managed. Starting from these premises, we can then by induction arrive at the most valuable suggestions and rules for mission theory. Again, mission history shows us not only what has happened in the course of converting the pagans: it also serves to a large extent as a

<sup>10</sup> Streit, *BM.*, I, nn. 2006, 2073, 1484, 1554, 1547, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the manuals of moral law for the missions, see Schmidlin, *Einführung*, 146 sq., and Schmidlin, *Die gegenwärtigen Missionshandbücher als missionsmethodische Quellen* in *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 185 sqq.

mission tribunal, since, by disclosing the missionary goal striven for and the missionary results attained, it enables us to pass judgment on and discuss critically the particular methods employed, and thus evolve sound mission principles along both positive and negative lines. For example, how instructive both for our own time and for different regions is the missionary procedure of the Apostles (especially of St. Paul among the pagan Greeks),<sup>12</sup> of the medieval missionaries (especially of St. Boniface among the pagan Germans),<sup>13</sup> and in modern times of the Jesuits both in the Far Eastern civilized countries and among the primitive tribes of America. To mention a single instance, how much information on missionary aims and means can mission theory obtain from the Apostle of India and Japan, St. Francis Xavier, apart from the methodic instructions<sup>14</sup> which the great pagan missionary addressed or bequeathed to his missionaries.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, we must also consult carefully the rich materials which mission history affords (both sources and literature, and especially the biographies of great missionaries), for from these materials we can deduce the conclusions and elucidations necessary to fill in gradually the many gaps which still remain in Catholic mission theory.

On the Protestant side a real storehouse of experiences and facts for mission theory is found in the Reports made to the World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh in 1910. Eight separate commissions made these reports, one day being devoted to each. This voluminous work contains, not only the proceedings of the Conference (in volume IX), but also the quintessence of the answers received to questionnaires sent to the most diverse missionary circles and territories. The first volume is devoted to the present situation of the missions in general; the second to the organization of the church in the missionary field (the question of independence, attitude towards polygamy, congregational training, native assistants, mission activities, literature); the third to the mission schools; the fourth to the relation of the missions towards the native religions (obstacles, points of contact, mutual attitude, etc.); the fifth to the recruiting and training of missionaries (both general and special); the sixth to the home organization of the missions; the seventh to the relations between missions and governments, both colonial and native; the eighth to the mutual relations between the different denominations and societies (*World Missionary Conference*, 9 vols., Edinburgh, 1910). Warneck

<sup>12</sup> Buss, *Die Mission einst und jetzt*; G. Warneck, *Die apostolische und die gegenwärtige Mission*; Stosch, *Paulus als Typus für die evang. Mission*, in *AMZ.*, 23 (1896), 345 sqq.; Freitag, *Die Missionsmethode des Weltapostels Paulus*, in *ZM.*, II (1912), 114 sqq.; J. Warneck, *Paulus im Lichte der Heidenmission*, 1913.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lau, *Die angelsächsische Missionsweise im Zeitalter des Bonifaz*; Konen, *Die Heidenpredigt unter den Germanen*; also *ZM.*, VII (1917), 177 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> Very uncritically compiled for the Alumni of the Indian Seminaries, and published at Trichinopoly in 1897 under the title of *S. Francisci Xaverii Monita et Exempla*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cros, Haas, etc.



quotes from the following English Conferences: Liverpool (1860), Allhabad (1872), Shanghai (1878), Calcutta (1882), Osaka (1883), London (1883), and Shanghai (1890). The addresses and deliberations of the German Mission Conferences (Barmen, Bremen, etc.) are also important for certain questions. Finally, we must mention the more recent Mission Congresses, and among American Congresses especially those of Atlantic City (for 1925, held at Washington, D. C.). Of no less importance for the study of the missions are the Reports of the International Missionary Council, convened in Jerusalem in 1928. The Reports were published, in eight volumes, toward the end of the same year. Warneck cites as a further source, the official instructions of the mission managements, the ordinances of the mission churches, the official monthly and annual reports of the mission societies, and especially the 'Records of ten Conferences and ten mission periodicals' (*Missionslehre* I, 47 sqq.).

#### 4. The Definition of "Mission"

Every mission theory must begin with an explanation of the idea "mission," because its definition and analysis will exercise a determining influence and bring about different theoretical constructions with regard to later discussions of missions from the various stand-points. In this investigation we can distinguish between the idea and the word, the intrinsic idea and its external expression (*terminus*), since the two are by no means identical, but are frequently widely divergent. We may also trace the historical origin and development of the word or *terminus*, "mission." With the word "mission" was originally associated the idea of an apostolic journey and settlement (station), while later the chief emphasis was directed towards the missionary arrangements and undertaking.<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages, and even as late as the sixteenth century, the idea we associate with "mission" was expressed by *apostolatus*, *propagatio fidei*, *de procuranda salute*, etc., while the missionary was called *operarius* or some similar title. Only since the seventeenth century has the word "mission" been used consistently in our sense. It occurs, for example, in the Bull of 1622, creating the Propaganda (*Missionibus omnibus ad prædicandum et docendum evangelium et catholicam doctrinam superintendant*; cf. *Ius pontificium*, I, 3), and even as early as the first half of the sixteenth century, e. g., in the sending forth of St. Francis Xavier in 1540.<sup>2</sup> It thus seems very probable that the Jesuit practice of describing their initial settlements (especially in heretical territories) as *missiones* aided essentially in determining and promoting this use of the term. According to others, its origin must be sought in the canonistic phenomena of the late Middle Ages, especially in the Mendicant Orders and the disrupted parochial organization. The process was hastened by the terminology of the Propaganda and the Carmelite writers.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Braam in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 235 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his biography by Brou, I, 78 sq.

Especially applicable to the term "mission" and its scientific determination is Father Streit's statement that Catholics, in contrast to Protestants, have always regarded the word "mission" as something self-explanatory, and consequently have wasted little time on its definition. Protestants, on the other hand, forced by the necessity of justifying their missions against the attacks of their confirmed adversaries and of finding some positive guidance for their missionary practice, have devoted long explanations and whole treatises to the word "mission." Catholics in general have heretofore contented themselves with the practical mission work, without devoting much attention to the idea underlying their spontaneous activity or the term describing it. This idea had, of course, been associated more or less instinctively with missionary activity from the earliest times, and both logically and psychologically preceded this activity; but men failed—or saw no need—to devote thought to the matter or raise it to the stage of serious reflection, as had been done with so many other terms in theoretical and practical theology. To many practical missionaries, who are daily confronted with the facts and actualities of life, the present analyses also may seem idle hair-splitting and an empty strife about words. However, they are just as little such as other definitions and distinctions in theology, philosophy, and general science, which also are not rarely stigmatized by the ignorant and uninitiated as useless vaporings. Upon the term "mission," as we shall see, actually depend to a certain degree all the other discussions of mission theory, since all the remaining topics (mission subject, mission object, mission aims, and missionary means) are only members or elements of the idea "mission," in which they are inherently comprehended. The vagueness and uncertainty, which at times we discover in mission practice,—especially the very frequently displayed inability of practical missionaries to grasp individual facts readily and conceive them as a whole, which prevents them from seeing the woods because of the trees,—is to no small degree due to the fact that such missionaries have not a clear grasp of the fundamental ideas. That this same insufficient grasp is found in a still greater degree among the missionaries at home, and especially among the many who are completely unversed in mission science, needs scarcely to be stated. One of the chief reasons why the different representatives of both mission science and mission practice within the same confession—to say nothing of Catholics and Protestants—find it so difficult to arrive at a mutual understanding, and thus occasionally tilt at windmills, is because of their different uses of terms, which in turn are caused by their failure to comprehend clearly the fundamental ideals. It is for this reason that Kröse also declares that a uniform terminology is to the interest of all confessions and will promote a better understanding.<sup>3</sup>

When we ask what a mission really is, we receive widely divergent answers.<sup>4</sup> There is especially a differ-

<sup>3</sup> *Katholische Missionsstatistik*, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kröse, loc. cit., 16: "It cannot indeed be denied that the

ence in the definition and scope of the mission object, which, both in the Catholic and Protestant ranks, is productive of terminological contradictions and confusion. Among Protestants, the English and Americans (notably the Baptists and Methodists) extend the term "mission" to include all proselytizing activities, not only among Catholics, but also among other Protestant denominations.<sup>7</sup> In Germany also scattered voices<sup>8</sup> are raised, demanding that on national grounds the term "mission" be extended to include the German *world-diaspora* and the whole non-Evangelical world, and thus even the *Los-von-Rom* movement in Austria and the efforts to Protestantize the Orientals.<sup>9</sup> [Similarly, Catholic literature (especially in the Romanic lands) usually includes the various kinds of organized work of conversion (whether in the foreign or domestic field) under the general term "mission." Even in the official phraseology of the Propaganda, the term "mission" includes attempts to win back non-Catholics, (heretics and schismatics), as well as attempts to Christianize the non-Christians.] This is shown, for example, in the two great Propaganda Collections, the *Ius pontificium* and the *Collectanea*.<sup>8</sup> This extension

term 'mission,' is very equivocal. Catholic and Protestant, German and English, writers accept the word in different senses. One cannot indeed even maintain that German Catholics are uniform in their use of this expression."

<sup>7</sup> AMZ., XV (1888), 305: Missionary Comity; cf. *Repertorium*, 167, and Krose, 17. They go even further, for with truly characteristic inconsiderateness, they include under the term "missions" (besides "foreign missions" proper) pastoral work among the Christian colonists from the motherland as "Colonial missions"; pastoral work among the British on the European Continent as "Continental missions"; religious activity among the creedless (the so-called unclassified; especially in North America) as "Home missions"; activity among the detached or spiritually de-Christianized members of their own confession as "Domestic missions" (Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 3).

<sup>8</sup> For example, Dr. Stoll in *Deutsch-Evangelischen Blättern* (1904).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. AMZ., XXXII (1905), 52.

<sup>8</sup> Even as early as the Papal Bulls of Erection of 1622 and 1627 (cf. ZM., III (1913), 268). According to Grundemann (*Realenzykl.* XIII, 103), from the Roman standpoint, "mission" means the Catholicizing of all non-Catholic peoples. This broader conception of "mission" was more recently championed by Grentrup in ZM., III (1913), 272: "Missions are the systematic activity for the extension of the Church of Christ among pagans and those of other beliefs."

and wider conception of "mission" is adopted and confirmed by the new law in the *Codex Iuris Canonici* of 1918.<sup>9</sup> It is, however, an absolute mistake to ascribe (like Warneck) this inclusion of non-Catholics with non-Christians to dogmatic prejudice, or to a complete failure to distinguish between other Christian denominations and the non-Christian world. Equally mistaken is it to regard the supposed "Roman invasion" of Protestant missionary fields and the ensuing discord as an evident consequence of the Catholic conception of missions, which has been said to have as its constant bent the rescuing of Protestant converts in pagan lands from their still more dangerous heresy.<sup>10</sup> [A dogmatic question is indeed involved, in so far as we do not regard every branch of Christianity—but only the Catholic—as genuine. Moreover, we include among the tasks of the missions, not merely extension of Christianity, but also incorporation in the true Church, and we further claim for the Catholic Church the right to convert, not alone pagans, but also non-Catholics, and lead them all into the one true fold.] Even Warneck does not deny that this right is inherent in the "Roman Church," and he claims for Protestantism a similar right to work among "non-Evangelical Christians." But the Catholic Church remains fully conscious that even heretical baptism opens the door to Christianity, and that thus heretics and schismatics are also Christians, although not full "members of universal Christianity" (Warneck). The analogous use of the word in many Protestant circles is sufficient proof

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Mergentheim, in *Priester und Mission*, 1918, 69 sqq., and Kappenberg, *Jahrbuch des Missionshauses St. Gabriel*, 1922, 166 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> *AMZ.*, VI (1879), 180, VII (1880), 231. Cf. also Kappenberg, loc. cit., 173 sq.

<sup>11</sup> "If, therefore, being a Catholic pertains to the salvation of souls, and the Church must not only concern herself with the salvation of her own members but has also the divine office of saving the whole world through the strength of Christ which works ever in her, she must regard it as a duty of her office, besides preserving and confirming her members in the Catholic faith, to draw all other men to her—both those who have never belonged to her body, and those who may have fallen away" (Mejer, *Die Propaganda, ihre Provinzen und ihr Recht*, I, 8; cf. Leo XIII's Encyclical of 1894).

that it is really not confessional intolerance or narrow-mindedness which led Catholics to adopt heretofore the wider conception of the term, but that, as in the case of all such artificial expressions, its employment was the result of conventional tradition. Consequently, the Catholic use of this term ought not to have been exploited to such an extreme as Warneck has done. Krose, the mission statistician, recommends a distinction between missions proper among non-Christians and other works of conversion. He points out the necessity of a universal understanding in the interest of mutual comparisons, inasmuch as the Christian confessions of today are no longer absolutely shut off from one another, as in earlier times, but are, through their members, increasingly engaged in a manifold intercourse (personally and by interchange of their writings), resulting in an extensive consideration of differing views, especially on the subject of missions and mission literature." Krose does not thereby seek to deny all sound justification for the opinion which would define the missions as "all activities directed towards the extension of the Church of Christ." It is with this qualification also that we subscribe to his view and regard "mission" as equivalent to Christianization, or converting to Christianity—a conception which coincides most closely with the usual employment of the term. The "object" of the missions is thus the still unconverted world—that is, the unconverted, non-Christian world, or the pagan world in the wider sense.

Missions in the narrower sense" (also called foreign missions) are thus missions among non-Christians—that is, among those who are outside the Christian faith and the Christian religion. Consequently, in a descending line, the term is applied: (1) to missions among pagans, whether polytheistic fetish worshippers or pantheistic votaries of Brahma or Buddha (pagan missions proper); (2) missions among Mohammedans (Mohammedan Mis-

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<sup>12</sup> *Katholische Missionsstatistik*, 17 sq.

<sup>13</sup> Here naturally our reference is to Christian (Catholic) missions, from which may be distinguished, according to their "subject", Evangelical and non-Christian (Mohammedan, Buddhist, etc.) missions.

sions); and (3) missions among Jews. The last two types of mission are included in the broader conception of pagan missions, although the Mohammedans and Jews profess a monotheistic religion." Non-Catholic Christians who (because of their baptism and their Christian belief) still retain a certain connection with Christianity and the Church, although they are no longer true members of its visible body (because of their deviation from ecclesiastical doctrine (heresy) or merely from ecclesiastical obedience (schism)), are also an object for the missions in the broader and less strict sense. Consequently, the activities for the conversion of these other Christian denominations have been called *missions* by many Catholic writers on mission history (e. g., Hahn) and mission theory (e. g., Thomas a Jesu). Such activities among the Oriental schismatics have been very inconsistently referred to as the Oriental Mission, even by those who do not recommend the application of "mission" to work among other Christian denominations.<sup>15</sup> The chief reason for this is because they regard the Oriental Mission as merely the first step towards, or link with, a Mohammedan Mission with which it is so inextricably connected that delimitation of the two is impossible. The object of the missions may be broadened still further, if the purview is extended to include even Catholics—especially those who, while still preserving their external connection with the ecclesiastical body, have been lost or estranged from the Church through infidelity or sin, and thus need renewed conversion. This work of conversion among its own members, which aims to bring about a religious renewal and a heightening of the religious sense and to lead back straying sheep into the true fold (especially through the apostolate of active charity)—this work also is merely the exercise of an absolutely necessary and indispensable right and obligation of the

<sup>14</sup> We might here call attention to Father Steichen's remark that these pagans or non-Christians are very inaccurately described as "unbelievers" or "infidels" (*infideles*), since they usually possess a faith.

<sup>15</sup> Schwager, Groeteken, and Krose, as opposed to Huonder, who, however, describes the efforts to bring about union in Abyssinia as "mission history"; Warneck, as opposed to Grundemann.

Church, especially today when modern paganism is committing such ravages even in the Catholic ranks. It is an activity which is very closely related to the foreign missions, not only dogmatically because of the common origin and aim of both, but also historically in their casual and final relations. However, since such activity is, fundamentally, only part of the regular care of souls among a Catholic population, this whole great field of ecclesiastical activity, with its special institutions (especially the "popular missions"), lies outside the scope of our inquiry, if this is to be limited to foreign missions.<sup>16</sup> The conception of a mission thus becomes ever narrower and more precise in proportion to the contrast between the subject (agent) and the object of missionary work,<sup>17</sup> although (to emphasize the point once more) the whole activity of the Church rightfully and actually be extended to all men—to those who belong to her communion and already share in her faith, so that they may preserve it and live according to its dictates, and to all others who still stand in the darkness of error and outside the fold, that they may be converted and join her communion.

In canon law the term "mission" has a somewhat different meaning from that which it bears in ordinary speech. According to mission law, missionary territory ends with the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, and consequently *Terræ missionum* (as distinguished from *Pro-*

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<sup>16</sup> The determining factor is not so much the local, as the religious, separation or remoteness (cf. *ZM.*, III (1913), 267). According to Grentrup (loc. cit., 265 sq.), an internal or domestic mission is one intended for the extraordinary renewal of the life of faith; according to Wernz (*Ius Decretalium* III, 1, 44), a *missio interna* is a system of extraordinary exercises and sermons for the preservation and promotion of the Catholic faith and religious life; according to Neher (*Kirchenlexikon*, VIII, 1636), a popular mission is the overcoming of the unchristian and anti-Christian spirit, especially by the apostolate of love; according to the Protestant *Realenzyklopädie*, XIII, 90 sq., such a mission is the sum of the means for the protection of living Christianity against the distressful conditions which arise in the community (cf. Grentrup, loc. cit.).

<sup>17</sup> The contrast, or difference, is widest in the case of the pagans, and increasingly less in the case of the Mohammedans and Jews, heretics and schismatics, and least in the case of negligent Catholics.

*vinciæ ecclesiasticæ* or *apostolicæ sedis*) are those regions which are subject to the missionary Congregation in Rome. In canon law, therefore, the term "mission" connotes the territory of the missions.<sup>18</sup> The territory subject to the Propaganda is, on the one hand, wider, and on the other, narrower, than the missionary fields proper. It is narrower because, from the beginning, extensive mission fields<sup>19</sup> have been independent of the Propaganda; it is wider because, at least theoretically, the non-Catholic Christian lands are subject to the Propaganda. Until the Curial Reform of 1908, which underlies also the definitions of the *Codex iuris canonici* in the matter of mission law, the territory subject to the Propaganda included a number of countries which already possessed a completely developed ecclesiastical hierarchy,<sup>20</sup> while other palpably pagan lands<sup>21</sup> have no connection with the Propaganda to this very day. Consequently, Krose's position is correct when, in answering Mejer and other Protestants, he emphasizes the fact that we are here dealing with a purely formal distinction which is clearly explained by historical development.<sup>22</sup>

According to Mejer (the characteristic of the *Terræ missionum* is in their administration by the Propaganda (loc. cit., I, 200), and the reason for this administration is because these parts of the world are not strictly Catholic—that is, they are not subject to strictly Catholic governments and states (I, 197). He thus regards the German bishops as mission superiors because of their reception of quinquennial faculties through the Propaganda.<sup>23</sup> However, since the reorganization of 1908, established by the New Codex, and according to the wording of the Constitution, the criterion of subordination to the Propaganda, and thus of the "status of a mission," is in principle the absence of an organized or properly constituted hierarchy (*ubi sacra hierarchia nondum constituta, status missionis perseverat . . . etsi hierarchia constituta, adhuc inchoatum aliquid præ se ferunt*). "The canonical conception of a mission is thus immediately revealed; in canon law a mission is a territory in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy has not yet been instituted [or completed!]" (Grentrup,

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Grentrup, loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the Spanish and Portuguese colonial territories, on account of the opposition of the governments.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the English and North American dioceses and archdioceses.

<sup>21</sup> For example, the Philippines and Mozambique.

<sup>22</sup> *Katholische Missionsstatistik*, 17.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Grentrup's answer in *ZM.*, III (1913), 273.



ZM., III (1913), 273). "According to the law now existing, the external form of the ecclesiastical organization—the existence or non-existence [completion or non-completion!] of its ecclesiastical organization—must be regarded as the fundamental mark of distinction between the territories of the Propaganda (the so-called *terræ missionum*), and the other ecclesiastical lands" (Hilling in ZM., I (1911), 148).

At the conclusion of his investigation, Grentrup accordingly distinguishes two essentially different definitions of a mission—one "theological", or viewed from the theological standpoint (mission as an activity: that is, mission in the customary sense), and the other "canonical," or viewed from the standpoint of canon law (mission as a territory). "If we compare the theological and canonical ideas, the following differences present themselves: (1) *Of Origin*—the theological concept as a mission is developed from the principles of dogmatic theology; the canonical concept arises from the positive decree of ecclesiastical legislation; (2) *Of Necessity*—missions in the theological sense must continue as long as all men are not gathered together in one fold under one shepherd; missions in the juridical sense are not a matter of absolute necessity, but might be brought completely to an end by making all lands subject to the *ius commune*; (3) *Of Object*—the theological term is concerned immediately with the work of spreading the faith; the canonical with the territory, or, more accurately still, with the ecclesiastical organization of the territory; (4) *Of Territorial Extension*—the canonical term is at present broader than the theological: for example, many territories possess the characteristic canonical mark of a mission (i. e., they lack an ecclesiastical hierarchy); but, inasmuch as no extension of the Catholic Church is being effected within their boundaries, nor is such an extension regarded as the chief aim of the activity manifested, they lack the element which constitutes the theological conception of a mission. The mere preservation of Catholic minorities among pagans or peoples of other beliefs may, in so far as the internal and external difficulties are concerned, be analogous to missionary work proper. In so far, however, as there is no progress, it cannot be regarded as missionary work in the strict sense, any more than the laborious conversion of lukewarm Catholics to a zealous Christian life may be classed as missionary work in our sense. The latter belongs rather to the chapter on domestic missions" (ZM., III (1913), 274).

On the basis of the new canon law, Mergentheim (*Priester und Mission*, 1918, 69 sqq.) sums up the results of his investigation in "two entirely different definitions." In the first place, a mission in the strict sense, and viewed from the personal standpoint, is the sending out of apostolic laborers for the extension of the Catholic faith among non-Catholics; it also includes the work resulting from this sending out and aimed at the extension of the faith among these persons. In the second place, mission in the figurative sense (viewed according to the territorial or objective considerations) is a territory subject to the Congregation of the Propaganda, if such territory bears the characteristic mark that it does not yet possess a regular

hierarchy of bishops and pastors. Besides the territory, we also designate by the term "mission" all the pastoral institutions and activities within its boundaries, whether these serve for the extension of the faith among non-Catholics or for the preservation of the faith among the Catholics who dwell there" (loc. cit., 72). In the *Jahrbuch des Missionshauses St. Gabriel* (I, 166 sqq.), Kappenberg discusses in still greater detail the term "mission" as the act of sending forth, as activity for the spreading of the faith, and also as a territory and as a condition of ecclesiastical organization outside the regular hierarchy. Viewed as an activity, he defines a "mission" as the systematic work undertaken by the competent ecclesiastical authorities for the extension of the Church of Christ among non-Catholics (p. 173). He draws a threefold distinction in the definition of mission as a territory: (1) a theological distinction, including territories which possess the characteristic of systematic missionary activity; (2) a distinction of Propaganda law, embracing territories in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy is not established, and those dioceses wherein Christianity is still at the initial stage; (3) a distinction of strict canon law, including all territories in the two preceding classes (loc. cit., 177). Cf. below, p. 44, footnote 28.

The explanations just given show that the new law has not brought about any uniformity of conception. Considerations of both mission practice and mission methods make it desirable to restrict the term "mission" to the pagan missions to the exclusion of propaganda among Christians. Lest we should seem to dispute the right and obligation of such a mission in principle, we may state that this question of accommodation by no means coincides with a demand for the limitation of the term, as Grentrup supposes (*ZM.*, III (1913), 267, 272). Warneck not entirely without reason emphasizes the fact that, in so far as it is extended to Catholics or to Protestants of other denominations, the Anglo-American idea of a mission works confusion and, to say the least, displays a lack of courtesy and regard which is doubly "contradictory and unbearable" in the supposed representatives of the "Evangelical Alliance." He therefore suggests the term "evangelization" for Protestant proselytism among Roman and Greek Catholic Christians—a term which, of course, seems absurd to us, as we already possess the Gospel. For Catholic efforts to convert non-Catholics, he proposes the term "recatholicizing" or "romanizing," the latter of which is also reprehensible on account of its misleading national implication. "A mission is a work of Christianizing. Consequently, those peoples who already bear the Christian name and have through baptism been admitted into universal Christianity, cannot be regarded as mission objects, however deficient their Christianity may seem from the standpoint of some other denomination" (I, 2). Warneck and Grundemann have helped to make this narrower conception of a mission the dominant one in Protestant Germany, and this conception has also gradually extended to all Continental Protestantism, as the mission theories from Daubanton, Sörensen, Tottie, and Jörgensen show. The Congress of Edinburgh, in contradistinction to the more recent

Congress of Atlantic City (1918), excluded propaganda among Catholics from the scope of the term.

However innocuous these considerations and discussions of the mission "object" may seem, the reader must not think they are idle and useless. Critical problems of a wide scope and a fundamental nature are involved in this discussion—problems which cause grave complications for mission practice and finances, and which provoke delicate situations. Thus, on the basis of his arbitrarily created conception of a mission, which was partly broadened (to include all the non-Evangelical world) and partly restricted (to German territory), Stoll makes no less a threat than the absolute boycott and starvation of all missions not coming under his definition. In his able reply to this proposal, Warneck exposes its brutality. Even on the Catholic side, we encounter various presumptions and confusion as to what constitutes a mission, even though the discussions do not go to the extreme just quoted. For example, it is due to the confusion of the terms "pagan missions," "colonial missions," and "domestic missions," that extensive alms intended for the pagan missions are to a certain extent arbitrarily taxed to promote home ecclesiastical interests, whether by the general missionary societies, the individual authorities, or the local pastors. By "taxed" we mean that portions of the sums intended for missionary purposes are applied to the local churches; or possibly, the mission societies use for domestic missions funds subscribed for the pagan missions. To quote still another example: How many Boniface Circles use the attractive word "missions" to obtain large alms, either by actually suggesting to the donors or allowing the latter to suppose that these Circles are on the same plane as foreign missions?

Different conceptions of the mission subject, of the missionary task, and of the missionary means, may lead to no less serious consequences, unless their explanation precedes our definition.<sup>24</sup> Very prominent in our conception of the task of the missions stands its purely religious character as the extension of the kingdom of God among non-Christians. An analysis of the Pauline conception of a mission shows this.<sup>25</sup> If we extend the mission subject to include non-Catholic Christendom, the Protestant and Schismatic Christianizing work belongs also to the Christian missions in the wider sense.<sup>26</sup> Father Linckens,

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the later discussions of these topics.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Pieper, *Zur Missionsanschauung des Völkerapostels*, in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 9 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> When we use the term in this loose sense, we refer to the Protestant missions merely in a supplementary way, because they offer at least a partial Christianity (cf. *ZM.*, III (1913), 190, 193). We might thus even speak of Mohammedan and Buddhist missions (cf. Koppers in *Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, 69 sqq.).

on the other hand, rejects, for example, the term "medical mission," because, on the one hand, Christ did not assign the missionary task to all men, but only to His Apostles and their successors, and because, on the other hand, this commission did not extend to the healing of the body and the exercise of medicine, but to the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls. Thus, he maintains, medical activities form no part of the "teaching mission."<sup>7</sup> In so far as the mission subject is concerned, it is certainly true that missionary activity proper is according to Catholic belief confined to the successors of the Apostles—the administration and government to the pope and bishops, and the actual work to the practical missionaries. As useful associates of the mission, however, and to a certain extent as indirect missionaries, other persons besides priests may and must be welcomed. If this point be conceded in the case of brothers and catechists, why should physicians be excluded? It is also true that the chief and central task of the missions consists in the conversion and Christianizing, and thus in the religious transformation of the pagan world. The missions, however, as we shall see, fulfil, besides, a number of cultural, intellectual, moral, social, charitable, and even scientific objects of various kinds; and they do so because, on the one hand, these are subordinate parts of the missionary program, and on the other, serve as important means and levers for the attainment of the religious and moral aims of the missions. If, viewed from this angle, one may speak of literary, apologetic, and charitable mission activities, why should the expression "medical mission" be forbidden or regarded as uncatholic? [We must, of course, beware—and herein lies the germ of truth in Linckens' argument—of imitating these Protestant writers who recognize no distinction between priesthood and laity, and who frequently ignore the distinctions between a cultural mission and evangelization. We must beware of ranking medical provision with missionary work proper, or, as Linckens adds, of deducting from the inadequacy of the term "medical mission" that

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 283 sq.

the Catholic missions had previously done nothing along these lines, and had no intention of doing anything."

After this general explanation of the underlying ideas, we may at last turn to the etymology and definition of the principal concept. The word "mission" (*missio*, Greek ἀποστολή), as is known, is derived from the Latin *mittere* (to send or dispatch), and thus meant originally a "sending." In a derivative sense, it is commonly applied to the object or import of this mission and of the higher task associated with it. We can thus speak of political and diplomatic missions." Finally, the term "mission" is frequently applied figuratively to any task whatsoever. [In our case, the word has retained its original meaning of "sending," although this idea is occasionally obscured. The nature of the sending and the commission in question is, of course, known to us. It is the commission which issued from God the Father, in the fulness of time, and was given to His Apostles and His Church by Christ Himself, on the conclusion of His life on earth—a commission to go forth into the world and preach the Gospel to all peoples." This Divine command assigned a double task or mission to the Church—first, to preach and spread the Christian faith, and secondly,

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" Grentrup seeks to justify the broader conception of the term "mission" by claiming that the object, means, and source of the works of conversion among pagans and people of other denominations are essentially the same, and this identity postulates an abstract fusion of both as "missions in the strict sense" (*ZM.*, III (1913), 268). This, however, is a *petitio principii*, as in the subsequent definition and analysis of object, means and source, he extends these to non-Catholics also (e. g., the object is every conversion not merely to Christianity; the means are teaching and baptism, "but in a varying degree"; the source is Christ's command to convert all people, but primarily, of course, pagans; previously the "winning of new co-religionists" was the essential mark of the term mission). Kappenberg seeks to establish the identity of the missionary activities in both objects by toning down the universal necessity of baptism and placing it in the same category as membership in the true Church (*Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, 170 sqq.).

" For example, when the writer asked for the files on mission history at the National Archives at Paris, he was asked whether he meant the political, scientific, or religious missions.

" *Sicut misit me Pater et ego mitto vos* (John, xx, 29); *Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes* (Math. xxviii, 19); *Euntes in mundum universum prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ* (Mark, xvi, 15).

to preserve and confirm it. By virtue of this commission, received from the Incarnate Son of God and transmitted from generation to generation, the Christian—and especially the Catholic—Church is not only the institute of knowledge and salvation for the faithful, but also, in logical and temporal sequence, the missionary institute for unbelievers, just as Christ, her Head, and His Apostles, her Founders, were in the strictest sense missionaries—messengers of the faith and ambassadors of God. Again, since the Church and her mission is to endure until the end of time, the founding, guiding, and regulating of the mission must be continued, actively and passively, during all periods of the existence of the Church. As the representative of Christ, the Church must continue the mission entrusted to her by her Founder, and must thereby perpetuate the task and authority assigned her. If, therefore, Christ is the real source—the last and supreme “subject” and the invisible support of the missions—and the missionaries are thus the messengers, envoys, representatives, and instruments of Jesus Christ, the immediate, direct and visible subject (or origin) of the missions is the Church. This conclusion is so inescapable that even Warneck (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 7) is forced to designate the Christian community as the human source of the mission (or sending) and, for this reason, to condemn individualistic, unregulated, and independent mission methods. He even goes so far as to declare: “Ideally speaking, this community ought to be identical with the organized church. From this the missions should issue, and the management of the missionaries should be also vested in it.” What Warneck feels compelled to represent here as the ideal—an ideal which, he believes, has never been, and never will be realized<sup>2</sup>—is to be found in all its actuality in the Catholic Church. This Church has actually sent forth missionary agents in every age; she sends them forth also today, and will continue to send them as long as there remain pagans to convert. By this legitimate sending, she confers on the preachers of the faith the authority

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<sup>2</sup> He is, of course, thinking here of the Protestant Missions.

to exercise their calling, just as the exercise of the ecclesiastical ministry at home is associated with the so-called *missio canonica*.<sup>32</sup> The missionaries are thus essentially messengers, envoys, or delegates of the Church to the non-Christian world; and like all other ambassadors, they are so designated because (as distinguished from the clergy at home) they are sent forth "beyond the frontiers of Christianity, to extend the kingdom of God among the non-Christians beyond these frontiers." "In this formal sending, emanating from God and His Church, the fundamental right and nature of the missions are not only etymologically, but actually and essentially, founded."

In ordinary speech,<sup>33</sup> however, the word and term "mission" is no longer limited to the sending, which is to be regarded as the root, foundation, and starting-point of all missions. By an easily explicable metonymy, "mission" is also applied to all ecclesiastical missionary work connected with the sending. In the subjective and active sense, it is applied to the activities<sup>34</sup> which serve to establish and spread the Christian faith and also to

<sup>32</sup> According to Grentrup this is, in the term of canon law, a commission issued by the proper authorities, and thus an act of ecclesiastical authority.

<sup>33</sup> Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Rom., x, 14: *Quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur*. "This question of sending," even Warneck is forced to admit, "is so essential to the work of Christianization, that the latter derives therefrom the name "mission." Without the sending, i. e., the orderly and well-regulated arrangements for sending the message of salvation to the whole world through envoys with a vocation for this work (*ἀπόστολοι missionarii*), the work of Christianizing the peoples would, indeed, not entirely cease, but would bear an uncertain, and certainly no truly missionary character, and would thus be deprived of sure foundations and assured execution. And just as orderly management is essentially involved in the fact of sending, so also is the method of executing the missionary work. . . . As the vocation and training of the missionaries for their calling precedes the sending, this latter also is undertaken by, and is under the orderly guidance of, the sending church, on which falls the obligation of supporting the missionaries" (*Missionslehre*, I, 6 sq.).

<sup>35</sup> In English and German, but not in Latin canon law (cf. Grentrup, loc. cit., 226).

<sup>36</sup> Not, however, to every activity, but only to those which are at once legitimate and systematic. Cf. Braam in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 235 sqq.

revive and preserve it; in the objective sense (as "mission works"), it is applied to the sum of all the institutions and arrangements which comprise or have for their aim the extension of the faith. Finally, in a still more figurative sense, it is extended to the object or fruit of these ecclesiastic activities and organizations—the land to be converted and its communities of Christian converts." If we desire to dissect "mission" still further, and analyze its significance and task according to the various paraphrases used by ancient and modern writers,<sup>28</sup> we recognize as the first stage of actual missionary labor the preaching of the Gospel or the Christian faith, and thus the instruction of the pagans in religious truths. The second stage is the individual conversion, which must be both interior—i. e., productive of a transformation of intellect and heart—and exterior, which is shown by the change of religion and by baptism, with a view to saving one's soul and attaining everlasting happiness. The third step is the organization, beginning with the formation of a primitive community and extending to the establishment of a complete hierarchy with bishops and a metropolitan.<sup>29</sup> The individual mission attains its goal and object either when it establishes the mission church on a hierarchical basis with relative autonomy, financial independence, and a native clergy, or when it effects the complete conversion of a land or people, which then finally graduates from the status of a mission to become a part of the regular Church. The universal missions will not come to an end until the Last Day, when there

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Mergentheim, loc. cit. These three meanings may be also qualified by local, temporal, or personal modifications, as when we speak of the missions in Honduras, the missions of the sixteenth century, the Franciscan missions. According to Grentrup (p. 266, note 1), used in the broader and composite sense, the term mission embraces "the whole organism of missionary activity, both in its formation and in its effects." Cf., for example, the *Relatio de statu missionis* which must be sent to the Propaganda, and which is analogous to the episcopal *Relatio de statu dioecesis*.

<sup>29</sup> For example, *de procuranda Indorum salute, de promulgatione evangelii apud barbares, de propaganda fide, de convertendis infidelibus*, etc.

<sup>30</sup> According to Pfothenauer (*Die Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay*, III, 5) missionary work in general is equivalent to gathering. Cf. Kappenberg, loc. cit.



shall be but one flock and one shepherd. Viewed from the intrinsic religious standpoint, "mission" means the spreading of Christianity; from the visible social standpoint, it means the spreading of the Church. Both of these ideas are fundamentally and inseparably united, and constitute "Christianizing" in its widest sense. With this Christianizing<sup>40</sup> are associated, as already stated, a series of secondary activities and results which support and complete the main work, now paving the way for it, and now strengthening it. Among these subordinate tasks must be especially mentioned the establishment of schools and charitable activities. Following the example of the English division of missions into evangelistic, educational, medical, industrial, and pastoral, we may speak of religious, moral, economic, charitable, literary, and school missions, and thus designate the various individual departments included under the term "mission."

Bibliography.—Among the old writers on mission theory, the Franciscans Caron and Gubernatis discussed the idea of "mission." In his *Apostolatus evangelicus* (1653), Caron analyzes what one should understand by missionaries and missionary lands. In his "Preliminary Tractate on the Apostolic Missions in General" (*De missionibus antiquis*, 1889), Gubernatis discusses the nature and kinds of missions, among which he distinguishes ordinary and extraordinary. Cf. especially Grentrup, *Die Definition des Missionsbegriffs*, in *ZM.*, III (1913), 265 sqq.; Mergentheim, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Mission nach dem neuen Rechte in Priester und Mission* (1918), 68 sqq.; Kappenberg, *Zur Klarstellung des katholischen Missionsbegriffs in Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel* (1922), 163 sqq.; Braam in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 235 sqq.; Pieper, *ibid.*, IX (1919), 8 sqq.; Krose, *Missionsstatistik* (1908), 11, 16 sq.; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VIII (1581) sqq. (s. v. *Mission* by Neher); *Repertorium der AMZ.* (1903), 167, 254 sq.; Warneck, *Zur Rechtfertigung des evangelischen Missionsbegriffs und Missionsbetriebs*, *ibid.*, 32 (1905), 53 sqq. *Idem*, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chapter 1; Daubanton, *Prolegomena van Protestantische Zendings-Wetenschap* (1911, on individual and ecclesiastical missions); Sørensen, *Missionens Motiv, Maal og Midler* (1911, defends the generally accepted word "mission" as against "evangelization"). Grundemann rejects the distinction between home and foreign missions, as a *Contradictio in adiectis*, rejects also the expression "evangelization," and defines missions as "the activity of Christianity to bring non-Christians into their communion" (*Unser heimatliches Missionswesen*, 1916). We must condemn Frick's distinc-

<sup>40</sup> As a synonym for mission, this term expresses its meaning better and more fully than (e. g.) evangelizing.

tion between mission and propaganda in the sense that Catholic missionary activity, because of its ecclesiastico-hierarchical character, is only propaganda, and that the character of a true mission must be refused it (*Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission*, 1917, 116).

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# I. Basis of the Missions

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## A. Supernatural Basis

### 1. Basis in Holy Writ

The immediate and fundamental purpose of mission theory is to establish the origin and the basis of the pagan missions. Both these inquiries lead us immediately to the author of all religion and all existence—God. Consequently, if we ask whence the missions originated, the answer must be: From God. If we are asked why we cultivate the missions, the answer again must be: Because God wills it, and has so commanded us. The fact that God has willed the world mission and has commissioned His disciples to cultivate it is the final root and source of the missionary idea and practice. Among the documents recording this mission command of God, first place must, of course, be given to Holy Writ. In these same writings is also related the development of the Divine plan of salvation and the decree of redemption in which the world mission is dogmatically rooted. We are thus compelled to begin with the biblical basis of the world mission, and to inquire immediately into its dogmatic grounds (in the wider sense), since the prime source of Christian dogma—the source which figures most prominently in dogmatic argumentations—is Holy Writ. We shall also be following the natural theological procedure in beginning with the dogmatic foundation and, as the first step, discussing the biblical basis. It is unfortunate that, in this branch of the literature of mission theory especially, Protestant activities have far outstripped the Catholic,<sup>1</sup> except for the fundamental in-

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<sup>1</sup> For the mission-biblical literature by both Catholics and Protestants, cf. Schmidlin, *Einführung*, 151 sqq., 147 sq. Concerning

vestigation of Professor Meinertz, which summarizes and surpasses all previous researches.

If the Divine economy of salvation was intended from the beginning to be universal in scope,—and this is a necessary hypothesis of the pagan missions,—this universalism and the conception of the world mission must have found expression in the Old Testament. This universalism arises logically from the two dogmatic principles of the Israelitic religion—the universal dominion of God, and the unity of the human race. We find these two truths already stated, in concise and unequivocal terms, in the very first chapter of Genesis: “In the beginning God created heaven and earth.” God is the Creator and Lord of the universe; all men are descended from the same first parents; and both God and man were originally bound most intimately together. These facts, which furnish the premises for the world mission, permeate the whole story of the creation and serve as the starting-point for the drama which is to develop. In Adam all men sinned and fell, but in one descendant of Adam also the whole human race will be redeemed. There are two other mission concepts, which underlie the tragedy described in Genesis. Before the Deluge the world-covenant with God is broken by man; and when the same transgression is repeated at the Tower of Babel, the unity of the human race is destroyed, and mankind is scattered in paganism. Even then, as the ethnological table (Gen. X) shows, the universalism of God’s will to save is preserved, and is communicated to one chosen people. In the Divine blessing of Noah, and still more, in the blessing of the seed of Abraham,<sup>2</sup> the clearest expression is given to the fact that the beneficence first shown towards Israel will be extended to all the peoples of the earth, and that Abraham’s descendants will effect the salvation of the pagans. Here again we have a highly

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the importance of biblical mission theory, consult Streit and Meinertz. Cf. also Streit, *Die Mission in Exegese und Patrologie* (1909); Bornemann, *Die Bibel und die Mission* (1901). For the biblical texts on the world missions, cf. below, page 56 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed (Gen., xxii, 18).

important missionary idea, especially when it is elucidated in accordance with related passages in the New Testament. The God of the Patriarchs and Israel, who made a covenant with the chosen people, is conceived from the very beginning as universal—not as *a* god among others, but as *the* God, the God of the universe. Moreover, the choice of Israel in no way means the rejection of the other nations, even though we discount the passages of the Pentateuch which look prophetically towards the future.<sup>5</sup>

According to Old Testament pedagogics, indeed, this universal claim to salvation was to be preserved and guarded by the exclusiveness of the Jewish people, although the historical books show that with the passage of time this prophylactic particularism was usually given greater prominence than the destined universalism. Fundamentally and theoretically, however, the universal feature of the Old Testament plan of salvation is maintained and clearly formulated. We find it clearly expressed in the poetic forms of prayer—especially in the Psalms *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes, laudate eum, omnes populi*—this truly missionary prayer, which breathes a desire that all peoples may worship and praise the one true God, runs like a golden thread through all the Psalms; and with it is associated, first, the challenge or resolve to announce to the Gentiles the benefactions of Jahweh, and secondly, the joyful hope that the whole world may one day be converted and participate in the graces granted the Chosen People.<sup>6</sup> The universal tendency of the plan of salvation is also not infrequently revealed in Proverbs, Wisdom, Job, Tobias, Judith, and Ruth;<sup>7</sup> but its most direct and unequivocal expression is found among the Prophets, whose eyes are usually directed towards the future kingdom of the Messiah. They preach not only an intensive universality through in-

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough discussion of this point, cf. Heinisch, *Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung im Alten Testament*, 4 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Heinisch, n. 5, 65 sqq., sums up "the expectations of the Psalmist" as follows: "God the Lord and judge of all mankind; the Conversion of the pagan world during the Messianic era; the works of the Messiah."

<sup>7</sup> For detailed discussion, cf. Meinertz and Heinisch (n. 6).

creased emphasis of religious motives, but they also proclaim a positive conversion of the pagans and a concrete universal theocracy which is to spread from Israel over the whole world—a divine missionary summons which raises up Jerusalem as the light of the pagans. Isaias, especially, constitutes himself the herald and mouthpiece of these ideas, notably in the Ebed-Jahweh passages where reference is made to God's servant, or the Son of Man, who, as the representative of mankind and Israel, goes forth both to conquer and to save the pagan world.\* In Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Amos, Micheas, Habacuc, Sophonias, Joel, Zacharias, Malachias, and Jonas, Meinertz and Heinisch have also discovered traces and echoes of similar missionary expectations.'

Consult Riehm, *Der Missionsgedanke im A. T.*, in *AMZ.*, VII (1880), 453 sqq.; Löhr, *Der Missionsgedanke im A. T.* (Freiburg, 1896); Sieffert, *Die Heidenbekehrung im A. T. und im Judentum* (1908); Warneck, *Die missionarischen Wurzeln im A. T.*, in *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. 10, 133 sqq.; Meinertz, *Der Universalismus des Alten Testaments*, in *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, §2, 17 sqq., and the literature given there; Heinisch, *Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung im Alten Testament* (Münster, 1916); *Idem*, *Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung bei den vorexilischen Schriftpropheten* in *ZM.*, IV (1914), 81 sqq.; Feldmann, *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes* (Psalms) (Aachen, 1919).

As a result of historical and political circumstances, the actual development was usually far removed, as already said, from the ideal depicted in the Sacred Writings. The Jewish diaspora and the Jewish proselytes—the two bridges between paganism and Israel—served especially, through their propagation of ideals, as a preparation or introduction for the Christian missions. We are thinking of the Septuagint and the Judaeo-Hellenistic philosophy. In the apostles, so-called, and in institutions of similar significance, later Judaism indeed possessed certain precursors of our missionaries; but its particularism, originally willed by God and a condition for

\* Cf. the texts in Heinisch, 34 sq., 51 sq., concerning the mountain of the house of the Lord to which all nations shall flow (Is., ii, 2 sqq.) and *Surge, illuminare Jerusalem* (Is., lx, 1 sqq.).

' Cf. Heinisch, n. 4, although according to him (*ibid.* 63) there is as yet no mission command or exhortation to practise propaganda.

salvation, grew steadily more excessive in development, and re-erected insurmountable barriers which make it impossible for us to describe the Jewish religion as missionary. This national exclusiveness finds an echo even in the Psalms and Prophets—for example, when the ultimate import of their appeal is for the annihilation of pagan peoples or their national dissolution or subjection to Israel; or again, when the focus of the kingdom of God to which all peoples shall flow coincides locally with the Holy Places. Jewish particularism was still more narrow and exclusive in practice, owing mainly to the alienating and nationalistic movements represented, for example, by the Scribes and Pharisees. On the other hand, as Heinisch has shown, the law itself was basically friendly towards foreigners, and was intended to promote the worship of the true God by as many as possible of the foreign settlers in Palestine and the so-called proselytes, while still preserving the national privileged position and the exclusiveness of Israel.

Cf. Boëss, *Altsynagogale palästinensische Theologie und Mission* in *AMZ.*, XII (1885), 191 sqq.; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (Freiburg, 1896); Axenfeld, *Die jüdische Propaganda als Vorläuferin und Wegebereiterin der urchristlichen Mission in Missionswiss. Studien* (1904); Döllner, *Proseltyenbilder aus Davids Zeit* in *ZM.*, I (1911), 227 sqq.; Heinisch, loc. cit. nn. 2—3; Meinertz, loc. cit. § 3, *Das zeitgenössische Judentum*, and the literature given there.

It remained for Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World, to lay the actual foundations for the world mission proper, and thus to fulfil also in this point the law which was so obscure and so imperfectly realized under the Old Dispensation. Liberal Protestant theology under the leadership of Harnack, while expressly desiring to adhere to the pagan missions in practice, maintains a view that would logically disown the missions. These theologians hold that Jesus did not will and never indeed contemplated the pagan missions, which were completely beyond His horizon (Pfleiderer, Wellhausen, Weiss, Hilgerfeld, Dobschütz, Loisy, Schweitzer, etc.). Other Protestant writers modify this view, and seek a middle position between the extremes by assuming a development of Jesus from particularism to universality (Keim,

Strauss, Buss, Hase, Hausrath, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Sell, Merx, etc.)<sup>8</sup> In opposition to this critical attitude, Bornhäuser<sup>9</sup> among the Protestant writers, and, still more scientifically, Meinertz<sup>10</sup> among the Catholics, championed the traditional view and proved that Jesus from the first had all mankind in view and thus willed the pagan missions. Spitta,<sup>11</sup> in his work of the same title as Meinertz adopts an eclectic standpoint that is full of contradictions.<sup>12</sup>

The universalizing germs found in the Old Testament thereupon confirm the universality of Jesus, since, as the Messiah, He must preserve the strictest continuity with the Ancient Covenant. On the other hand, it is psychologically conceivable that, just because of this organic connection, the Saviour respected the prerogatives of the Chosen People, especially at the beginning of His public life, and substantially confined His own activities (and during His life, even those of His apostles) to Israel.<sup>13</sup> This would explain certain seemingly strange facts in the Gospel, for example, that Jesus sent forth the Twelve (!) Apostles primarily only to the Jews, and intended them to act as judges over the twelve tribes of Israel. It would also explain apparently harsh utterances of Jesus: as when He told the woman of Canaan that He was sent but to the sheep that were lost of the house of Israel, and that it is not good to take the bread of the children and to cast it to the dogs (yet, in this last instance, He, finally, granted her request, nevertheless). But these isolated passages, in any event, prove nothing in view of the multitude which establish indubitably the universalism of Jesus. Both His person and His doctrine bear, above all (as even Harnack concedes), the clear imprint of an "intensive universality": in direct contrast to the Pharisaic passion for externals, He emphasizes the interior and spiritual means of gaining salvation. Con-

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Meinertz, loc. cit., § 1 (*Das Problem*).

<sup>9</sup> *Wollte Jesus die Heidenmission?* (Gütersloh, 1903).

<sup>10</sup> *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (Münster, 1908).

<sup>11</sup> *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (Giessen, 1909).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Meinertz, *Jesus als Begründer der Heidenmission*, ZM., I (1911), 21 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> His correspondence with King Abgar of Edessa is legendary.



sequently, the necessary condition for entering the Messianic kingdom of heaven as He conceives it is not membership in Israel, but is of a purely spiritual character. This is shown especially in the "New Testament Code of Law" (the Sermon on the Mount) and in Christ's answer to the Samaritan woman ("the true adorers, shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth," John, iv, 23). Such ethical and religious breadth of view, which recognizes no other requirements for true Divine filiation than the love of God and man, must inevitably have burst the shackles of Pharisaism and prepared the way for a world religion. Again, the title "Son of Man," which Jesus so often applies to Himself, intimates that He represents all mankind—an idea which is also contained in the Baptist's characterization of Jesus as the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world (a reference to the universal redemption).

But Jesus was also filled with a true and positive universalism which actually contemplated the extension of the divine graces beyond the limits of Israel to the non-Jewish peoples. This is shown by His relations with the Samaritans; by His attitude towards the pagan centurion and by the contrast He then drew between him and the Jews; by His kindred statement regarding Niniveh and Tyre, which would one day accuse and judge Israel; and above all, by His images and parables of the *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (the kingdom of heaven). (The kingdom of heaven (that is, the Church founded by Christ) is like the mustard seed which grows into a huge tree and shelters the birds of the air, and like leaven which gradually permeates the whole mass.) How can such images fail to remind even the most prejudiced reader of the extensive and intensive missionary activities which the kingdom of God has developed and still develops? Jesus furthermore compares the kingdom of heaven to a vineyard which the Lord will give to others, after destroying the husbandmen who have killed His Son: He compares it to a marriage feast, to which all the poor of the highways are invited, because those first invited have not obeyed the call; He compares it to a net, which catches

fishes of every description; and to a field in which the Son of Man scatters His seed—this field being, of course, the world." Many pagans, Jesus prophesies, will come from the ends of the earth; and He has other sheep to lead which are not of this (Israel's) fold. As is natural, these world-embracing expressions of friendship for the pagans grew more emphatic as the catastrophe of the Jewish people drew nearer—that is, in proportion as Israel turned more definitely away from its Messiah and refused the salvation which He offered. Jesus, moreover, fully realized what were the logical consequences of these views; for, before His death, and still more after His Resurrection, He made actual arrangements for the instruction and conversion of the pagan peoples. Chief among such provisions was the sending forth of the Apostles and Disciples to preach the kingdom of God from town to town, and from place to place. They were to preach, as already stated, first to the children of Israel; but the added reference to the pagan courts of justice shows that relations with the pagans were not excluded, and that Our Saviour wished to accustom the Apostles gradually to their universal missionary vocation.

They are the "salt of the earth"; they are the "light of the world," a light that shall shine before men. They shall be fishers of men—a point which He expressly emphasizes to the Apostles from the beginning. The world-mission also seems to be most closely entwined with the eschatological prophecies of Jesus ("This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come," Matt., xxiv, 14; or, as Mark, xiii, 10, more tersely puts it: "Unto all nations the gospel must first be preached"). For our immediate purpose, it does not even matter whether one understands by the "consummation" the destruction of Jerusalem or the Last Judgment, since Jesus in either case associated the prophecy with an actual pagan mission. Luke (xxi, 24) thus speaks of "the times of the nations": *καιροὶ ἐθνῶν*.

<sup>14</sup> The similitudes of the laborers in the vineyard and of the publican, Zachaeus, are (as Meinertz shows) not so convincing on this point.

What He had long prepared the way for and preached, He raised to concrete reality in the missionary commissions which He imposed on the Apostles before ascending to heaven from the mountain in Galilee: Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ("Going therefore, teach ye all nations," etc., Matt., xxviii, 19), or, as Mark (xvi, 15) describes it: Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει ("Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature,"—i. e., to all mankind.) This last will which Jesus left to His disciples at the close of His earthly life sets a crown, as it were, on all His previous work of preparing for the missions, and in fact, upon His whole lifework. The missionary commission of Christ rests, as Warneck explains, on a fourfold basis: the omnipotence granted to Him by the Father, the fulfilment of the Scriptures, the authority vested in His own mission, and the impelling power of the promised Holy Ghost. The passage in Matthew has been frequently questioned merely because of the clarity of its statement. Meinertz has proved convincingly that it is authentic, and not a later interpolation.

Cf. Warneck, *Die Mission in den Reden Jesu*, in *Evang. Missionslehre*, xi; the two above-mentioned Protestant monographs by Bornhäuser and Spitta; especially Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, §§ 4—7, and the literature given there. Also Meinertz, *Wie Jesus die Mission wollte*, in *ZM.*, XV (1925), 237 sqq.

In their attitude towards the missions, the other writings of the New Testament show that the Apostles and Evangelists followed the lines suggested by the Divine Founder of Christianity. However different may have been the Evangelists' aims in writing their Gospels, their narratives are always pervaded by one fundamental conviction, namely, that the Messiah was not intended merely for the Jews. This conviction is so conspicuous in all the narratives that Meinertz designates it as the "basic accordance of the Gospels."<sup>15</sup> The history of the childhood and of the Passion of Jesus is filled with this idea. It is expressed especially in the adoration of the Magi from

<sup>15</sup> He establishes this point in the case of each of the Evangelists, in § 8.

the East. We find it also in the words of the *Magnificat*, which express a joyful anticipation of the missions (*Ecce enim beatam me dicent omnes generationes*), in the words of the *Benedictus* (*Illuminare his, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis*) and in the *Nunc dimittis* (*Salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum, lumen ad revelationem gentium et ad gloriam plebis tuæ Israel*). This universality, however, receives its strongest and most characteristic expression in The Gospel of St. John, especially in the introduction which extols the *Logos* as the Creator of all things and the light of men (Meinertz). *The Acts of the Apostles* continues the development of the missions as begun in the Gospels. It describes the execution of Christ's mission command, which it cites as the Apostles' chief duty (i, 8), and then relates the evolution of the Jewish into a pagan mission with such clarity and breadth that this book has been called "the first mission history" (Streit). Even though the activities of the Apostles seem to have been at first confined to the Jews, they had the pagans also in view from the beginning, and gradually brought them within the actual scope of their mission. The successive steps in the evolution of the pagan mission, were: first, the miracle on the Feast of Pentecost, when the Apostles spoke in divers tongues to Jews and proselytes from all lands of the empire; then Peter's sermon to the people, which led to the formation of the first Christian community and thus early intimated that salvation was open also to the pagans; also, the martyrdom of St. Stephen, who was stoned to death for proclaiming the abolition of the service in the Temple; the conversion of the pagan centurion, Cornelius, and of the Ethiopian chamberlain, in which cases the moot question of admitting pagans was answered in the affirmative; the conversion of Saul and the selection of this Apostle to carry the Name of Jesus to the pagans; the decision instigated by St. Paul that all pagans might be admitted into the Christian community without the mediation of the Law, pagan converts being relieved of the obligation of circumcision; finally, the missionary activity of the Apostle

of the Gentiles among the pagans from the East to the West."

From this time Paul becomes also the chief theoretical representative of the pagan missions. His Epistles thus supply a more detailed basis for these missions, and are a kind of "mission theology" (Warneck). Because of their occasions, they are all "missionary despatches," in which the Apostle not only explains his Christ-given vocation among the pagans but also discusses the missionary idea and its relation to the other truths of the faith. *The Epistle to the Romans*, especially, with its frequent appeals to the author's pagan apostolate, shows the connection between the Christian concept of universal redemption and the whole theory and history of salvation. To St. Paul, the Gospel is "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth, to the Jews first, and to the Greek." As pagans and Jews alike had been the object of the Divine wrath, both pagans and Jews must have been saved by Jesus Christ, whether they were circumcised sons of Abraham or not. All mankind—nay, even all creation—must have shared in this redemption, which the law was unable to effect. Sanctification depends entirely on the Divine election of grace, and is thus subject to no national limitations, but may embrace pagans and Jews alike. The contents of *The Epistle to the Galatians* is also of extraordinary value for establishing the basis of the missions. This Epistle is a polemical work written to justify the pagan apostolate of St. Paul and in defense of the pagan missions in their pure form—that is, it defends the right of the pagan world to embrace Christianity without first passing through Judaism. This thesis is confirmed by demonstrating the truth and independence of the Christian Gospel in connection with the history of Divine redemption. *The Epistle to the Ephesians* emphasizes primarily the social side of this missionary universality: in accordance with the eternal decree of redemption, the Church, the one Body of Christ, growing constantly and extending until it attains the maturity of Christ, shall embrace all mankind in a new

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Meinertz, § 9; Streit, 14 sq.

law of life, and win its members simultaneously from pagans and Jews, as "a universal commonwealth exalted above all particular natural bonds." (Warneck).

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 189 sqq., chapter xii: *Die Missionstheologie des Paulus*; Stein, *Das Missions-Sendschreiben St. Pauli an die Kolosser* (1894); Riggenbach, *Die religiöse und sittliche Erziehung heidenchristlicher Gemeinden nach dem Korintherbrief in Basler Missionsstudien*, 20; Richter, *Evangelische Missionskunde*, 11 sqq.; finally the extensive literature concerning St. Paul as a missionary—on the Catholic side, especially Pieper and Freitag.

In the so-called Catholic Epistles of the other Apostles, the writers had little occasion to discuss their attitude towards the pagan missions. However, as their name indicates, they also are inspired and permeated with an intensive and unqualified universality. In his First Epistle, addressed to the strangers dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia, St. Peter speaks of the chosen, holy priesthood of the Christians "who in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; who had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy" (ii, 10). Universal in spirit, finally, is *The Apocalypse of St. John*, which describes in glowing terms the Sabbath or harvest feast in the heavenly Jerusalem after the missionary labors and sowing on this earth. After 12,000 of every tribe of Israel had been signed, St. John sees in his vision an incalculable multitude from other races, sharing in the glory and joining their voices in the unending hymns of praise:

*"Post haec vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus gentibus et tribubus et populis et linguis, stantes, ante thronum Dei in conspectu Agni, amicti stolis albis et palmae in manibus eorum, et clamabant, voce magna dicentes: Salus Deo nostro sedenti in throno et Agno" (Apoc., vii, 9 sq.). "Benedictio et claritas et sapientia et gratiarum actio," runs the universal hymn of thanksgiving, "honor virtus et fortitudo Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum. Amen" (vii, 12).*

In conclusion, we shall quote some additional texts from the New Testament which serve to establish a basis for the missions and the missionary obligation. At the head of these texts must naturally come the all-comprehensive parting command which the Risen Saviour, shortly before His return to the Father, bequeathed as His "final word" and "last will" to His disciples and, in their persons, to His

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Streit, loc. cit., 15. For bibliography, cf. conclusion of this chapter, page 66.

Church. This command has been regarded as in a very special way the justification and basis of all the subsequent missionary activity of the Catholic Church—"All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt., xxviii, 18 sqq.). In analyzing this statement of our Lord, we observe that Jesus sees Himself in possession of all power in heaven and on earth. With such power at His command, He orders the Eleven to go forth and make all nations His disciples (Christians). The wording of the instruction shows that the world mission is no mere wish, but a strict command of Jesus, which is not weakened in the Greek text by the use of the participle *πορευθέντες*. This command is delivered directly to the Disciples gathered around Jesus; but the context—and especially the subsequent words ("and behold," etc.)—proves clearly that the obligation passes beyond the death of the Apostles, and that their successors shall be bound in similar fashion. This mission command imposes a threefold duty: preaching for converts, baptizing the converts in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and their further instruction in matters of faith and morals. This commission of Jesus gains in impressiveness from the fact that it is His "last will." When the work of conversion was to begin for all nations (that is, when the preaching of the Gospel was to be transferred from Israel to the pagans), is not declared in the mission command, nor does this command furnish an answer to the question whether the Christianization of nations or the conversion of individuals is to prevail. Very similar to the Matthew text is that from St. Mark (xvi, 15 sq.): "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be condemned"; also the text from the Acts (i, 8): "You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth." This last text specifies more exactly the *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* of Matt., xxviii, 19, by showing that Jews, Samaritans, and pagans are included. It is indeed possible that this passage may not be parallel with Matthew and Mark; Luke xxiv, 47, is not a parallel narrative, but very possibly corresponds with Acts, i, 8. It is, however, only natural to believe that, after His resurrection, Jesus spoke repeatedly to His Apostles regarding the conversion of the world.

The whole public activity of Jesus prepared the way for this universal mission command. For example, in calling His first disciples, Simon and Andrew, Jesus said: "Come after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men" (Mark, i, 17; Matt., iv, 18)—words which suggest in no vague fashion that the task of the Apostles was to include all mankind, and that their activities were to be universal. He expressed this thought still more clearly on a later occasion when He said: "You are the salt of the earth . . . the light of the world" (Matt. v, 13 sq.). In His great prophecy of the end of the world, Jesus speaks to the three privileged Apostles as follows: "But look to your-

selves. For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them. And unto all nations the gospel must first be preached" (Mark, xiii, 9 sq.; cf. Matt., xxiv, 14). Jesus also prophesies clearly the universal proclamation of the Gospel in lauding the action of the woman who anointed Him in the house of Simon the Leper: "Amen, I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shall be told for a memorial for her" (Mark, xiv, 9 sq.; cf. Matt., xxvi, 13). The parable of the marriage feast (Matt., xxii, 1—14; cf. Luke, xiv, 16—24) also conveys the idea of the activity among the pagans which Jesus prescribed for the Apostles. The sending of the servants into the highways and byways, to bring in whomsoever they might find, expresses very plainly that, after the invitation to enter the kingdom of God had been first given to the privileged Jews and declined by them, the pagans should then be summoned. In the Beatitudes, which have (improperly, it is true) been called "the Gospel within the Gospel," Jesus has established conditions of a purely ethical nature for entering the kingdom of God. The same thought is expressed in the similitude of the wicked husbandmen. (Matt., xxi, 33 sqq.), at the conclusion of which Jesus says: "Therefore, I say to you, that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof." A clear allusion to the pagans is also contained in the following utterance of Our Saviour (Matt., xii, 41; cf. Luke, xi, 32): "The men of Niniveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they did penance at the preaching of Jonas. And behold a greater than Jonas is here." Remembering that Jonas was a missionary to the pagans, we shall realize how clearly and emphatically this passage declares that the doctrine of Jesus is intended for the pagans. These manifold references of Jesus to the later activity of His disciples are neither nullified by His few "anti-pagan" expressions nor weakened by the fact that for the most part He limited His own labors to Israel ("I was not sent but to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel"—Matt., xv, 24). The passage usually cited as a proof of Christ's opposition to a world mission occurs in Matt., x, 5 sq.: "Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go ye rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." These words were spoken when Christ was sending out His Apostles for the first time. Jesus here clearly forbids the Apostles to seek out the pagans; but this restriction does not arise from any narrowness in Our Saviour's vision (as is proved by the multitude of passages which show he had the pagans in view), but is explained by the still defective disposition of the Apostles. "Doubtless, at the time of this sending, so much Jewish particularism still clung to them that they could not be profitably entrusted with a pagan mission based on the universal spirit of Jesus." Again, does not the very fact of Christ's considering this prohibition necessary show that He had even already given His Apostles an outline of the world mission? The present injunction is thus only a temporary one. This explanation, furthermore,



is not shattered by Matt., x, 23: "Amen I say to you, you shall not finish all the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man come." In the first place, it is doubtful if Jesus spoke these words (which belong to the second part of His admonition) in connection with those already quoted. Matthew may very possibly have compiled all the discourses delivered on various occasions by Jesus when sending out His Apostles. Furthermore, everything depends on what we are to understand by the coming of the Son of Man. If the sending of the Holy Ghost or the judgment of Jerusalem is meant, the passage merely declares that the Disciples will not have concluded their activities among the Jews when this event comes to pass. As regards the pagan missions, the passage makes absolutely no reference to them, and in any case certainly does not exclude them. The other enigmatical statements of Jesus occur, first, in Matt., xv, 24: "I was sent out to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel"; and in His further declaration: "It is not good to take the bread of the children and to cast it to the dogs" (Matt., xv, 26). This declaration is qualified by Christ's statement recorded in the parallel passage in Mark (but omitted by Matthew): "Suffer first the children to be filled" (Mark, vii, 27). This verse shows that, even on this occasion, Jesus had the pagan world in mind. The "anti-pagan" passages in the Gospels thus furnish no decisive evidence against the universality of Jesus.

St. Luke's *Acts of the Apostles* and the Pauline Epistles are, like the Gospels, pervaded by the idea of the world mission. The first-named describes the actual spreading of Christianity from Jerusalem, the heart of Judaism, to Rome, the capital of paganism, and is thus the first mission history of the Christian Church. The Epistles, on the other hand, contain besides occasional references to the actual missionary activity of St. Paul (e. g., Gal., i and ii), a wealth of ideas on mission theory. The first chapters of *The Acts of the Apostles* show Christianity still imbedded in Judaism; but in his Pentecost sermon Peter adopts the universal idea of Jesus and declares to the multitude that the promise of the prophet Joel "is to you, and to your children, and to all that are far off, whomsoever the Lord our God shall call" (Acts, ii, 39). The first practical breach in the Jewish framework of Christianity is shown in Philip's sermon to the Samaritans (Acts, viii); and this cleavage is continued and supplemented by Peter and John (viii, 14 sqq.). A still further step is seen in the reception of the Ethiopian eunuch (viii, 27 sqq.) and of Cornelius, the Roman centurion (x). The latter event made Peter perceive clearly that "God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh justice, is acceptable to him" (x, 34 sq.).

Even the Jewish converts to Christianity in Jerusalem "glorified God, saying: God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life" (xi, 18). Meanwhile Paul had been called; and he inaugurated the world mission on a large scale, since the Lord had elected him to "carry his name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel" (ix, 15). Filled with the conviction that the Gospel, of which he was the bearer, "is the power of God unto salvation to

every one that believeth, to the Jews first, and to the Greek" (Rom., i, 16), and that God is not "the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles" (Rom. iii, 29), Paul the "preacher, and apostle and teacher of the Gentiles" (II Tim., i, 11) devoted himself to his missionary vocation without relaxation or pause until his glorious martyrdom. "For, if I preach the gospel, it is no glory to me, for a necessity lieth upon me: for woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel" (I Cor. ix, 16). In his *Epistle to the Romans* he gives similar expression to this spiritual obligation: "To the Greeks and to the barbarians, to the wise and to the unwise, I am a debtor" (Rom. i, 14): while in *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, he says: "To me, the least of all the saints, is given this grace, to preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ" (iii, 8). The missionary urge was so strong in Paul that he could already state at the time of writing his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*: "I have labored more abundantly than all they" (xv, 10). During all his labors, however, he did not forget that "unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it" (Ps. cxxvii, 1). He himself, therefore, cultivated without interruption missionary prayer (cf. Phil., i, 4), while he also asked for the prayers of his congregations "that the word of God may run, and may be glorified" (II Thess., iii, 1). As grounds for the universal mission, Paul cites the unity and oneness of God: There is but one true God—"one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in us all" (Eph., iv, 6; cf. I Cor., viii, 4 sq.; I Tim., ii, 4 sq.). A still further motive is supplied in the verse: "For there is no respect of persons with God" (Rom., ii, 11; Col. iii, 25; Eph., vi, 9). He thus emphasizes his conviction of the equable standing of all men—a standing which implies the universality of sin (Rom., iii, 10 sq., 22; Eph., ii, 3) and the universality of the redemption: "For as by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners; so also by the obedience of one, many shall be made just" (Rom., v, 19). "For there is one God, and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus: who gave himself a redemption for all" (I Tim., ii, 5). "Christ died for all; that they also who live, may not now live to themselves, but unto him who died for them, and rose again" (II Cor., v, 15). "For the grace of God our Saviour hath appeared to all men" (Tit., ii, 11). Christ's person and labors are thus intended for all mankind. "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (I Cor., xv, 22); He is "Lord over all" (Rom., x, 12). All are alike in His eyes: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal., iii, 28; cf., Col., iii, 11). If, however, all men would live unto Christ who died for them (II Cor., v, 15), and would recognize and invoke Him as their Lord, they must first learn to know Him; if salvation must be offered to all, it must also be preached to them. "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe him, of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear, without a preacher?" (Rom., x, 14). The object of Paul's preaching was to win converts for the faith in Jesus Christ: "to cre-

ate obedience to the faith among all pagans to the honor of His name" (Rom., i, 5).

For the compilation and exposition of the texts mentioned above, we are indebted to Professor Pieper, who has lectured for several terms on this subject. He has indeed refrained from giving (after the fashion of Mayer) sectional headings, which he rightly regards as artificial.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. Basis from Tradition

Since Apostolic times, the Church has always adhered to the missionary ideas recorded in the Bible and to the conviction of her God-willed commission to convert the world. In other words, a basis for the pagan mission may be established from tradition as well as from the Bible. It is indeed true that patristic literature both failed to produce a work devoted strictly to mission theory and discussed the basis of the pagan missions on extremely rare occasions, just as it has left us very little information on contemporary mission history. The cause of this strange silence is to be referred to the fact that the Church Fathers, proceeding on the historically inaccurate assumption that the Apostles had already preached the Gospel to the whole world, regarded the spreading of the faith as an accomplished fact, and did not concern themselves further with the reasons for, or methods of, its achievement. To them Christianity and the Church appeared to be what they then actually and palpably were—the spontaneous and vigorous religion of action, the shining mountain promised by the Prophets, to which all nations would flow on their own initiative without the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mayer, *Die Missionstexte des Neuen Testaments in Meditationen und Predigt-Dispositionen (ein Handbuch für Geistliche, Missionare und Missionsfreunde)* (4 vols., Gütersloh, 1907); Warneck, *Missionsstunden in Die Mission im Lichte der Bibel*, Vol. I (Gütersloh, 1907); Bornemann, *Die Bibel und die Mission* (Sermon delivered at Strassburg, Heidelberg, 1901); Boehmer, *Mission und Bibel, missionstheoretische Erörterungen für Bibelfreunde* (Stuttgart, 1904); Hausleitner, *Der Missionsgedanke im Evangelium des Lukas* (Barmen, 1905); Richter, *Evangelische Missionskunde*, 6 sqq. Among Catholic writers, besides Meinertz and Heinisch, we may mention: Linckens, *Weltmission Christi und Missionspflicht der Katholiken* (Hiltrup, 1913), 12 sqq.; Fischer, *Our Lord's Last Will* (Techny, 1929) revised ed.), chap. 1; R. Streit, *Missionspredigten* (Freiburg, 1914), Vol. I being devoted to the calling of the pagans, and Vol. II to the Divine purpose.

necessity of theoretical discussions of the missions and missionary methods. Furthermore, despite Harnack's work on "The Missions and Spreading of Christianity during the First Three Centuries," only highly inadequate and unsystematic investigation of ancient Christian literature has yet been made for materials on mission theory. We shall try to furnish some samples of this material, as Father Streit has done in his essay on "The Mission in Exegesis and Patrology."<sup>1</sup>

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers already prove the faith of the primitive Church in the justification and necessity of the pagan missions which they traced back to Christ. These frequently support with biblical arguments the world vocation of the Church and Christianity, and also the calling of all nations (including the pagan) to salvation—the chief theoretical missionary problem, as is known, which agitated primitive Christianity. The *Doctrine of the Apostles*<sup>2</sup> assumes that the Church will be gathered from the ends of the earth and will extend over the entire world, just as the Eucharistic Bread will be gathered from every mountain (9, 4). It also sets forth certain principles for the missionary methods of the ἀπόστολοι (the missionaries of that day). The *Epistle of St. Barnabas* urges the universal standpoint so strongly that it goes to the opposite extreme and assumes an attitude of opposition to the Old Testament that is dogmatically highly questionable.<sup>3</sup> In *Clement of Rome*, where he recalls the sending forth of the Apostles to preach the Gospel (Cor., xlii), we find the following beautiful missionary precept: "All pagans must recognize that Thou art the one and only God, that Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and

<sup>1</sup> In *Der katholische Seelsorger* (1909). Cf. also the later article by Professor Bigelmair, *Der Missionsgedanke bei den vorkonstantinischen Vätern*, in *ZM.*, IV (1914), 264 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The very title Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν is characteristic, for it practically means "Mission Preaching of the Apostles to the Pagans."

<sup>3</sup> The author (xiv, 8) makes Jesus say (after Is., xlix, 6): "Behold, I have given thee to be the light of the Gentiles, that thou mayst bring my salvation to the farthest part of the earth."

the sheep of Thy pasture.”<sup>4</sup> Ignatius of Antioch develops still further the Pauline design to have all tongues united in faith in God and both pagans and Jews united into one body of the Church. The *Pastor of Hermas* compares the Church to a tower which is constructed of stones gradually collected from all quarters and fitted together (Vis. 3); to a willow-tree, which is given as God’s law to the whole world and, as the Son of God is made known to the ends of the earth, casts its shade over the whole world (thanks to the missionary preaching of the Apostles) and allows the converted nations to dwell in its shade (Sim. 8); to twelve mountains, symbolic of the scattered nations of the world, to whom the Apostles have preached the Son of God (Sim. 9).<sup>5</sup>

The apologetic writings of the following period belong to mission literature, and thus concern themselves to a certain degree with missionary activity itself, since they had to defend Christianity against the attacks and scruples of the pagans, and consequently had to establish a national basis for the pagan missions.<sup>6</sup> As proof of the Divine character of the Christian religion, the Apologists (especially Origen and Tertullian) cited the rapid and marvelous spread of the Gospel despite all obstacles and difficulties,<sup>7</sup> just as on the contrary they stigmatized the absence of missionary zeal as a mark of heresy.<sup>8</sup> The beautiful passage in *The Epistle to Diognetus* the author of which calls himself the “Teacher of the Gentiles,” is well known: “What the soul is in the body, Christians are in the world; as the soul per-

<sup>4</sup> The author prays to the Father “who gives increase to the nations on earth, and selects from them all those that love Him through Jesus Christ, his son” (I Cor., lix, 3).

<sup>5</sup> The apocryphal writings are also filled with missionary ideas—especially the *Prædicatio Petri* (κήρυγμα Πέτρον), which, according to Seeberg (*Dogmengeschichte*, I, 266), is nothing else than an introduction to missionary preaching among pagans—a model sermon for the use of pagan missionaries.

<sup>6</sup> According to Seeberg (loc. cit., I, 267), mission practice supplied them with their principal ideas.

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the hearing of the voice of the Apostles all over the earth, cf. Just., I, 40, and Pseudomelito, 3.

<sup>8</sup> “The heretics seduce more Christians than they convert heathens, and cause the downfall of the upright instead of raising the fallen” (Tertullian, *De præscript.*, 42).

vades all the members of the body, so also are the Christians spread through all the cities of the world . . . . The flesh hates and combats the soul . . . . the world also hates the Christians . . . .; the soul loves the hostile flesh and its members, and the Christians also love their enemies" (c. 6). *The Apology of Aristides*, which, in its religious statistics, sharply contrasts Christianity with paganism and Judaism, may be declared directly "dependent on missionary preaching." Irenæus of Lyons also assumed, as is known, that, thanks to the activity of the Apostles, the Church had conquered and occupied the whole world as if it had only one house, one heart, and one soul. Hippolytus of Rome sees in a garland of twelve stars the Twelve Apostles who had founded the Church throughout the whole world.<sup>10</sup> In the Trilogy of Clement of Alexandria, the *Logos* endeavors systematically and gradually to convert, train, and instruct the pagans—first as προτρεπτικός, then as παιδαγωγός, and finally as διδάσκαλος.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, in his *Carmen apologeticum*, Commodian instructs and exhorts the pagans, and invites them to conversion. An analogous line of thought is followed by Arnobius and Lactantius. According to the Church Fathers, every Christian is bound by the general missionary obligation, and none is excused from it.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I, 266.

<sup>10</sup> *De antichr.*, 61. Cf. also *Adv. hæc.*, V, 34, and Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, 21 and 98, in Bigelmair, loc. cit., 265. God gathers together in the pagan churches, as in islands, the souls of all Gentiles that are to be saved (*ibid.*).

<sup>11</sup> These are the titles given to the three parts of the Trilogy. Concerning the sacrifice offered by the different nations, cf. *Strom.*, VII, 6. Origen describes the Church as coming like the Queen of Sheba with all the nations of the earth (*De Cant.*, II, 5). Concerning the value of Origen's Homilies in supplying a basis for the missions, cf. Streit in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 166.

<sup>12</sup> Every Christian must help the mission by his conduct (*II Clem. ad Cor.* 13), by prayer (*Cypr. de orat. domin.* 17), by his support or co-operation (as already stated in III John, 5—8), and especially by promoting Christian ideas and the acceptance of the Christian life by all men (*Orig. c. Cels.*, VIII, 52). Cf. Bigelmair, 273 (concerning the professional missions 274 sq.; concerning the methods and aims of the missions, 275 sqq.). Bigelmair (266 sqq.) shows the relation of the missionary idea to the Roman imperial notion, to the eschatological views of the Church and to the position of the Apostles, as revealed in the Fathers of the Church.

The writings of the post-Constantinian or post-Nicæan Fathers, although they lived in the era of the most active assimilation of pagans by the Church, practically consign the pagan missions to oblivion, but at least indulge in intensive reflection on their theoretical foundations. Eusebius and Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem (cf. his Catecheses), the three great Cappadocian Fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose and Jerôme, Prudentius and Paulinus—all the Fathers of this period show themselves more or less affected by the missionary idea. Chrysostom and Augustine go still deeper into the subject, and discuss the theological foundation of the missions. In his addresses and sermons, his letters and treatises, Chrysostom espouses zealously the pagan missions. As a negative basis for the missionary obligation, he cites the misery of the pagans; as the positive, he points to the Divine willing of salvation for all men, to the universal brotherhood of men, and to the effective power of the missions in accomplishing the interior triumph of the Gospel—a triumph which is shown extensively in the territorial expansion of the Church, and intensively in the transformation of mankind. Augustine connects the basis and aims of the missions with the misery of the pagans, the catholicity of the Church, neighborly love, and gratitude, and thus concludes that the missionary obligation binds the individual as well as the Christian community. The anonymous tractate, *De vocatione omnium gentium*, contains less information for our purpose. As the title indicates, it seeks to prove the calling of all peoples, or rather of all men, but confines itself chiefly to the purely dogmatic standpoint in opposition to the Pelagian errors. Finally, coming at the close of the patristic era, Gregory the Great, deserves special mention, as the crown witness for the ecclesiastical mission obligation and the necessity for the missions, and also as the teacher of practical mission methods (especially accommodation).

Cf. Streit, *Die Mission in Exegese und Patrologie*, 22, sqq.; Meinertz, loc. cit., 227 sq.; Bigelmair, *Der Missionsgedanke bei den vorkonstantinischen Kirchenvätern* in *ZM.*, IV (1914), 264 sqq. Con-

cerning Chrysostom, cf. Hartung in *AMZ.*, XXI (1894), 310 sqq.; concerning Augustine, Haller, *ibid.*, XXIV (1897), 120 sqq., and Walter, *Die Heidenmission nach der Lehre des hl. Augustinus* (1920), 95 sqq.

Following in the footsteps of the Fathers, the dogmatic and exegetic theologians of the Middle Ages and modern times have expressed the conviction of the Church concerning her obligation towards the missions, and have to a certain degree supplied a scientific basis for this conviction. To mention only two of the ecclesiastical writers of the Early Middle Ages, with what eloquence and emphasis Alcuin (in his letters) and Bernard of Clairvaux (in his exhortation, "De consideratione," addressed to the Pope) dwell upon the missionary task! Without discussing the pagan missions *ex professo* and systematically, the Scholastics have outlined and defended their dogmatic and apologetic premises. In his *Summa contra Gentiles* and his *Opusculum de rationibus fidei contra Saracenos*, Thomas Aquinas, the prince of the Scholastics, had the infidels and their conversion in view.<sup>13</sup> The same may be said even more emphatically of the mission apologists of this period (Raymond of Pennaforte, Raymond Lully, Raymundus Martini, William of Tripoli, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, etc.). The Superior General of the Dominican Order, Humbertus de Romanis, wrote a tractate devoted especially to mission theory, *De prædicatione crucis contra Saracenos, infideles et paganos*.<sup>14</sup> The great Spanish theologians of later times (Major, Suarez, etc.) labored at the theoretical foundation of the missions, to say nothing of the special writers on mission theory who, in their monographs, discussed and furnished a basis for the pagan missions (Joseph Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, Johannes a Jesu Maria, Rovenius, Verricelli, Raymond Caron, Matthias a Corona, Gubernatis, etc.). For example, in the first book of his broadly conceived work, *De procuranda salute omnium*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ohm, *Die Stellung der Heiden zu Natur und Übernatur nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin.* 1927.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Grabmann, *Die Missionsidee bei den Dominikanertheologen des 13. Jahrhunderts* in *ZM.*, I (1911), 137 sqq. Also especially Lully (see above, page 10).



*gentium*, Thomas a Jesu cites as the motives of missionary work the universality of the Redemption, the value of the human soul, the command and example of Jesus Christ, the example of the saints, the fostering of other virtues, and the interior satisfaction of the mission service; while Gubernatis seeks to demonstrate the necessity of the apostolic missions by the will of Our Saviour and the wide extension of paganism.<sup>15</sup> Entering shortly afterwards into a period of decline, theology bestowed less attention on the missions, which fared no better, as we have seen, at the hands of modern theologians. This neglect, however, was personal in the case of these writers, and was not caused by any abatement of the ecclesiastical conviction as to the importance and necessity of the pagan missions. Like the scientific and literary expression, the liturgical reflection of ecclesiastical thought and sentiment also bears constant and living testimony to the missionary idea, since the Church prayers and hymns are animated and filled by this idea.<sup>16</sup>

While, in the exercise of her infallible office of defining the standards and rules of our faith, the Church has seldom given precise expression to her theoretical attitude towards the pagan missions, she has at all times shown that these missions belong to her fundamental convictions and postulates. The popes, especially, the supreme teachers and guardians of the faith, have given constant voice to this conviction. The Decretals of the fourth century and the letters of Gregory the Great already furnish documentary proof of this.<sup>17</sup> The same conviction receives still clearer expression (e. g.) in Gregory XV's Constitution of 1622 on the institution of the Propaganda,<sup>18</sup> and in the other papal decrees deal-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Schmidlin, *Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* in *ZM.*, I (1911), 213 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Weber, *With the Heralds of the Cross*, Techny (1924), concerning the O-Antiphons, and also the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>17</sup> Streit, *Die Mission in Exegese und Patrologie*, 26 sq.

<sup>18</sup> *Præcipuas nostrî pastoralis muneris partes esse intelligimus, sedulo invigilandi, et quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, intentis studiis admitendi ut oves miserabiliter errantes ad Christi ovile adducantur ac Dominum gregis agnoscant et pastorem* (*Collectanea*, I, 2 sq.).

ing with the missions.<sup>19</sup> In his Encyclical of December 3, 1880, dealing with the missions, Leo XIII urgently impressed the missionary obligation on the attention of the bishops and faithful, with a view to securing a rich harvest. He begins his exhortation with the following sublime words: "*Sancta Dei Civitas, quæ est Ecclesia, cum nullis regionum finibus, contineatur, hanc habet vim a Conditore suo inditam, ut in dies magis dilatet locum tentorii sui et pelles tabernaculorum suorum* (Is., liv, 2) *extendat.*"<sup>20</sup>

The popes, however, have shown still more unmistakably and eloquently by their actions that they were most deeply impressed by the necessity and obligatory character of missionary work. This was the case in the early days when at the papal command apostolic workers went forth in every direction and returned at intervals to Rome for instructions and encouragement, and is today when Pius XI is similarly mindful of the pagan missions and a special Papal body (the Congregation of the Propaganda) still exists for their promotion.<sup>21</sup> What invaluable assistance the popes since Pius VII have given to the mission societies and associations and toward the organization of mission territories and the establishment of dioceses! "History itself convinces us," a mission writer justly states, "that the papacy was the pulse-beat in the conversion of Europe. The papacy was, and is, the soul of the spreading of the faith, its life and its principle of unity, and consequently the source of its strength and its success."<sup>22</sup> The Catholic bishops of the world have, as a whole, shown themselves equally sincere, active, and unselfish adherents of the missions.<sup>23</sup> It is true that the Ecumenical Councils, the second source of infallible teaching, very seldom or never have

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Ius pontificium* and *Collectanea*.

<sup>20</sup> Concerning Pius X's mission pronouncements, cf. Arens in *KM.*, XLIII (1914—15), and his brochure (Aachen, 1919).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, III (1913), 97 sqq. Regarding Pius XI, cf. his address to the Roman Pentecost Congress of 1922, and his mission Encyclical, *Rerum ecclesiarum*, of 1926; regarding Benedict XV, cf. his mission Encyclical, *Maximum illud*, of 1919 (cf. also Grösser in *ZM.*, X (1920), 73 sqq.).

<sup>22</sup> Fischer, *Our Lord's Last Will*, 76, 88 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Fischer, loc. cit., 70 sq.

discussed the pagan missions (a point which is still to be investigated fully),<sup>24</sup> and, as regards the national synods, this subject was discussed, as a rule, only by such as were held in mission territory or were assembled from the missions. What a large number of bishops, however, have ordered in their own dioceses as a holy duty the support of the pagan missions by individuals or groups!<sup>25</sup> There thus actually exists a *Consensus Ecclesiae* of the *Magisterium ordinarium* on the necessity of the missions and the obligation to support them, on the undoubted and expressed will of the Church that both its heads and members should engage in the pagan missions—a will which is not merely of theoretical value as an expression of the ecclesiastical teaching, but which we are all bound in obedience to respect in practice. The actual and constant exercise of missionary activity of the Church proves indeed her unshakable faith in the world mission.<sup>26</sup> In full harmony with this dogmatic and practical attitude of the Church towards the missions stands the ecclesiastical liturgy,<sup>27</sup> which, while partly a development of this attitude, also dates back in part to primitive Christianity. Every ecclesiastical epoch, whether present or past, confirms the statement that the obligatory character of the pagan missions is established by the teaching of the Bible and tradition—by the command of God and of His Church.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Grentrup, *Die Missionen auf dem vatikanischen Konzil*, in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 30 sqq.

<sup>25</sup> Especially noteworthy are the pastorals issued by the German bishops of the Fulda Synods, and the declaration made there in 1910 that every Catholic is bound to co-operate in the spreading of the faith in accordance with his means. The pastorals of individual German, French, Italian, and American bishops might also be quoted. "The last century affords us in numerous and glorious proclamations of the bishops of all nations a beautiful revelation of the apostolic spirit which animates these successors of the Apostles . . . . The words of the Divine Shepherd of mankind, 'Teach ye all nations,' which resounded in the ears of the favored Disciples on the Mount of Olives, have also penetrated deep into the hearts of their followers, and have there awakened a similar true and enduring zeal for the extension of the kingdom of God" (Fischer, loc. cit., 71).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. below, *The Historical Basis of the Missions*.

<sup>27</sup> E. g. the liturgy on the Epiphany and Holy Week, in the Mass, prayers, etc. (Cf. Berger, *Über den Missionsgedanken im hl. Messopfer*; also Weber, Fischer, Meyenberg, etc.).

### 3. Basis in the Truths of Faith

Having presented the proofs of the propriety and necessity of the pagan missions from the sources of revelation, we have now the further task of showing the relation between the missionary idea and the other articles of faith, thereby establishing the exact place which the dogmatic foundation and explanation of the missions occupies in ecclesiastical doctrine. "The missionary idea must actually be recognized, from both the causal and teleological standpoint, as the fundamental and central idea of the Divine plan of salvation at every point of the development and progress of the Divine institutions of salvation."<sup>1</sup> It therefore follows that the missionary idea must have points of contact and interrelation with almost all the Christian dogmas, so that one cannot break their connection with the missions without menacing or shaking the whole structure.

The theoretical hypotheses and subjective principles of dogmatic theology already lead us to the missions. If without faith it is impossible to please God, and if he that cometh to God must believe that He is (Heb., xi, 6),—if all who do not believe, shall be condemned,—the salvation and eternal happiness of the pagans who neither know nor believe in God are gravely imperiled, and our possession of this faith absolutely demands that pagans shall be given an opportunity to embrace it through the missions. If the Divine revelation is necessary and intended for all mankind, and if this revelation is to be drawn from the Bible and tradition and interpreted by the Church in her capacity of teacher, the pagan world also must be made acquainted with Holy

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<sup>1</sup> Grendel in *ZM.*, II (1912), 286 sq. *Idem*, *Das göttliche Recht des Missionsgedankens* in *ZM.*, XIV (1924), 218 sqq. Similarly Professor Esser writes: "... Whoever jolts a stone of this building, must by inescapable logic endanger the whole. We may therefore be convinced from the very first that the missionary task of the Church is by no means an accidental and isolated part of her life or merely some remote theological consequence of her doctrine, but a grand universal divine idea inherent in her very essence—a law of the supernatural constitution of the world which has governed her historical development"—*MKK.*, 46). Cf., the dogmatic sermons by Streit.

Writ and Christian tradition and must hear the voice of the Church; both of these things again can be brought to pass only through the mediation of the missions. Thus, revelation and faith—the remote as well as the immediate rule of faith—conduct us logically and psychologically to the idea and necessity of the missions.

To examine now the significance of the truths of faith, a dogmatic basis for the missions is found immediately in the doctrine regarding God—*de Deo Uno et Trino*.<sup>2</sup> The dogma of the unity and personality of God includes the pagan missions as its inevitable consequence. For, if there is but one God and this God must be personal, and if, consequently, both the polytheism of the pagan primitive races and the pantheism of the civilized pagan nations (Brahmanism and Buddhism) are false and contrary to Divine revelation, monotheism as the only true form of religion must oppose and overcome all other forms, the one true God must be recognized everywhere as such, and the adoration of false gods must cease. To bring this to pass is, as is known, the chief aim of the Christian missions to the pagans. Moreover, the fact that this one God is the Creator of the whole world and of all men; the fact that, in virtue of this creation, His image—and to a certain extent His very breath—dwells in every human soul; the fact that He is consequently the common Father of all men, who are thus linked together with the bonds of fraternity; the fact that He is also the supreme Lord and Master of all creation, and that His maintenance and regulation of the universe and His loving and merciful providence shows His interest in all His creatures (especially man)—all these facts are additional and highly effective motives for the missions, since this natural relation to the Creator concerns also the pagans, and demands as its necessary

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<sup>2</sup> "The first and fundamental idea which supports the missionary task of the Church and makes it obligatory lies in God Himself. The full splendor of the Divine plan of salvation is reflected by this task, as we view it in the light of the supernatural revelation bestowed on us. The idea of God and the possession of God in the everlasting glory of heaven lends to the world mission its distinctive grandeur, and stamps it with the seal of divine origin" (Esser, loc. cit., 48).

correlative their recognition of this relation—which again is the goal which the missions strive to attain.<sup>3</sup>

As early as the seventeenth century, Matthias a Corona showed the intimate relation between the missions and the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. A modern writer on mission dogma has made a still more searching inquiry into these relations, which are not confined to the mere verbal similarity of the missions to the *missiones aeternae* between the Three Divine Persons, but are rooted deep down in the very nature of the Church. The “*Divine missions*” are the “source and prototype” of the concept of the missions; they represent the beginning and root of the latter, just as the latter are their final expression and effect. Consequently the same single idea and power leads the *Sent* Divine Persons to issue forth into the world and conducts the missionary across the ocean. This is stated explicitly in the words of Our Saviour, when He commissions His Apostles to preach the Gospel: “*Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos*” (John, xx, 21); “*Sicut tu me misisti in mundum, et ego misi eos in mundum*” (John, xvii, 18).<sup>4</sup> From this we must conclude that, if Christianity is according to its dogmatic nature a missionary religion, and if the missionary plan occupies so important a place in its teaching, this plan cannot be dispensed with, since “it springs from the inmost shrine of the Deity as a divinely willed copy of the specific character of the Divine life.”<sup>5</sup>

The whole development of the plan of redemption and the ecclesiastical doctrine concerning man<sup>6</sup> are also regulated by the missionary idea, if indeed we do not wish to regard the missions as the fundamental and central thought—both causally and teleologically—of the

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<sup>3</sup> According to Esser, false gods are national gods, and national gods are false gods. Consequently, all national and natural gods must be replaced by the adoration of the one God—by His adoration in spirit and in truth (John, iv, 21 sqq.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Grendel in *ZM.*, II (1912), 268 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the connection of the missions with Christian anthropology (unity of the human race, creation for God and eligibility for the kingdom of God, natural cohesion and solidarity), cf. Esser, *MKK.*, 48 sqq.

Divine plan of salvation. The missions are the immediate consequence of the universality of salvation, just as the latter is their indispensable hypothesis. If God actually "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim., ii, iv), of which this well-known passage of Holy Writ makes no doubt, the pagans must also be included in this will to save, which was from the beginning meant to be universal. Then, since salvation can normally be brought to pagans only through the missions, the pagan missions must also have been included in this original purpose. God Himself, moreover, has actually followed this road to the realization of His universal decree of salvation! "For God so loved the world, as to give His only-begotten Son; so that whosoever believeth in Him, may not perish; but may have life everlasting" (John, iii, 16). The supernatural likeness to God, which existed first in Adam and passed from him to all his descendants, forms the real and ideal point of departure for the work of restoration. The negative hypothesis or premise of missionary activity is the universality of original sin. There can be no doubt that all men (including the pagans) have sinned and fallen in the person of their common progenitor; that the supernatural likeness to God has been thereby destroyed in their souls, and the natural likeness obscured; that, as a consequence, they have been subjected to the servitude of Satan and liable to eternal damnation. While this condition of sinfulness and culpability may vary in degree among the pagan nations and individuals according to the intensity of their consciousness of sin and their need of redemption, it exists at least objectively, and demands removal through the missions. We find still stronger confirmation of this view in the positive correlative of original sin,—the universal redemption,—since all the pedagogical preparations for the Saviour in the Old Testament (beginning with the first promise of God), both the positive in Judaism and the negative in pagandom, point to the missions. "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned . . . .

therefore, as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation; so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life" (Rom., v, 12, 18). "And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (I Cor., xv, 22). "Christ died for all" (II Cor., v, 15): and, if the fruits of this death on the Cross are not extended to all because the evil human will of an individual or some other obstacle prevents, the Divine *voluntas antecedens* is still unaffected, and redemption is still universal at least *quoad intentionem*. That is, God has willed to save all men through Christ, and Christ has willed through His death to merit salvation for all mankind. Despite its hypothetical realization, this willing on the part of God must be observed and given effect to, as faithfully as possible, by the missions, which must strive with all their power to bring salvation also to the pagans. Again, the fact that redemption (the attainment of salvation and everlasting bliss) is not possible without Christ, furnishes another urgent reason for missionary activity: "Neither is there salvation in any other. For there is no other name under heaven given to man, whereby we must be saved" (Acts, iv, 12). Consequently, Thomas Aquinas assumes that, if a pagan has lived virtuously but through no fault of his has never heard of Christ, God will send an angel from heaven to instruct him. The abstract possibility of such extraordinary instruction, however, by no means alters the fact that the usual and ordinary way of bringing Christ to the pagans is through the missions: in fact, the necessity for the latter is only more strongly emphasized by the hypothetical and exceptional case cited by St. Thomas.<sup>7</sup> The fact that our Saviour is the universal mediator immediately reveals the obligatory and necessary character of the pagan missions, which is also proved by the other offices and characteristics which are associated with this universal position of the Son of God. He is the supreme Teacher and Prophet for all men, the supreme High Priest to render sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the King of the universe and Shepherd

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ohm, *Die Stellung der Heiden zu Natur und Übernatur*, Münster, 1927.



of mankind.<sup>8</sup> If we consider now the two natures of Christ, He occupies as the Divine *Logos* of all eternity an august position for which it is the chief task of the missions to win recognition and veneration. On the other hand, He stands forth, as the Son of Man (i. e., the representative of all mankind), as the "ideal, central, and universal personality," as "the man for all men," for the Japanese and Negroes as well as for the Europeans: and this is another fact to spur us to establish His dominion throughout all the inhabited world by means of the missions.<sup>9</sup> As the only begotten Son of the one God; as the Second Adam, the Son of Man and brother of men; as the Teacher and Saviour of the world; as the Bridegroom of the Church in which He continues to live and work; as the King and Judge of creation, Jesus Christ stands at the center of the institution of the missions and of the missionary obligation.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the mystery of the incarnation and that of the Redemption are absolutely based, *intentionaliter et finaliter*, on the world mission which is rooted in all Christology.<sup>11</sup>

Again, the subjective appropriation of the fruits of the Redemption by an individual does not dispense Him from all relations with the missions. In the first place, the universality of the act of redemption establishes the fact that all men, regardless of race, nation or culture, are not only in need of salvation, but are also eligible for it, by virtue of their common kinship, first with Adam and

<sup>8</sup> Cf. especially Schwager and Warneck.

<sup>9</sup> According to Esser, in *MKK.*, 53, Jesus Christ stands from all eternity in the center of the Divine plan of the universe as the Head of all creation. His incarnation is the original and first, the highest and most universal, is much too great an event not to extend to all mankind and creation. Cf. Weber, *With the Heralds of the Cross*, 56 sqq. (The Saviour of the World).

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed discussion, cf. Strucker in the *Lehrerinnenkursus*, 7 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> "The Redeemer came and paid the ransom: He shed His blood and ransomed the world. You ask: What did He ransom? Behold the price He offered and you will find what He purchased. The blood of Christ was the purchase price. What can be compared to it in value, except the whole world—except all nations?" (Augustine, *Enarr. in ps. xcvi. n. 5*). "In sin and the ruin it worked, in the redemption and its salutary efficacy, rules the law of universality combined with the law of solidarity" (Esser, *MKK.*, 54).

then with Christ. According to the Catholic doctrine of justification, indeed, faith alone (especially the merely passive, receptive fiduciary faith as taught by Protestantism) is not the source and condition of salvation, but to faith and grace must be added the co-operation of the personal will. But, according to the Catholic teaching, faith still remains a *conditio sine qua non* of justification, and that this faith must be the trustful acceptance of all that God has revealed through Christ and His Church is well described by St. Paul when he says that believing presupposes hearing, hearing presupposes preaching, and finally preaching presupposes a sending or mission (Rom., x, 14 sq.).<sup>12</sup> With the doctrine of the ecclesiastical channels of grace the idea of the missions is also inseparably linked, as it is, for example, with the very first and most necessary sacrament: for, like faith and the Church, Baptism is also a condition of salvation, wherefore the mission must strive to the very utmost to administer it. That the doctrine of the Eucharist is also most intimately associated with, and even formally involves and postulates the world mission; that the *regnum ecclesiasticum* is to be extended to the whole world and all nations, and that the Communion is intended to be the spiritual food of all men (even the most lowly Indian), had been early pointed out by Acosta.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The fact that, on the one hand, besides faith, "works of a moral and ideal character" are demanded from us, and that, on the other hand, the order of salvation and grace is associated with "religio-social institutions", by no means suppresses or destroys the universality of Christianity, as Warneck asserts (I, 112). It is false to say that "human nature is not generally gifted to fulfil these conditions," or that "these things are not usually communicable", and that therefore a condition of salvation is imposed which presupposes special natural gifts or stages of education, national characteristics or politico-social institutions. On the contrary, the Church as the universal institution of doctrine and salvation presents herein a new universal motive which postulates more urgently than any other the world mission. Concerning the universality of the order of grace (which, as the *Communio Sanctorum* and *Ecclesia Dei*, includes the whole spiritual creation), its obligatory character and its nature as the Divine law of the world, cf. Esser, *MKK.*, 51 sq.

<sup>13</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute*. Cf. Schmidlin's Address at the Eucharistic Congress in Vienna (*ZM.*, III (1913), 4 sqq.).

The dogmatic roots of the mission principle have thus led us to the doctrine of the Church. Biblical mission theory has already shown us the organic connections between the Church and the missions, beginning with the Old Testament prophecies which represent all peoples and nations as thronging to the Messianic Kingdom. According to the parables of Our Lord, the Church is the kingdom of heaven which, like the mustard seed or leaven, is to spread and develop intensively and extensively in constant growth. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, compares it to a building which grows higher and higher by adding successive layers of the faithful, and he also likens it to the body which waxes greater and greater in its members until it has attained the maturity of Christ. The Church and the missions are therefore bound together in a most intimate union." In contrast to the heretical idea of separated churches, which in their very nature are based on particularism, the true Church of Christ must (as the Fathers, and especially Augustine, already explained) extend its domain to the whole earth and embrace all mankind. Consequently catholicity has from the very first been regarded as a distinctive mark of the true Church. From the earliest

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<sup>14</sup> "Without a church there can be no missions," says Warneck, and his words may be applied *a fortiori* to the Catholic missions; "and without missions there is no church: in the church the missions find their sustenance, and in the missions the church finds its roots" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 242). We here tread on specifically Catholic ground: Warneck indeed felt compelled to add a special chapter in his work on the "Ecclesiastical Basis of the Mission"; but his explanations therein, which are for the most part concessions to our conception of the Church, show plainly that the inner connection between Church and mission can be grasped fully and entirely only on the basis of Catholic dogma—that, to understand and justify the pagan missions from the ecclesiastical standpoint, one must think along Catholic lines. What Warneck cites as the strongest basis of the missions is the very mark which specially characterizes the Catholic Church and sharply distinguishes it from Protestantism—the universality foretold by the prophets, willed by Christ, and preached by St. Paul. Warneck also admits that, both as a community and an institution, the Church is intended for all lands and all peoples. As a universal teaching institution, we may add in explanation, it must instruct as many men as possible in the truths of Christianity; and as the universal institute of salvation, it must conduct all men, without distinction of nationality or race or speech, to everlasting bliss, their final goal.

times, the dogmatic theologians and apologists have emphasized the fact that the Catholic Church was spread over all the earth and was thus the only Church founded by God. The Church must be "catholic" (καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν), not necessarily in the purely literal sense that it must have existed at every age in every single spot on the earth (which for many centuries was impossible for geographical reasons), although the actual local extension must not be underestimated as a basis of catholicity.

The Church, however, must at least virtually or potentially embrace the whole earth, by asserting its title to such an extension, by constantly aspiring to this goal, and by making every effort to attain it. This catholicity or universality can be attained only through the pagan missions—a universality which proclaims itself extensively in its efforts for external local development, and also intensively in the universal interior truth, virtue, and grace which it offers to all men. Here again, as in the case of the redemption, we may cite as the correlative the dogma of the only sanctifying Church, and thus by regular logical process establish the missions as an ecclesiastical necessity; since the divinely decreed indispensability of the saving mediation of the Church must of itself impel us to bring as many as possible into the Christian fold. Consequently, the Church founded by Christ must be a missionary church which will constantly extend and send forth new shoots in all territories and epochs, and will obtain its growth, not merely from the circle of its own members and children, but also from elements which heretofore have not belonged to it.<sup>15</sup> So undeniably is this cultivation of the mission the law and condition of her life, that it is a mark and stamp of the true religion and confession. Not accidentally have the Protestant churches for the greater period of their existence, and also the main bodies of the Oriental schismatics, betrayed indifference or even hostility to both the idea and practice of the missions. This failure to produce fruit is rooted in the essence of sectarianism,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 243: "The world mission is innate in her." Also, for the Catholic position, Fischer, Linckens, Strucker, etc.

which reveals itself by this very sterility, and thereby also shows that it has been sundered from the true tree of life. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has always been mindful of her missionary obligation, and has corresponded practically with it." Hence comes also the strict, inescapable missionary task of the Church, which because of its position as the universal and sole sanctifying institute of salvation, bears a heavy responsibility with respect to the pagans. If the Church is in very truth the only rightful teacher and guide of all men, the heir and successor, nay, the continued incarnation, of the Divine Redeemer whose spirit continues to live and manifest itself in her; and if, moreover, all men are bound to hear and join the Church, she must on her part do her utmost, in accordance with the commission given her by her Founder, to offer her doctrine and grace to all people and thus render possible their adherence to her." The mission task and missionary activity thus con-

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<sup>16</sup> Even Warneck, writing from the Protestant standpoint, concedes this. That the introduction of the missions into Protestant circles was a return to Catholic ideals can be proved both historically and by an investigation of the principles of Protestantism.

"The greater and more exclusive are the prerogatives of the Catholic Church, the richer the supernatural means of salvation with which Christ seems to have endowed her, the greater and more responsible likewise is her obligation to turn those special talents to account for the salvation of the world; for she possesses this heavenly equipment not as a mere ornament, but in order that she may fulfill God's decree of salvation in all men" (Fischer, 48). "The miracle of the Feast of Pentecost casts its rays about the hour of their birth—their first harvest—and accompanies them through their life's history while they exercise their all-embracing apostolate, which can and shall speak in all languages, to all peoples and at all times. On the rock, Peter, the Lord has built them as a *signum levatum in nationes*, which seeks out and invites all to approach. Besides being one, holy, and apostolic, the Church stands forth also as 'Catholic' for catholicity' is her badge and mark—no accidental one, but an expression of her very essence. We rejoice at her inner richness and her inner beauty; we are astonished at the combination of such manifold elements into a unity that out of the deeply divided peoples presents a house of God wherein all unite in one hymn of praise. We view with wonder her mission history as a conquering march of an unexampled kind with the unbloody and healing weapon of the Cross—a victorious campaign which makes the conquered the victors . . . Neither must we be found lacking, however, in deep appreciation of the obligation which the possession of these gifts and of our honored title of *Catholic* imposes on us . . . . . The Catholic Church alone has conceived and realized the unity

stitute one of the most indispensable and fundamental functions of the Church. This activity is not something foreign, extraordinary, incidental, or subordinate as compared with the other ecclesiastical offices and duties, but is at least their equivalent in its inception and importance.

of the human race, and she preserves this idea unimpaired . . . . Jesus Christ has willed and founded His Church to be a godly state—a supranational, independent, organized, and coordinated kingdom with its special aims and its special constitution—and has sent it as such into world history and worldly strife to conquer for God an earth that was estranged from Him" (Esser, *MKK.*, 55).

<sup>18</sup> Warneck also has established this. The preservation and retention of those already won—the instruction and sanctification of her corporate members—constitute, as it were, only one side or (as Warneck rather clumsily says) one "half" of the ecclesiastical activity. The other side is the further extension of the Church—the increase of her former possessions by the missions. Even if we do not wish to go so far in our deductions from these premises as to demand, like Warneck, the employment of as extensive personnel and means on the missions as in the church service at home, we must nevertheless admit that ideally and in principle the foreign missionary activities are not a whit less important than the care of souls at home, and should be appraised and supported accordingly. To this support and regard they are entitled altogether apart from the blessings which, as is natural and proved by experience, flow back in rich measure from the missions to the Church at home. In its causal and legal relations, this ideal connection of the missions with the Church is revealed especially by the fact that the missionary office (the sending forth of the mission workers) emanates from the Church and is vested in her. This is so necessarily the case that even Warneck cannot help but attribute to the Church this authoritative office, and to explain it as one of the components into which the ecclesiastical *Gesamtministerium* (total *ministerium*) is divided. Warneck fails to perceive the contradiction which lies in his simultaneous demand for a complete separation of the Protestant missions from the official Church proper. Considered with a view to its effects, the consequence of this bond between mission and Church is the effort to incorporate the converts in the Church organization and extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction—a purpose with which Warneck so often reproaches the Catholic missions. "Regarded in the light of duty, the pagan apostolate is no ornamental twig grafted on the tree of the Church, as some are inclined to regard it, but it belongs to the roots of the Church and is part of its very life." (Fischer, 55). "The heavenly tree of the true faith which has grown up from the mustard seed of the Christian community formed on the first feast of Pentecost, and which, as a result of the activity of the missionaries, has extended its boughs into the pagan lands . . . this tree stands in the middle of the Catholic Church . . . . The missions are no extraneous affair, but a domestic concern of the Catholic Church, and therefore a family concern of the Catholic people" (*ibid.* 66).

Finally, we discover that the pagan missions are also closely connected with Christian eschatology. The world mission is indeed a necessary hypothesis of the Final Judgment. First of all, from the temporal standpoint, the prophecies of Our Lord expressly teach us that the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to all nations before the consummation (Matt., xxiv, 14); and when the Disciples asked when the kingdom would be established, Jesus in His reply referred emphatically to their missionary task (Acts, i, 8).<sup>19</sup> Both causally and in their purport, these two phenomena are most closely allied: on the one hand, the Last Judgment is to be universal and to include all nations and men, just as the Redemption was universal; on the other hand, all men are to be judged according to the attitude they have taken toward the Saviour and His work. The preaching of the Saviour is so necessarily presumed by these facts that salvation must be offered the pagans in some form before they can be rewarded or punished in proportion as they have corresponded with or spurned the graces offered them.<sup>20</sup> And just as the world mission is the hypothesis of the universal judgment, this final judgment is the conclusion and justification of the world mission — for the missionaries and supporters of the missions as well as for their converts. In other words, the Eternal Judge will demand from every one of us an account of his attitude towards the missions during our lives, and how we have discharged our duty towards them.<sup>21</sup>

To review briefly the literature on questions of mission dogma, we possess no systematic compilation, either on the Catholic or the Protestant side. The old theologians—both the dogmatic theologians

<sup>19</sup> They were to concern themselves, not with the Last Day, but with their present duties.

<sup>20</sup> Thus, Warneck supposes that the Gospel will be preached in Hades after their death to those who, through no fault of their own, have heard nothing of Christ and are therefore judged according to their general moral and religious conduct. Needless to say, we cannot follow Warneck in this attempt to solve the problem.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Streit's sermon at the opening of the *Akad. Missionsverein* in Münster. Also Esser, 56: "The era between the first and the second Coming is the missionary era." At the Last Judgment, the whole human race will stand as a unit and a community before its Judge and Redeemer. For the dogmatic basis and explanations, cf. especially A. Fischer, *De salute infidelium*.

proper (e. g., the Fathers and the Scholastics) and the writers on mission theory (such as Thomas a Jesu and Gubernatis)—dwelt primarily on the universality of salvation and the Redemption, to establish the legitimacy of the missions. The more recent dogmatic textbooks and manuals also have given the premises of the missions especially from this side, usually, however, without drawing the deductions; but their treatment of the question is very deficient. Scheeben, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik* (1873), has especially emphasized the universality of the revelation (I, 38 sq.) and of the position of Christ (III, 133 sqq.). Cf. also his *Mysterien des Christentums*, particularly concerning sin, Christ, and the Church, and his treatise on *Natur und Gnade*. Simar (1879) also emphasized the universality of the Redemption (367), of the teaching office of Christ (435), and of the Church (625); Heinrich (1881, revised in 1904 by Gutberlet) the catholicity of the Church (I, 508) and its obligation to instruct all peoples in Christian truth; Hurter (1891) the catholicity of the Church (I, 320) and the apologetic importance of the missions as a proof of Christian revelation (I, 81 sqq.), a theme which the manuals on apologetics also treat in detail. Pesch, Pohle, Janssen, Einig, and other dogmatic theologians pay scarcely any attention to the missions. All these studies are summarized by Robert Streit in his treatise *Die theologisch-wissenschaftliche Missionskunde (Der katholische Seelsorger, 1909)*, which is also a consideration of the status of mission theology. The same author also introduced a special theme of mission dogma in the sermon which he delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Akademische Verein in Münster, and later published (*Der eschatologische Missionsbeweis, Heliand, 1911*; cf. Axenfeld, *Weltevangelisation und Ende, in AMZ., xxxviii (1911), 259 sqq.*). We may also regard as a monograph on mission dogma the thesis which Fischer (later Cardinal) of Cologne presented for his doctorate, and in which, with extensive citation of literature, he discusses the position and fate of the pagan world. (*De Salute Infidelium, 1886*). The same question is discussed by Pies, *Die Heilsfrage der Heiden (1925)*. The relation of the missionary idea to the Trinity and to the Divine plan of salvation and redemption is the subject of a special investigation in the frequently quoted article in Grendel in *ZM., I (1911), 281 sqq.* *Idem, Erlösung und Mission (ZM., XVII (1927), 81 sqq.*; Kappenberg, *Die Mission in der christlichen Heilsordnung, ZM., XVIII (1928), 97 sqq.* In the *Kölner Kursus*, Esser, Professor of Dogma at Bonn, discusses *Die dogmatische Begründung der Missionsaufgabe und Missionspflicht*, which rests on the basis of the individual truths of faith and is written in an ingenious and systematic, although not exhaustive, manner (*MKK., 45 sqq.*). Strucker, of the same faculty at Münster, makes the kingdom of God and its ruler, Christ, the central point of *Missionsbegründung (Lehrerinnenkursus, 7 sqq.)*. Schmidlin, *Kirche und Mission, ZM., XVI (1926), 4 sqq.* Among the recent brochures on mission theory, we must mention especially Fischer, *Our Lord's Last Will (1929)*, particularly chapter ii, "The Catholic Church and the Last Will of



*Jesus*”). Writing in popular style, Linckens develops the consequences which flow from the catholicity of the Church (*Missionspflicht und Missionsdienst*, 6 sq.), while Emilie Huch proves the ecclesiastical obligation to spread the faith (*Bis an die Enden der Erde*, I 98). Schwager’s *Die Heidenmission im Schulunterricht* is written with a practical pedagogical purpose in mind, and treats the missions from the dogmatic standpoint in their connection with the different articles of faith. Among Protestant writers, Warneck especially has investigated the “dogmatic basis” of the missions in the eighth chapter of his *Missionslehre*, and the “ecclesiastical basis” in the thirteenth chapter. He discusses his subject indeed from the narrow Protestant standpoint; but despite his diffusive treatment, it is by no means complete (for example, we seek in vain for a discussion of original sin. As already said, the Protestant writers on mission theory in the other countries follow in Warneck’s footsteps. Among Protestant dogmatic theologians, Kähler deserves special mention, because he has introduced noteworthy disquisitions on the missions into his *Angewandte Theologie* and also into the second volume of his *Dogmatische Zeitfragen* (cf. also Hoffmann, *Missionsfragen*, 1847). The question of the reciprocal relations between the missions and the Church, which is so burning a problem for the Protestant missions, has been discussed in a large number of monographs: Petri, *Die Mission und die Kirche* (1841); Büttner, *Die Kirche und die Heidenmission* (1883); Luthardt, *Die Missionspflicht der Kirche* (1883); Kesselring, *Die Aufgabe der protestantischen Kirche und Theologie in Bezug auf die äussern Missionen* (1884); Kähler, *Die Bedeutung der Mission für Leben und Lehre der Kirche* (1899).

#### 4. Basis in Moral Sanction

Inseparably connected with the dogmatic sanction of the missions is the moral-theological sanction; since the moral obligation to support the missions follows as an immediate consequence of Christian and Church dogma. This obligation has been already explained and demonstrated on the social side, as a corollary of the doctrine of the Church: the Church as a whole, in virtue of its character as the universal and exclusive mediatrix of faith and salvation, is morally bound to cultivate the missions (including the world mission) as unquestionably a Divinely ordained task which may on no condition be declined. This social obligation, to which on the part of the non-Christians a certain claim on the missions corresponds, also extends to each and every individual member of the Church; since the Church is no mere abstract image, but is the sum of all the faithful. Not without justification has Father Fischer explained the lack of the

missionary spirit and zeal among Catholics as compared with Protestants by the fact that the latter regard missionary work as their own personal affair, while very many Catholics view it exclusively as an official task of the Church which concerns the laity little or not at all. Needless to say, this is an absolutely false conclusion, since all its members and adherents are bound together with and in the Church, and all should thus regard and love the missions as a "Catholic domestic and family affair."<sup>1</sup> There are indeed steps or degrees in this obligation, as will be discussed in greater detail, later, when we consider the mission subject. The actual and direct fulfilment of the missionary obligation rests in the hands of the immediate agents of the missions—the mission societies, and missionaries who are morally bound by their aims and vocation to preach the Gospel to the pagans and to bring these into the Church. At home the management, cultivation, and sending forth of the missions rest with the holders of the hierarchical authority—first of all, the Pope as the supreme representative of Christ and the executor of His will concerning the missions; and secondly, at least in so far as the home organization of the missions is concerned, the bishops and the secular clergy representing them. Finally, every Catholic is bound according to his powers and ability to participate in the work of the missions, not only with his heart and mind, but also with actual deeds. All Catholics are thus bound to make possible and facilitate missionary work, because this work is entirely dependent on their co-operation for its initiation and success, and because without this co-operation it can accomplish nothing and cannot even come into existence; and finally, because its whole prosperity and growth depend on the degree of co-operation lent by the Catholics at home.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *With the Heralds of the Cross*, 71 sqq., 117 sqq. *Our Lord's Last Will*, 66, 270 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Linckens speaks of a general obligation of service. According to Caron, all the faithful are bound *sub gravi* to help according to their ability. The question was once proposed by one of the German bishops as to whether every Christian or Catholic was actually bound to engage in the missions, even though without him the missionary work was being satisfactorily executed by the Church

This individual and general obligation of Catholics towards the missions is, as regards its nature and source, twofold: religious and charitable. On religious grounds the Catholic must join in the work of the pagan missions; because, in the first place, the missionary command of Our Saviour, while addressed immediately to the Apostles and their successors for execution, demands the general participation of every faithful disciple. For, even though every Catholic cannot and is not bound to fulfil this Divine commission literally, and is not required to proceed to the pagan territories to convert or help convert the unbelievers; all are nevertheless bound at least to aid in the execution of Christ's will to the best of their ability, since their co-operation is necessary for its success. Moreover, as members—and living members—of the Catholic Church, all Catholics must join in the work of the Catholic missions, in varying degrees indeed according to their position in the ecclesiastical organism (thus the clergy more than the laity). By this participation they show that they are truly Catholic in thought, feeling, and act; that, as true sons of the Church, they wish to share in its life and its tasks; that the joys and sorrows of their Church, the success or failure of its undertakings, are not a matter of indifference to them, but are close to their hearts. Not merely out of obedience to God and His Church, since both have given unmistakable expression to their will in this matter, but also because the spirit and life of Our Saviour and His universal Church should enter into all Catholic hearts and be reflected therefrom, every Catholic is “a messenger of God to humanity, a missionary by birth”;<sup>3</sup> “voices of redemption and sentiments of salvation”<sup>4</sup> dwell in every Christian heart, and from the extent of our participation may be judged the degree in which the process of assimilation has been completed in our case.

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or others. We need not concern ourselves with this question here, inasmuch as this condition or hypothesis that the missions are being sufficiently cared for is not satisfied at the present time.

<sup>3</sup> Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Fischer, *Our Lord's Last Will*, 272.

This "saving" character of the Christian and ecclesiastical missions leads us to the other or charitable aspect of the general missionary obligation. The Divine decree of love which, through the Redemption and the teaching command given to the Apostles, laid the basis for the missions, is not least revealed in every individual Christian by his participation in missionary work; so that this participation serves as a measure of his love for God and for his neighbor. "The work of the world mission is the first and highest labor of charity."<sup>5</sup> To the fulfilment of this charitable obligation we should be spurred, first, by the worth of immortal souls which have been redeemed by Christ's Blood and which without the missions will be lost forever; and secondly, by the misery of the pagan nations which we should feel impelled to rescue from their religious distress and the cultural degradation that usually accompanies it.

The missionary obligation is thus closely linked with all the three theological virtues,—faith, hope and charity,—which, as is known, are the foundations of Christian life. Faith—at least the living faith which expresses itself in works, as the Catholic conception of faith demands—will instinctively seek to participate in the missions and to communicate itself to others (like *caritas diffusiva sui*). Every Catholic whose soul is convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, of the existence and universal dominion of the one personal God, of the necessity and universality of salvation, of the legitimacy and catholicity of the Church, and of the Second Coming of the Universal Judge, will of himself feel compelled to bear testimony to this faith and to help in every possible way to spread it. If only through gratitude for our own salvation which flows from it, we must be intent on bringing the benefits and fruits of this faith to the pagans who still wander in the darkness of night. To these forlorn souls we must bring Christ and Christianity, even as they were brought to our own ancestors by foreign missionaries. The very first of the Ten Com-

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<sup>5</sup> Fischer, loc. cit., 281. Cf. also Dyroff, *Die Mission im Lichte philosophischer Betrachtung*, Aachen (1922).

mandments states: "I am the Lord your God: you shall not make to yourselves any graven thing, . . . to adore it" (Lev., xxvi, 1). This commandment makes it a sacred duty to institute everywhere through the missions the veneration and worship of the one true God, and to show our disgust at idolatry and witchcraft by working for the abolition of all false gods. Conversely, the pagan missions can prosper only in the soil of a true, sincere, and interior faith, which will always remain their indispensable prerequisite. Heresy and unbelief may also seek to propagate themselves and to suppress the true missionary ideals, from various worldly or even religious motives; but they will scarcely exhibit such a devoted, self-denying, generous, confident, and zealous missionary spirit as the true faith, because they lack the assured possession of the truth.

Christian hope also includes and sustains the missionary sense and idea: it is the hope which, despite all obstacles, trusts confidently in the victorious power of Christianity and in the Divine co-operation with missionary undertakings; the hope which refuses to be disheartened by temporary obstacles and setbacks; the hope which in the tiny seed and its thin sowing sees the rich harvest of the future; the hope which, in its confident expectation of the coming of the universal Judge and Rewarder, prepares the way for Him by indefatigable missionary labors; the hope which has proved itself by its unvarying patience and heroic martyrdom in the service of the missions, and which is also desirous of sharing its own treasures with the disconsolate pagan world.

Finally, active charity, the fundamental law of Christian morality, especially impels us to missionary activity and enthusiasm. The love of God lends to both missionary and friend of the missions the ability and strength to work for the spreading of the glory and kingdom of God, despite all sufferings and privations, so that God may be loved also by the pagans. The love of one's neighbor inspires the missionary to form the generous resolve to devote his whole life and strength to the saving of the poor pagans and their immortal souls. See-

ing that God, in His love for mankind, sent His Son to redeem the world, our love should not be narrowly limited to our immediate neighbors, but should display a more magnanimous spirit by embracing all men (*diffusiva sui!*) and taking pity on the benighted pagans. If God will grant so rich a reward for a drink of water given to one's neighbor, what a recompense He will reserve for us if we help to lead the pagan to the eternal source of the water of life! If it is a work of mercy to receive the body of one's neighbor, how much greater a work of mercy is it to endeavor to save pagan souls and win them for heaven! The pagan missions thus furnish the opportunity for the exercise in an unmeasured degree of all the works of corporal and spiritual mercy (Schwager). This obligation of charity amounts to a debt of justice and duty towards the pagan world.

The nature and extent of the missionary obligation, as already said, varies in accordance with the intimacy of one's personal relation to the work of the missions. The active missionary will see in this labor his life's work and the special task of his vocation—the task in which his whole energy and personality, all his thoughts and aspirations, are centered. The clergy at home, especially the Pope and the bishops, will regard it as a duty of their office, not only to interest themselves personally in the pagan missions and support them as far as possible, but also to awaken and cultivate among the Christians a similar interest and secure for the missions the support of the people. Finally, the Catholic laity in general who wish to satisfy their obligation to the missions will not limit themselves to a merely sympathetic attitude: they must give exterior expression to this sympathy, first, by pious and zealous prayer for the missions, and secondly by ungrudging alms according to their means and circumstances. This co-operation with the missions must be regarded, not as something supererogatory or optional, like so many other religious or charitable practices, but as a strict, positive and universally binding obligation. The sophistry of the common objections and excuses—for example, that Catholics cannot give so much, that

their first care must be for the needs of the Church at home, that the missions, in fine, have met with little or no success—has been long since demonstrated, and such objections are no longer tenable.

To review briefly the literature, the ethical necessity of the missions was emphasized, demonstrated, explained, and defined as to its subject and extent by the older writers on mission theory—by Chrysostom and Bernard, Erasmus and Herborn, Acosta and Thomas a Jesu, Caron and Gubernatis. Many popularly written or practical brochures have also appeared in recent times, dealing usually with the mission obligation: for example, Fischer, *Our Lord's Last Will* (VIII, *Our Lord's Last Will—and I?*); Huch, *Ein grosses Glück und eine heilige Pflicht* (1909); Meinertz, *Recht und Pflicht der christlichen Heidenmission* (1909); Linckens, *Missionspflicht und Missionsdienst* (1910); Heinz, *Das Verhältnis der katholischen Kirche zur Heidenmission der Gegenwart* (1916); Schwager, *Heidenmission im Schulunterricht* (1912). Similarly among Protestants, although they became convinced of the universal mission obligation only during the nineteenth century, both the early champions of the missions (Saravia, Justinian, von Wetz, etc.) and many modern writers on the missions have compiled the reasons for participation in the missions. In contradistinction to the Catholic, the Protestant moral theologians (from Schleiermacher and Rothe on) have not overlooked the ethical problem raised by the missions. Warneck, especially, devotes a special chapter of his *Evangelische Missionslehre* to the "Ethical Sanction" (I, 121 sqq.). The argument given by Warneck that Christian ethics and Christian dogma are, because of their universal character, suited to all men, does not establish a real ethical sanction for the missions, as Warneck himself admits. Similarly, mission moral law as understood by numerous writers (that is, moral science and practice for the missions), has nothing to do with the rationale of the missions, or with mission theory proper (cf. Schmidlin, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, 144 sqq.).

## B. Rationale of the Missions

### 1. Sanction in the Absolute Character of the Christian Faith as Compared with the Non-Christian Religions

Having demonstrated from positive revelation the justification and obligatory nature of the pagan missions, as well as their importance, value, and necessity, we must also demonstrate this same proposition in a speculative and historical way, on the basis of reason and experience, and thus meet the objections and reproaches which the enemies of the missions draw from these same sources. This defense brings us into the domain of mis-

sion apologetics. This branch of apologetics, however, differs from that which the active missionary cultivates, when, in preaching and explaining Christianity to pagans, he furnishes the philosophical and historical reasons why they should adopt it. Nor has this branch of apologetics the object of using the missions as proof of the Divine origin and character—the truth and legitimacy—of the Christian religion in general, and especially of the Catholic Church. On the contrary, its object is to defend and justify the pagan missions as such. Furthermore, we must in this present case disregard the specifically Catholic mission apologetics (e. g., as cultivated by Wiseman and Marshall), which combats the confessional attacks and prejudices of Protestants: controversies with non-Catholics are conducted *ex concessis* on a mutually accepted basis of revelation and a common recognition of the necessity of the missions, while our present argument is mainly with adversaries who, on the basis of supposed facts supplied by reason or experience, contest the very right of the missions to exist, and usually deny the positive claims of Christianity, if not absolutely, at least inferentially.<sup>1</sup> While these adversaries have grown

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<sup>1</sup> It is a regrettable fact that even today one finds many criticisms of the missions which, in substance if not in form, resemble that uttered in England by the Director of the East Indian Company in 1793: "The sending out of missionaries to our eastern possessions is the most stupid, extravagant, expensive, and indefensible project that ever has been suggested by a crazy fanatic. Such a plan is pernicious, impolitic, useless, unwholesome, dangerous, fruitless, and fantastic. It is contrary to all reason; it endangers the peace and security of our possessions" (quoted by Warneck in *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen*, 9th ed., p. 85). To convince ourselves of this, we need only read the article by Rachow on "The Red and Black Danger from the Standpoint of Colonization," in the *Koloniale Zeitschrift* of 1907 (VIII, 322 sqq.), or what was stated in this same publication three years earlier (V, 156): "Malaria, black water fever, locusts, missions: the first is ineradicable, as also is unfortunately the last" (cf. Warneck in *AMZ.*, XXXI (1904), 293). Mirbt justly remarks in this connection: "We would surrender ourselves to a fatal self-deception if we were to suppose that, because such a tone is now rarely adopted in speaking of the missions, the antagonism to all missions expressed in these instances is an isolated phenomenon. We should rather reckon with the fact that such opinions are widely spread, although the motives underlying them may differ greatly, and the opinions may be frequently rather the product of prejudice or uninformed sentiment



fewer and less ostentatious in recent times, they have by no means died out or lost their voices. This is shown, for example, by many of the pronouncements and opinions which are still to be heard in Protestant and infidel, and to some extent even in Catholic, circles.<sup>2</sup> In combating such views, one may also appeal to the positive missionary command of Christ as actually that of the Lord of the whole world, whose will is universally binding. But if this appeal is to be sound and convincing, one must first have proved the absolute sovereignty of Christ and thus the truth of the Christian revelation. Again, since this hypothesis is not admitted by many opponents of the missions, and since also, aside from revelation, many arguments may be marshaled in support of our cause, it is well to develop these other sanctions for the missions.<sup>3</sup>

If the pagan missions imply, as in fact they do, a discrimination against the non-Christian religions, Christianity must first of all be compared with the latter, so that its right and obligation to establish missions may be generally recognized and conceded. This right will then be accepted, at least subjectively, even by those who will not admit its philosophic and dogmatic basis. The pagan who is still to be converted and the neo-pagan European may, for example, challenge the missionary as follows: "Whence do you derive your authority to preach your religion to non-Christians, and to recommend it as superior? How does it come that you proclaim war on

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than of deliberation on the nature of the missions" (*AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 446). There are still people who utterly hate and oppose the missions. Some of these do so because they have broken with Christianity, and consequently regard the missions as nonsense or even as improper (e. g., Arthur Bonus, the French humanists, opponents of civilization, and the German Social Democrats); others oppose the missions because they espouse the rights of the aborigines, and thus hamper their exploitation. Concerning Mission Apologetics, cf. Schmidlin's *Einführung*, 135 sqq.; concerning Confessional Apologetics, cf. *ZM.*, X (1920), 152 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Bley, in *Hochland*, XIII 1915—16), 314 sqq. (Cf. Meinertz in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 81 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> Dyroff (*Die Mission im Lichte philosophischer Betrachtung*, Aachen, 1922) seeks to establish an intellectual, ethical, aesthetic, and "metaphysical" sanction, or justification, of the missions from the universally true, good, beautiful, and religious.

all the religions of the earth, and expect from their adherents the heavy sacrifice of conversion?"<sup>4</sup> One may indeed maintain that every religion is inherently justified and, if it actually lays claim to truth and universal validity, is directly compelled at least to attempt to propagate itself, provided that this propagation is effected in a legal way—that is, by spiritual and moral means, and not by physical compulsion. This manner of propagation must be assumed in the case of Christian missions in their pure form, since Christianity is authorized to send out missions solely in its character as a religion. Christianity, however, derives an entirely distinct and peculiar sanction and title for its missions from the fact that it is not only relatively the first and most excellent of all religions, but aims to be, and actually is, the absolute religion. Consequently, the missionary may recommend it as the best and only religion, since it is the best and only true religion actually, or at least according to his conviction.

Without recourse to revelation, the relative superiority of Christianity may be established by the mere comparison of its dogmas, morals, achievements, and so forth, with those of other religions. This superiority is conceded even by authors who (like Rudolph Eucken of Leipzig, writer on the philosophy of history) declare the "religious order of life" obsolete, and proclaim Christianity, despite its "ever-to-be-preserved kernel," an "historical religion" (as distinguished from the absolute), because of the defects which are essentially associated with it. On the other hand, Eucken ranks Christianity among the "religions of redemption," which, he declares, are superior to the "legal religions"; and among his "religions of redemption," he awards the palm to the Christian in preference to the Indian, because the former overcomes evil better and unites man more intimately with the Divinity.<sup>5</sup> This admitted relative superiority would

<sup>4</sup> "The right of Christianity to cultivate the missions must in fact be raised above all doubt: it is the foundation and soul of all missionary work, which stands or falls with this right" (Mirbt in *AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 446).

<sup>5</sup> *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* (1906), 7 sqq., 389 sqq.

be sufficient to justify the Christian missions in propagating their higher form of religion. Through the missions we deprive the pagan of none of the good which he possesses, but bring him something better—blessings on which he also has a claim, especially Redemption. As a matter of fact, even adherents of the “religio-historical school,” who regard the Christian religion and missions as merely a stepping-stone to a higher ideal religion, justify the Christian obligation towards the missions on the grounds that Christianity thereby exercises its faith, develops its powers, and promotes the cultural unity of mankind.<sup>6</sup> However, Warneck has already shown—and his conclusion is confirmed by the insignificant missionary success of this liberal wing—that the pagan propaganda of the “modern Christianity of humanity,” which is inspired by modernistic scepticism, is a broken sword and can effect no permanent or enduring conversions, but that, on the contrary, it hampers missionary work, undermines the missionary motive, restricts mission rights, and essentially alters the missionary aims.<sup>7</sup> To approach the pagans as a true missionary, and to deliver a message which will be accepted and believed, we must possess within us the conviction of an authoritatively guaranteed and unique truth,<sup>8</sup> and must cling to the “unsurpassable and absolute character of the Christian religion.”<sup>9</sup>

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Mirbt has shown that Christianity surpasses all other religions, not only in the number of its followers, but also in the quality of the Christianized races and in its religious value and contents (AMZ., XXXIII (1906), 451 sqq.). Cf., in this connection, the works on Christian apologetics (especially the recent work by Mausbach-Esser, *Religion, Christentum und Kirche*, III) and Mausbach, in *Hochland*, XI (1912).

<sup>6</sup> E. g., Troeltsch in the *Christliche Welt* (1906). There is indeed within the ranks of liberal Protestantism a distinct movement (*Allgemeiner evangelisch-protestantischer Verein*) of this kind, with its own organ, *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*.

<sup>7</sup> AMZ., XXXV (1908), 49 sqq., 109 sqq., 361 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Meinertz, *Recht und Pflicht der Heidenmission*, 3 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Warneck in AMZ., XXXV (1908), 373. “With the application of the theory of evolution to the religious life of man, the right, practice, and success of the missions were called into question: only on the hypothesis that the Christian religion possesses a guarantee for the objective truth of its faith is its world mission securely

This absolute character of Christianity is completely demonstrated, first of all, by revelation; but it is also established by a thorough investigation of its exterior and interior elements of truth, beauty, morality, and religion.<sup>10</sup> Even so critical a historian of dogma as Harnack is forced to concede the absolute character of Christianity and the inseparable connection of this absoluteness with the missions.<sup>11</sup> Harnack, it is true, renders this admission illusory by his all-corroding rationalistic criticism and his *a priori* arguments. He thus reduces Christianity to syncretism and strips it of its positive, supernatural, and dogmatic character; so that even a pagan might embrace this universal religion and compound with such a "Christ" and such a "God" without abandoning his previous views or undergoing any true conversion.<sup>12</sup> Still more feeble naturally is the missionary motive of those rationalists, like Troeltsch and Bousset, who, while adhering to the missions, concede "only a difference in degree" between the Christian and the "general" revelation, and refuse all recognition to an absolute religion.<sup>13</sup>

The certainty that Christianity regards itself as the absolute religion and seems destined to fill that position

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founded and promising" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 123 sq.). According to Mirbt also, the right of Christianity to cultivate the missions "must be deduced from the essence of Christianity and its relation to the non-Christian religions"—especially from "the conviction that we possess in Christianity the absolute religion; therefore we declare that it is the religion of the highest and most complete revelation of God, that it contains blessings of a distinctive character, and surpasses all other religions" (*AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 460 sq.).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dyroff, *Die Mission im Lichte philosophischer Betrachtung* (Aachen, 1922), 4 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> "The unshakable conviction of our missionary duty flows from the knowledge that Christianity is not one religion among others, but that it is religion itself, and that consequently only in it and through it do every people and mankind in general become what they should be. Only where this conviction exists is the right of the universal mission admitted and true conscientiousness shown in its development. This conviction alone can overcome the thousand difficulties and misgivings which hamper the missions". (*Grundsätze der evangelisch-protestantischen Mission*, 3 sq.).

<sup>12</sup> According to Harnack (*Das Wesen des Christentums*), the essence of Christianity consists merely of trust in God and love of one's neighbor.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Meinertz, *Recht und Pflicht der Heidenmission*, 3 sq.

is established, first, by its conviction of the possession of religious truth; and secondly, by its universality or, at least, its aspirations towards universality. These considerations also form a necessary condition of the resulting missionary activities. Christianity is, then, according to its innermost nature and tendencies, a missionary religion.<sup>14</sup> This missionary character and bent is so specific and fundamental a part of the Christian religion that it can be explained only as a part of its genuine and individual character, and not as a gradual development in religious history or the combination of various coefficients. At the time of Christ, neither Judaism nor paganism cultivated missions proper. The Jewish religion was acquainted with somewhat analogous institutions, such as the "proselytes" and diaspora; but, as a legal religion (and not one of faith), it was so dominated and overgrown with national particularism that it demanded a renunciation of nationality from the pagans joining it, and furthermore was willing to regard them as at best only Jews of a lower order. This is clearly shown by the opposition encountered by St. Paul when he first began to develop his pagan missions.<sup>15</sup> In their Hellenistic philosophy and religious syncretism, the pagan ancients possessed a cosmopolitan counterpoise to their national religions; but these abstract substitutes, bereft of supernatural authority and sanction, could not evoke any real missionary activity or even a conception of a mission. Consequently, neither Judaism nor paganism

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<sup>14</sup> "That is, the missions are a living expression of Christianity which arise of natural necessity from its basic character" (Mirbt in *AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 457), so that the "present historical position of Christianity is the work of the missions" (*ibid.*, 458). Max Müller, the well-known investigator of religions who divided religions (according to their most essential mark of life) into propagating and non-propagating, also declared the former to be living and the latter dead. In one passage he writes of Christianity: "Its whole essence consists in approaching, converting, and embracing the world; it would cease to be what it is if it ceased to teach and convert." And Warneck adds: "Missions and Christians are associated in such a deep, interior, and vital connection, that the former would necessarily have been cultivated, even if no definite command compelled us to do so" (*Die christliche Mission*, 10). Cf. also Hallfell, *Die Mission und die Apologie der Kirche* (Aachen, 1918).

<sup>15</sup> Even to the present day Judaism has no missions.

had any actual and organized missionary institutions. Similarly, the non-Christian religions of today are not truly missionary religions, but are all national religions, except Islam and Buddhism. While these two religions have a universal outlook, and have attempted expansion with partial success, they cannot be regarded as strictly missionary, even apart from the fact that Islam, and probably also Buddhism, has borrowed extensively from Christianity. The propaganda of Islam is, like the Jewish, along exclusively national lines, while Buddhism is so deeply impregnated with pessimism that it could not develop a world mission.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Sanction in the Relation of Christianity to Mankind

[Another presumption of the universality and consequently the missionary vocation of Christianity may be deduced, first, from its adaptability to all mankind, and secondly, from the capacity of all men to appropriate Christianity.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of actual fact, there is nothing in Christianity (especially Catholicism) which would prevent any people whatsoever from embracing it, and there is nothing in any people which would necessarily prevent their acceptance of Christianity.

The whole plan and aim of the Christian religion is cosmopolitan and international, as we have already shown in discussing the catholicity of the Church. According to the Apostle of the Gentiles, it knows neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, but offers itself equally to all men, of whatsoever nation or station in life. It is not linked with any racial or national peculiarities, with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 67—91. Concerning the missionary idea in Buddhism, cf. Koppers in *Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, I, 69 sqq.; concerning the expansive power in Mohammedanism, cf. Zwemer, Simon, Grimm, etc. Accordingly, to Christianity alone can be applied the statement with which Mirbt closes his lecture on the "*Entscheidungskampf des Christentums um seine Stellung als Weltreligion*" (20): "It is one of the ineradicable hopes of Christians that our faith will not only continue to be one of the world religions, but that it is destined to be the world religion." For literature, cf. below, pp. 104 and 105.

<sup>1</sup> This is rather a negative proof of the possibility of the missions, or of the capacity of Christianity.

any specific state or political organization, with any particular form of society, or with a higher or lower level of civilization, but it stands entirely outside these natural differences and confines its scope exclusively to the religious sphere. Consequently, it can adapt itself to all human and natural circumstances and forms (provided they are morally innocent), and enter into alliance with them, without either demanding their surrender or identifying itself with them. This is possible because grace does not destroy or displace the life of nature, but elevates and glorifies it. In other words, there is no "Western Christ" who would not suit the Chinese or Japanese; and Christianization is by no means equivalent to Europeanization, which fact every missionary should grasp as a guide for his whole conduct. Just as the seed accommodates itself to every suitable soil, and the leaven to the flour (to use the analogy of Our Divine Founder and Teacher), the Christian missions adapt themselves to all individuals and peoples by demanding and specifying only interior moral and religious qualities as a condition for reception.<sup>2</sup> In the whole range of Christian doctrine there is no necessary article of faith which is absolutely beyond the spiritual grasp of the Africans or Mongolians, and no moral demand which they cannot fulfil by the exercise of their wills.<sup>3</sup>

Conversely, every nation on earth is qualified to embrace Christianity. There are indeed a number of colonial advocates, like Rohrbach, who, on the basis of the intrinsic and unbridgeable racial inferiority which they impute to the primitive peoples, deny their ability to rise to the Christian level and to assimilate the spiritual

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<sup>2</sup> The specific advance of the Gospel beyond the late Jewish theology which preceded it and the contemporary official Judaism consists, indeed, in the fact that it spiritualized the conceptions of the Messiah and the Kingdom of God and also the final end of mankind, freed them of their narrow, exclusively national and carnal bonds, directed them into ideal channels, and stipulated only exclusively religious conditions.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Grösser, *Die Neutralität der katholischen Heidenmission* (Aachen, 1920), 8 sqq., and Dyroff, *Die Mission im Lichte philosophischer Betrachtung* (Aachen, 1922), 17 sqq. On the Protestant side, cf. Frick, *Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission* (1917).

element of Christianity. Similarly, civilized peoples of other racial strains are declared to be constituted so entirely different as to their talents and outlook that they are unable to understand or sympathize with Christianity. These unsupported objections, however, may be easily refuted: first, by the fact that the essential endowments of man are universal, as vouched for by revelation and confirmed by ethnology (Waitz, Peschel, Ratzel, etc.); secondly, by missionary experience which establishes the opposite, that is, the universal eligibility for Christianity. In the first place, it is an established fact that all peoples, however low in the scale of civilization, have some ideas and practices on which Christianity and the missions can be grafted: consequently, religion has been declared a universal phenomenon of mankind (Max Müller, Peschel, Ratzel, Strauss). And every religion, even the most elementary, also offers the missions some positive elements of truth and points of contact, whether these be derived from natural reason or from primitive revelation and tradition. Again, as Bishop Le Roy and Father W. Schmidt have shown, even the crudest of primitive tribes possess a conception of God and a name for the Divinity to whom they pray; they believe in an invisible world, in souls and spirit; they practise interior and exterior worship, with festivals and sacrifices; they know and respect conscience and commandments, right and wrong, sin and atonement, salvation and reward. Le Roy thus feels justified in concluding his research with the somewhat bold inference that the universal world-religion is the Catholic, and the various other religions are only distortions of the primitive common religion of mankind.<sup>4</sup> [Again, however foreign to our notion of religion may appear their whole tendency of life, the civilized pagan races (e. g., the Japanese) are certainly not without religion, but even have in embryo some conceptions in common with Christianity. Furthermore, all the inhabitants of the earth have language forms capable of expressing religious ideas, giving definite

<sup>4</sup> *The Religion of the Primitives* (1922), 319 sqq. Cf. Schmidt for the conception of God, and Cathrein for the conception of morality among primitive peoples.



value to the truths of the Gospel, and serving as vehicles for these truths<sup>6</sup>—a proof that the ability to think and feel is also universal. All these *spermata* of the *Logos* (to use terms of the early Christian apologists) are so many bridges of which the missions can avail themselves to lead the pagans to Christianity: this is especially true of the universal consciousness of guilt and desire for salvation. It may, indeed, be that the uneducated Negro or Kanaka, in his repugnance for abstractions, has little or no inclination towards our complicated code of dogma and morals. However, the essential and indispensable points of Christian doctrine do not remain hidden from him for long, when they are explained in as plain and homely a form as possible. Consequently, it is not necessary for Christianity first to transform the “natural habits of thought of the Negro,” as has been said by followers of Islam: it is only necessary to establish a connection.<sup>6</sup> The Christian missions have furnished actual proof of the correctness of this statement.<sup>7</sup> If the interior qualities of the new converts continue to show many imperfections, and if these converts have not yet completely divested themselves of paganism and the natural man, we must remember that they are merely at the threshold of their Christian development and that our own ancestors also needed centuries to become completely Christian.

Despite the importance of this mission argument and problem based on the findings of the science of religion and ethnography, Catholic literature has as yet no systematic treatise devoted expressly to the subject. The topic has been barely touched upon—first, by Acosta and Thomas a Jesu, who on the basis of revelation and experience attacked the then very prevalent prejudice which held that their natural wildness and savagery rendered the barbarian nations unfit for Christianity (Acosta, I, 7—8: *Barbarorum ineptitudinem non tam a natura, quam ab educatione et consuetudine proficisci*). Las Casas also touches on the subject in his apologetic history of India (cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 264 sq.), and very recently Professor Meinertz in

<sup>6</sup> We need only mention the innumerable translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Bible.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Acker, loc. cit., 123 sq.; Schmidlin, *ZM.*, I (1911), 186 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> “The test has been made . . . , the Negro has the necessary talents to become a pious Christian” (Acker, loc. cit., 132).

his treatise, *Recht und Pflicht der christlichen Heidenmission*, and Acker in his article entitled *Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas* (*Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien*, IV). Valuable material is also contained in Msgr. Le Roy's *La Religion des primitifs*, which was crowned by the French Academy. Cf. also Schmidt, S.V.D., *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, I (2d ed., 1926); Cathrein, S.J., *Die Einheit des sittlichen Bewusstseins des Menschen* (1914); also apologetic literature, especially Mausbach-Esser, *Religion, Christentum und Kirche*, and finally the Aachen treatises by Hallfell, Grösser, and Dyroff. On the Protestant side several popular brochures have been written justifying the missions against their modern adversaries: Buss, *Die christliche Mission, ihre prinzipielle Berechtigung und praktische Durchführung* (1876); Warneck, *Die christliche Mission, ihre sachliche Begründung und tatsächliche Ausführung in der Gegenwart* (1879); Schnyder, *Der evangelischen Heidenmission Recht, Pflicht und Erfolg* (1882). A more scholarly treatment is given by the church historian, Mirbt, in *AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 445 sqq.: *Die innere Berechtigung und Kraft des Christentums zur Weltmission*. From the liberal and evolutionist standpoint the missions are justified by Troeltsch, *Die Mission in der modernen Welt in Christliche Welt*, 1—3 (1906); *Idem*, *Missionsmotiv, Missionsaufgabe und neuzeitliches Humanitätchristentum in ZMR.* (1907), 129 sqq., 161 sqq.; Bousset, *Die Mission und die religionsgeschichtliche Schule in ZMR.*, 321 sqq., 353 sqq. Cf. also Harnack, *Grundsätze der evangelisch-protestantischen Mission* (Berlin, 1900). These treatises were answered by Warneck in three strongly worded articles published in *AMZ.*, XXXIII and XXXV (1907, 1909), under the title *Missionsmotiv und Missionsaufgabe nach der modernen religionsgeschichtlichen Schule*. In *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, Warneck discusses merely the missionary character of Christianity (Chapter VII, on the Origin of the Christian Missions) and "the ethnological sanction," that is, the adaptability of all peoples to Christianity (Chapter XV). Cf. also Paterson, *Das Christentum als abschliessende Universalreligion in AMZ.*, XXXVII (1911), 3 sqq.; Mirbt, *Der Entscheidungskampf des Christentums um seine Stellung als Weltreligion in Basler Missionsstudien*, 39 (1912); Shedd, *The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, in *IRM.*, I (1912).

### 3. Sanction in the Cultural Achievements of the Missions

In the eyes of unbelievers and pagans the chief justification of the Christian missions lies in the fact that, as the representatives and preachers of a superior and absolute religion, they bring to the pagan religious blessings which he had not before enjoyed—the true God and a bliss-giving redemption. This religious dowry—the salvation of immortal souls and the abolition of spiritual misery—is, as we shall see, the chief and central offering of the missions. The missions also aim at accom-

plishing certain cultural objects and tasks which appropriately justify their work in the eyes of those outside the fold and before the bar of natural reason and win a welcome for the missions as valuable confederates in worthy movements of a general character. While these are indirect effects of the missions, and "secondary missionary motives," they are nevertheless grounded in the very nature of the missions, and make the latter a cultural factor and civilizing agent of the first rank, as past and present experience proves. The mere preaching of a higher (especially the highest and only true) religion, constitutes or leads to a raising of the cultural level, and must be accepted as a cultural gain worth striving for by all who do confine culture to the purely material domain. For religion itself belongs to culture in the wider sense, of which it is indeed the noblest and most indispensable flower. In other fields of human cultural activity also, the missions are daily performing inestimable services with which civilization cannot dispense. These cultural blessings and benefits of the missions are, naturally, chiefly conspicuous among the wild or little civilized peoples to whom the missions minister. Nevertheless, the civilized nations (e. g., in Eastern Asia) also are affected by the influence of the missions, since the Christian civilization of the West, which these represent, is undeniably superior to non-Christian culture and contains cultural achievements and advantages which are lacking in other civilizations. Catholic and Protestant theologians<sup>1</sup> alike emphasize and take pride in this interior, inseparable bond between the missions and civilization. Moreover, laymen of every shade of opinion<sup>2</sup> frankly recognize these cultural achievements of the missions.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sell, Troeltsch, Harnack, Krose, Meinertz (in whose works quotations are given).

<sup>2</sup> Livingstone, Stanley, Baker, Grant, Cameron, Emin Pascha, Baumann, Lieutenant Wettstein, Major von Wissmann, Generals Leutwein and von Trotha, Governors von Rechenberg and von Hahl, the German Secretaries of State Lindequist, Dernburg, and Solf.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the quotations given by Schmidlin in *ZM.*, II (1912), 93, note 3, and in his work on the German Colonial Missions (especially

If we turn now to the individual branches of culture, we find that in many places (especially in uncivilized countries) the missions first of all promote agriculture, with a view to influencing by example the natives of the vicinity. This practice had been followed by the medieval missionaries in European countries, who cultivated and improved the soil, laid out gardens and plantations, developed agriculture and cattle-raising, introduced handicrafts and industries, established agricultural and trade schools, and especially trained the natives to work,—which things (as in the old monastic rule, *Ora et labora*) play a most important rôle in the educational program of the missions. As intellectual pioneers, however, the missions contribute still more effectively to the raising of the spiritual level of their wards—especially through the agency of the primary and high schools, which they maintain at heavy expense and sacrifice, and which, while intended primarily as a means of Christianization, also impart education and culture to the growing generation. We may thus endorse Warneck's assertion that "the missions form the most magnificent and able educational society in the world."<sup>4</sup> The missions also perform ever-memorable cultural services by their scientific and literary researches and activity in the most varied fields—geography, religious science, languages, literary history, etc.<sup>5</sup> Many people and localities have been given their first native literature by the missionaries,—not merely such missionary works as catechisms and translations of the Bible, but also grammars, dictionaries, and so forth,—so that the missions have been in such cases the actual pathfinders and guides for culture. And numberless services

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those of Trotha, Wettstein, Dominik, Lindequist, and von Dalwigk). Cf. also the collection of acknowledgments in *KM.*, XLI (1913), 109 sqq., 142 sqq., 171 sqq., and Schütz on the cultural importance of the missions (*Lehrerinnenkursus*, 96 sqq.).

<sup>4</sup> *Die christliche Mission*, 32. Krose's *Missionsstatistik* shows a total of 18,000 schools and 800,000 pupils.

<sup>5</sup> We need only cite *Anthropos*, the well-known periodical devoted to philology and ethnology, whose contributors are mainly missionaries.

have been performed by the charitable and philanthropic activities of the missionaries (and especially of the Sisters, those "angels of mercy," as the colonial writers so often call them) and also in the missionary institutions (hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, etc.)! What far-reaching social reforms and transformations have been effected by the missions in a relatively brief time (e. g., in the domain of slavery, and for women and children and the family)! How beneficent above all has been their moral influence—both in the case of individuals who submitted to their preaching, and in the whole social body—through their combating and eradicating of social vices such as laziness, deceitfulness, drunkenness, debauchery, polygamy, witchcraft, and cannibalism! And finally, what a radical spiritual transformation of men and races has been wrought by the Christian religion, as such, with its sublime ideas and regulations, its liturgy and its sacraments! Material and even intellectual culture alone can never produce a true and full civilization and culture: on the contrary, they only tear down the last restraint which religion exercised over the pagan, unless they are linked with Christian morality, with the development of conscience, and with the training of the will; but this renewal and purification of the inner personality is primarily the task of the Christian missions (Acker). In this connection we should never forget that our whole European culture, with all those blessings which we are anxious to bestow on the pagans, is still essentially rooted in Christianity, despite all the opposing currents of infidelity.\*

By the activities described above the pagan missions have performed services of inestimable value and transcendent scope from the colonial and national-political points of view. As the writer has shown in his essay on the missions and colonization, it is the missions which win spiritual dominion over a colonial territory and effect its interior assimilation, whereas the state can colonize

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\* This point is further developed in the second section of Schmidlin's *Jubilee Work on the German Colonial Missions* and by Abbot Weber in the final chapter of his work on *Corea (Im Lande der Morgenstille, 1915)*.

only externally. It is the missions which, in virtue of their inborn authority, subdue the aborigines spiritually, and bring them to a spirit of interior obedience and subordination to the lawful authorities, whereas the government can only compel an external subjection by its penalties and laws. Consequently, both in the colonies and in the independent countries, the missions foster and generate patriotism and a sense of nationality, in so far as this is consonant with their primarily religious object. For, whatever the missions strive for and accomplish in colonial territory for the nation lawfully occupying it, they also include in their program and accomplish for the secular authorities in independent lands and states. They thus cultivate loyalty and submissiveness to the proper authorities, public interest in the state, and a spirit of sacrifice in intention as well as in external attitude and conduct.] Like the Catholic Church, the missions are essentially an international institution which may never subserve selfish political or national views but must always (as even Harnack admits) promote primarily the welfare of the native wards. This, however, does not prevent them from promoting patriotic interests within the frontiers of their own country. This collaboration of the missions in the cultural, colonizing, and national fields demands in return from the colonial authorities grateful recognition and indirect support—at least, in the accomplishment of cultural tasks.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, we should be interested in and help our missionaries not only on religious grounds, but also for cultural, national, and colonial reasons.

Besides the reports from the different mission fields and the articles in the mission publications on cultural work, cf.: Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1910); Schmidlin, *Deutsche Kolonialpolitik und katholische Heidenmission*, in *ZM.*, II (1912), 25 sqq.; Paul, *Die Leistungen der Mission für die Kolonien und ihre Gegenforderungen an die Kolonialpolitik* (1902), 444 sq.; Warneck, *Die christliche Mission* (1879), VII; Nachtwey, *Die Mission als Förderin von Kultur und Wissenschaft in Verhand-*

<sup>1</sup> The Fourth Section of the German Colonial Congress, in recognition of the services rendered by the missions to civilization and science, recommends all colonial circles to lend their full moral support to the missions and thereby effect an ever-increasing unity in cultural work" (Proceedings, 1905, 563).

*lungen des deutschen Kolonialkongresses* (1905), 553 sqq.; Weber, *Ziele und Wege der Eingeborenen-Erziehung*, *ibid.* (1910), 673 sqq., Acker, *Die Aufgabe der katholischen Mission in den Kolonien in Deutsches Kolonial-Jahrbuch*, II, 124 sqq.; Meinertz, *Recht und Pflicht der christlichen Heidenmission*, 13 sq.; Schmidlin's work on the German Colonial Missions, and Warneck's articles on *Mission und Kultur*. Among French works, cf. Fauvel, *Nos missionnaires patriotes et savants* (Paris, 1900); Grandin, *Missionnaires et explorateurs* (Abbeville, 1901); Le Roy, *Le rôle social des missions (Réforme social, 1901)*; Berré, *L'action sociale du missionnaire* (Paris, 1910). Cf. also various articles in the *International Review of Missions*.

#### 4. Sanction in Mission History

We finally turn to history for clear testimony on the missions, and thus for their historical basis. In the certified events of the past, the Christian (and especially the Catholic) missions are able to establish their justification and authority. By uninterrupted and uncomplaining efforts and labors, and also by their undeniably rich fruits and successes, they have shown that they are actually able to accomplish the aims of their vocation, by winning for Christianity and raising to a higher social level all peoples of whatever zone, race, nation, speech, social stratum, or cultural type, and despite innumerable obstacles and difficulties. In its passage through the centuries the Christian religion and Church has preserved itself as that universal institution which never ceases to send forth missions, which recognizes in principle no limits to its extension, and which can incorporate and assimilate all mankind. And God, the Supreme Ruler of history, has impressed His seal on this development of His kingdom in guiding the missions to their goal by His providence, and has also established the legitimacy of this His work by miracles and martyrdoms. Through this providential preparation, the whole history of the world and the Church is, as Warneck expresses it, directed towards, or based on, the missions, because the facts and ideas relating to the missions are not isolated but stand in the closest relation to human development as a whole.<sup>1</sup> Granted also that the

<sup>1</sup> *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 260 sq.

history of the missions is not free from human errors and weaknesses, from instances of decay and failure, the movement has advanced as a whole and has maintained itself despite all these human factors.<sup>2</sup>

The early Christian and medieval missions were already subjected to the test of their powers of assimilation. The former were called on to assimilate highly cultured people; and the latter, primitive races low in the scale of civilization.<sup>3</sup> In ancient times, not only the

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<sup>2</sup> "The general view of the Catholic pagan apostolate, with its glorious host of champions in every Christian century, nevertheless forms even for the coldest observer a ravishing picture full of ideal figures of the most noble humanity, possessed of heroic, self-sacrificing courage, and of the most ardent love of God and neighbor" (Schwager, *Die kathol. Heidenmission der Gegenwart*, I, 4). "One can scarcely help wondering," writes Warneck (*AMZ.*, XXXIII (1906), 157 sq.), "that to-day, when Christianity can show 550 millions recruited from all nations and stages of culture as the result of the missions and itself stands forth in world history as the leader of these millions and the agent of their culture—one can scarcely help wondering that the question should still be asked: What gives Christianity the right and authority to promote the world missions? Is not this right established beyond all doubt by the history of the Christian missions extending over almost two thousand years?" Writing in the same organ (461 sq.), Mirbt answers the question as follows: "We are convinced that Christianity is intended for all mankind, and we point to its faculty of accommodating itself to all peoples, which is proved by history—that is, by experience. Since Christianity won its first victory on the soil of the Roman Empire . . . it has had occasion to exercise its innate powers under the most varied circumstances imaginable, and among highly and lowly gifted nations . . . We find it in every stage of civilization; we see that its religious ideas and outlook on life have become a power—or have at least struck root—in Europe and in America, among the Eskimos and the Hottentots, in the Land of the Dragon as well as in mystical India and the land where the cherry blossoms are celebrated in song" (*ibid.*, 461 sq.). "Therein lies the sanction of the missions; and a more comprehensive and decisive sanction could not be given. It is the preservation of the missions through a test conducted on the broadest basis, under the most varied conditions, and sometimes under the most difficult circumstances—through the greatest test that can be conceived, the test of history" (*ibid.*, 458). Cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 12 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> "It is a boast of modern science that it deals with facts; but if the facts of history do not agree with its theories, it ignores them. Otherwise, how could anyone venture to assert: 'The Chinese or Hindus do not need the Gospel; they are too highly civilized for that'? Although the Greeks and Romans at first ridiculed the Gospel as folly, did they not finally embrace it? And how can anyone declare, *a priori*: 'The primitive peoples are incapable of understand-



physical, but also the intellectual and ethical opposition and obstacles were as great as today among the Chinese or Japanese; but this could not prevent the missions from winning the victory. In the Middle Ages pagan superstition allied with gross barbarism, just as we see it today in Africa and Oceania, opposed the Christian advance: and yet a general and tireless propaganda was maintained, which resulted in not merely exterior but also interior conversions. The history of the early Christian and medieval epochs teaches us, indeed, that the missions are to be reckoned by centuries, and that their success, either as to quality or quantity, must not be judged by their condition of the moment, that, in other words, the law of successive, slow, and gradual ripening and the deliberate plan of the Divine pedagogy find nowhere so clear an expression as in the development of the missions. This does not mean that we are to accept the fatalistic idea of the Protestant mission historians, who speak of divine "door openings" and "hand-guidings." Nevertheless, organic growth and development according to a fixed plan is unmistakable in mission history. To quote Warneck's metaphor, not only the seed which the mission scatters, but also the field which receives the seed—not only the leaven, but also the mass in which it is placed—must have in every case received a special preparation from God.<sup>4</sup> In antiquity we find the Graeco-Roman world prepared externally by the unity of the Empire and international intercourse, and interiorly by the popular philosophy and religious syncretism; in addition, the Jewish diaspora and "proselytes" served as precursors and connecting links. In the Middle Ages the migration of the nations and their intermixture had religious and political consequences which prepared the way for the missions; and as a result the medieval mis-

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ing, or at least unripe for, the sublime doctrines of Christianity? Were not most of the nations of modern civilized Europe similar primitive peoples before their Christianization? One would think that the experiences of apostolic and medieval mission history would be sufficient to silence such objections" (Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 30 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 262.

sionary methods with their specific high-lights and shadows seem a reflection of the intimate bond between Church and State.<sup>5</sup>

Providence introduced a new era for the missions when the Catholic states of Europe, interested in the discovery of new lands and in establishing colonies, opened a path to the pagan world in the East and West Indies. The missionary horizon of Western Christianity was thus vastly extended; the hour of the world missions had struck. The Catholic Church and missions found themselves confronted with a task of an extent and complexity that they had never before experienced: to the east, south, and west they saw entirely new, strange, and distant peoples of various races, some differing entirely in their psychology from Europeans, and others almost without culture. While the Protestant world stood idle in apathetic lethargy and indifference, the Catholic Church appreciated the needs of the moment and, redoubling her activity (nay, increasing it tenfold), set herself to the new task. The difficult problems of this missionary work were brilliantly solved, especially by the Jesuit Order which introduced a liberal policy of accommodation with the civilized peoples of the Far East, and an educational system of "reductions" for the primitive tribes of the Western Hemisphere. By this missionary energy, which Catholicism developed shortly after it had received at home a violent blow in the Protestant apostasy, and which offered such a contrast to Protestant indifference, the "Roman" Church revealed most plainly that the "vital powers of the Gospel" were as active in her then as they had been during the Middle Ages. She also proved that the Church of the "Counter-Reformation" was not a "spiritually decayed," deeply degenerated institution, infected with "dead formalism";—and to these epithets even Warneck objects in his section on the historical sanction of the missions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Even Warneck (*Missionslehre*, I, 270) has to admit that the nature of the people was "congenial to this kind of mission practice"—that is, to "the implanting of the ecclesiastical order in the popular life of the pagans," which was regarded as educative for the masses.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, VII (1917), 255 sqq.

Later, as a result of external and internal causes of decay, the missionary spirit languished for a period, but without being ever lost. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it received a new impulse and stimulus—an internal stimulus from the ideas of restoration and romanticism, and an external stimulus from the development of colonial polity and the opening up of the world with which the modern facilitation of intercourse was closely connected. Even Protestantism could not decline this new missionary summons of Providence. It is certainly a “divine sanction of the missionary command” that, “eighteen hundred years after it was given,” it still possesses the vitality to inaugurate a world-wide movement, “which has made our century a missionary century.” This new movement excelled all the earlier ones in quality and missionary methods, inasmuch as it strove to combine as many merits of the older missions as possible, and to eliminate their shortcomings.<sup>7</sup>

Such was the inception of the latest and present missionary era, which in importance and scope, extent and success, certainly vies with either of the preceding epochs. Missionary activity still buds and blossoms as a living arm with thousands of branches on the venerable tree of the Church. In fact, the missionary expenditure and exertions of to-day probably surpass all efforts of the past in quantity and quality, in extent and in intensity. “Absolutely beyond question, there is at the present time no other entirely voluntary work which spends such an income year after year as the missions.”<sup>8</sup> According to the estimate of Arens, 12,712 priests are engaged to-day in the missions, with 4,019 brothers and 20,756 sisters, 44,525 churches and chapels, and 22,366 mission schools.<sup>10</sup> The results have been correspondingly large: to the 22,000,000 who were converted by the missions during the

<sup>7</sup> Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, I, 276.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 12 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> This statement of Warneck's (*Die christliche Mission*, 21) is also and especially true of the Catholic missions.

<sup>10</sup> *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen* (1925), 75, 240, 247 sqq., to be supplemented by the *Missiones catholicae* of 1922. Higher figures are given by Krose in the *Kirchliches Handbuch* (1916), 154. Cf. also Krose's *Missionsstatistik*, 123 sqq.

earlier part of the modern epoch, almost 10,000,000 additional converts have been won in the various parts of the world by the missions of to-day.<sup>11</sup> This success must be declared enormous when we remember that it has been attained almost entirely without physical or state help, and as a result of the interior strength of the missions and by the employment of spiritual weapons. The success is in fact still more extraordinary in view of the great difficulties encountered and in view of its important bearing on the future, even though it may appear small in comparison with the outlay and with the number of pagans still to be converted. Still greater has been the development of the missions in the extensive or spatial sense, since they have now been established in the most remote quarters of the entire inhabited world,<sup>12</sup> and under the most varied geographical, climatic, ethnographic, linguistic, cultural, and social conditions. Greater also has been their intensive success, since Christianity has won a noteworthy portion of the spiritually most important and influential human representatives. But greatest of all has been their interior or qualitative success, since it is for the most part sincere and convinced, courageous and zealous Christians of a proportionately high moral and religious fiber that the missions have won. As already pointed out, in so far as both the numerical and qualitative success of the missions is concerned, it must be always borne in mind that this success represents only the initial stage of a steady and progressive develop-

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<sup>11</sup> This is the figure given by Krose in his *Missionsstatistik*, besides the 4,000,000 pagan converts to Protestantism. Arens estimates that, in 1923, the pagan missions of the world had 12,964,000 Catholics and more than 1,500,000 catechumens (loc. cit., 272). Compare also: Streit, *Catholic Missions in Figures and Symbols* (1927), 57 sqq.

<sup>12</sup> "Christianity has spread over the whole known earth, and in this spatial extension has already a claim for preference above all other religions" (Mirbt, at the end of his *Missionsrundschaue*, 8). "Apart from the successes of missionary activity, it is in itself a fact of wide significance that we occupy so extensive a territory and stand on post there. When an army reaches the midst of the enemy's country, it has already achieved a great victory, even though not a single battle has been won" (Warneck, *Die christliche Mission*, 25).

ment." The seed for a hundredfold harvest has at least been scattered, and the shoots of a most promising future are springing up on every side.<sup>14</sup>

In the present condition of the missions and the world lies a very special missionary motive and a very particular sanction for the missions, especially in so far as our own generation is concerned. The present epoch is extraordinarily favorable for the missions, not only because of the previously noted improvements and increase in international intercourse,<sup>15</sup> but still more so because the whole non-Christian world is involved in a process of spiritual fermentation and convulsion, and is stirred more profoundly than ever before. The primitive peoples, especially, are being drawn more and more into the sphere of our civilization through the colonial undertakings of the European powers; and even the cultured millions of the Far East, whose decision will have the greatest effect on future developments, find themselves gripped by an irresistible impulse towards an assimilation

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<sup>14</sup> "The time is too short to have yet allowed the accomplishment of a general process of transformation in the face of the enormous initial difficulties" (Warneck, *Missionslehre*, I, 303). He then points out that the conversion of pagans proceeds not in an arithmetical, but in a geometrical, progression, or otherwise the Roman Empire would not have been Christianized before 45,000 A. D.: "the initial success of the present missions also is like capital, which bears dividend after dividend" (*Die christliche Mission*, 28).

<sup>15</sup> Warneck, therefore, feels justified in closing the first volume of his *Missionslehre* with the following confident declaration: "Mission history will decide the strife of theories. We are convinced that this decision—already given relatively in the first and second mission periods—will be ratified universally in the third period. This decision runs: 'Christianity for mankind, and mankind for Christianity!'" (p. 304) Cf. Buss (1876): "Mission history teaches us with the powerful eloquence of its facts that Christianity has indeed the vocation and the ability to become the world religion . . . If, therefore, it has the power and the vocation to spread universally, the missions as such are not only absolutely and fundamentally justified, but must, moreover, be regarded as a sacred obligation—nay, even a necessity—in religious history" (Cf. Streit, 19 sq.).

<sup>16</sup> Fischer (loc. cit., 214 sqq.) cites as aids to the missions the opening of the entire world to the missionaries, the progress in geography and ethnography, the development of the telegraph and postal systems, the rapidity and safety with which we can now travel by land and sea, the progress in science (especially natural science); also the general tolerance and cessation of persecutions.

that would reshape from the very base their lives and spiritual outlook. Hand in hand with this development goes a convulsive groping after religion, and a burning desire for a better, since most of the native pagan religions are seized by the same decomposition as attacked the ancient Roman religions in the first centuries of the Christian era. To take advantage of this cultural metamorphosis—to make it a bridge for the introduction of the Gospel, and to gain admission to the pagan soul, not only for modern culture but simultaneously for its practically inseparable Christianity—is the great, inviting, and promising task of the missions.

But the missionary problem of our times has also a reverse side which lends an extraordinary gravity to the present crisis and emphasizes its importance. On the one hand, Protestantism and unbelief are now advancing into the pagan world along the same road of civilization and education as the Catholic missions have been following, and with more elaborate preparations for the conflict. On the other hand, the various non-European races and nations have been growing constantly more independent, and are now threatening to exclude gradually all foreign influences. Consequently, there is a grave danger in delay, and the religious fate of these races depends on the outcome of the decisive struggle that is being fought today. The future of the missions and of the Church itself for centuries hangs likewise in the balance, since it is unquestionable that the non-European peoples who now stand before the pillars of Hercules will hereafter exercise far greater influence in international affairs than they have heretofore done. Could any more urgent, imperative, or eloquent appeal be made to contemporary Christianity to exhaust every effort and make every sacrifice to obtain the objects so hotly contended for, than the terrible seriousness and the immeasurable import of this present missionary hour? A glance at the mission organizations at home will show that, even though we strain every nerve to develop the pagan missions, our efforts will still fall far short of the needs of the situation. If we examine the missionary funds contributed

by the various nations, we notice a very appreciable diminution in the contribution of France, which was heretofore the chief support of Catholic missionary work. If we compare the contributions of the different confessions, we observe an ever-wider participation in this work by Protestants. If we can succeed in arousing the Catholic peoples to much greater enthusiasm for and activity in missionary work, the Catholic missions will be properly equipped to engage in the gigantic contest, and victory will be ours. But unless we do succeed in arousing this spirit, every sober student of the missions must concede that the world-battle will be lost for Catholicism for a long, long time. What an effectual mission sermon is contained in those bare historical facts which no one can deny or weaken! Only persons who are entirely wanting in intelligence or who deliberately close their eyes to facts can deny the force of this warrant for the missions based on burning actuality.<sup>16</sup>

On the historical sanction of the missions, besides works on mission history, cf. for the Protestant standpoint: Plath, *Die Erwählung der Völker im Lichte der Missionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1867); Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. xiv (*Die geschichtliche Begründung*); *Idem*, *Warum ist das 19. Jahrhundert ein Missionsjahrhundert?* (Halle, 1880); *Idem*, *Die christliche Mission, ihre sachliche Begründung und tatsächliche Ausführung in der Gegenwart* (Halle, 1879); *Idem*, *Die Heidenmission, eine Grossmacht in Knechtsgestalt* (Halle, 1883); Mirbt, *Der Entscheidungskampf des Christentums um seine Stellung als Weltreligion in Basler Missionsstudien* (1912), 39; John Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation* (New York, 1905); *Idem*, *The Decisive Hour of the World Missions and Ourselves* (Cincinnati, 1910); Report of the World Missionary Congress

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<sup>16</sup> "Our first concern should be to turn the present world situation to the advantage of the missions. It is no exaggeration to say that mankind today is gripped with a religious perturbation. We encounter this feeling among countless non-Christian peoples. Experience teaches us that this condition very frequently awakens a desire for something better, and thus creates favorable preliminary conditions for the Christian teaching. It may, however, also develop into religious torpor and indifference, which are more difficult to overcome than open hostility. Furthermore, we have no assurance that all these factors which are at present favorable to missionary work will aid us later; and there may come a time when the doors which are now open to us will close again. The present belongs to us; but as to the future, who can tell? Wherefore, work while it is yet day!" (Conclusions drawn from the World Situation, Mirbt, 18).

of Edinburgh, I.—On the Catholic side, besides Meinertz (11 sq.) and Fischer (VI), cf. Schmidlin's articles in various publications; Schwager, *Die gegenwärtige Lage der katholischen Heidenmission* (*ZM.*, I (1911), 71 sqq.). Concerning both the consoling and devastating consequences of the Great War, and the consequent need for increased missionary activity, cf. the conclusion of this section in the first edition and the articles by Schmidlin mentioned there. The first edition also contained (with quotations from Linckens, Fischer, etc.) the refutation of theoretical and some practical objections to the missions.

A Catholic mission apology, that is, a defense of the specifically Catholic mission theory and practice (which possibly might have been fitly included as Section C of the present division), has been essayed by Schmidlin in *ZM.*, X (1920), 152—173. Concerning confessional mission polemics and its literature, cf. *loc. cit.*, 93 sqq.

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## II. The Mission Subject

### A. The Home Subject

#### 1. Subject of the Sending

As "mission" connotes a "sending" as well as Christianization, the term demands a "subject." The sending subject is identical with the agents and directors of the missionary organization at home, while the foreign agents of the missions represent the active or "sent" mission subject and to that extent the object of the sending.

We have already seen that the "sending" is not a mere etymological survival, but constitutes such an essential basis for the pagan missions that even Protestant mission theory is unable to dispense with it, and devotes the main portion of its discussion to the question of the "sender" as the transmitter of the missionary right and obligation. Owing to the weakness of its principle of organization and authority, it is exceedingly difficult for Protestantism to identify the immediate subject of the sending, and it thus has no other option than to represent Christ and the Holy Ghost as the ultimate sender; and inasmuch as this evasion helps but little, it postulates also, as the visible sending subject the community reminded of the mission command by the Holy Spirit. Warneck goes still further, and demands, as a prerequisite of the sending, a regularly constituted management, and indeed an authoritative sending body. He bases this demand first on Our Saviour's missionary command, which was not addressed merely to the Apostles, but was meant for all time and created a permanent official institute, even though there may have been periods when this sending "paused" (this applies, of course, only to the Protestant missionary activity). His demand is also based on the specific, personal and official pagan apostolate to which the Apostle Paul was called by God—an office, which the Council of the Apostles expressly and officially sanctioned, thereby giving the pagan missions for the first time a basis in canon law. Later came the historical sanction of the missions from the practice of 1800 years and the "prophetic figures" through which God again and again recalled the missionary idea to the consciousness of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Like the ecclesiasti-

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<sup>1</sup> In so far as the Protestant conception of the missions is concerned, this chain of continuity suffered a fatal interruption through

cal service at home, the missionary service also needs official agents. Following the procedure of St. Paul and Jesus Christ Himself, the Church must superintend the authoritative calling and commissioning of these agents; otherwise, the necessary guarantee for the extension of the Church will not be supplied by a well ordered administration of the missionary service, because the complicated task of the missions demands competent and trained missionaries. The very idea of the sending requires, indeed, a regularly constituted and authoritative subject or agent, to issue the call and commission to the missionaries, test and prepare them, and provide for their assignment and support. In contradistinction to the Apostles who were sent directly by God, the calling and preparation in non-apostolic times has had to be executed by human agencies and authorities, because, since Christ's Ascension, the exterior human commission needs to be added in normal cases to the interior Divine call. "Unless there is such a governing office to issue and conduct the sending, the missions lack every guarantee of a sound management . . . . Only thus was it possible to root the missions in the mother country; and but for those deep roots which they struck at home, they would never have won the extension in the pagan world that they possess to-day" (II, 19 sq.).

Warneck felt instinctively the need of constantly defending these propositions in various forms against the "service of free-lance missionaries," which held that the missionary vocation was delivered individually and directly from God, and thus "substituted self-selection for the sending." This individualism may be found especially among certain Anglo-American Protestants who believe that they are thus following the example of the apostolic, charismatic, and spiritual era, and wrongly assume that missionary activity consists in as rapid a proclamation as possible of the Gospel. In discussing this mistaken view, Warneck admits that the independent preaching of Christianity may proceed side by side with the regular missionary service, and that an extraordinary, direct Divine call may, in exceptional cases and "in an unofficial way," dispense with the human agency of authority (especially as an emergency measure at the inception of new missions, when regularly constituted sending headquarters are still lacking). Nevertheless, the nature of the obligatory sending commission necessarily assumes, and experience confirms, that under ordinary conditions an official sending is indispensable. "It cannot be left to mere chance or the voluntary impulse of individuals to determine whether the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to all peoples" (II, 9). "If we were to accept as the rule for service under the New Testament the direct call without an intermediate commission by human agencies, we should not only open both gate and door to fanaticism, but would admit also a confusion which would necessarily bring the greatest disorder in its train" (II, 19).

We here see the Protestant spokesman in the same cruelly embarrassing position, and involved in a dilemma and vicious circle as fatal as Luther's when he was confronted with the fanatics. Practical the apathy of the Reformers themselves, and their successors, towards the missions.

necessity drives him inevitably to accept a "sending" mission authority: "Absolute independence is also shown to be untenable in practice" (II, 16 sq.). "Even among these [the most independent societies] practice always overcomes theory: they cannot exist permanently as societies without a well-regulated service" (II, 9). On the other hand, the Protestant writer on mission theory possesses no dogmatic weapon for the defense of his thesis; on the contrary, he stands to a certain extent in open contradiction of the inmost principle and essence of Protestantism. Consequently, the reproaches of unbridled independence and unsound religious subjectivism, which Warneck (II, 14) hurls at the missionary free-lances, recoil on him with undiminished force, and Protestantism is reduced *ad absurdum* by its own mission practice, because of the defective sanction of its sending authority. Again, according to the official Protestant view, which associates the mission command with all the faithful and not with a privileged station, no one can be prevented from engaging in the missionary service on his own initiative as in answer to a direct call from Above. This is indeed the only view of the missions consistent with Protestantism; and Warneck's admissions derived from practice are absolutely Catholic in import. Neither in the mission command of Jesus, nor in the apostolate of St. Paul, nor in the sanction of his own church, can the Protestant find a legal restriction of or authority for the sending; so that even Warneck himself (as we shall see later) names as the agent of the sending, not the official Church, but free associations of circles of believers who have no more fundamental claim to or monopoly of the sending authority than has the independent individual. How with this theory "a certain degree of supervision by the official ecclesiastical societies is to be associated is a problem which even today has not been satisfactorily solved." Consequently, at the Edinburgh World Missionary Congress also, the great, ever-recurring but elusive question was: Church missions or independent missions?

For us Catholics the solution of this question is very easy and simple. What Protestant mission practice regards as a dictate of actual necessity has been not only actually realized in the Catholic mission but is an undeniable consequence of their dogmatic and canonical premises. [In harmony with the Catholic faith and practice in every century, in harmony also with the practice of Jesus and Paul, the Church regards the "sending"—the authoritative sending of pagan missions—as her exclusive and inalienable right and office.<sup>2</sup> Consequently,

<sup>2</sup> "In the Roman [sic] missions, the answer to this question [Who sends?] is brief and convenient: the Church. Here the human sending agent stands completely [but in reality not more completely than in the Protestant missions!] in the place of God. Whosoever the Church sends, he is sent by God" (Warneck II, 22). "As, in the Roman Church the spirit has been reduced to machinery [?]

all danger of individual, free-lance propaganda is eliminated immediately in so far as the Catholic missions are concerned: for only those who have been sent and commissioned by the Church are empowered officially and professionally, as legitimate and authentic interpreters of the divine and ecclesiastical message, to preach the Gospel to the pagan peoples, to offer them salvation, to convert them to Christianity, and to receive them into the bosom of the Church.<sup>3</sup> According to the Catholic view, the mission command and commission, and with them the missionary authority of Christ, were not addressed to every single individual or to the Christian community in general; they were addressed to the chosen Apostles and the representatives and successors appointed by them. For us also, in the final analysis, God (and the Son of God who was sent to convert and redeem the world) is the highest mission and sending subject—the Supreme Sender, who not only first issued the universal mission command and entrusted the mission authority to His Church, but also continues through the grace of the Holy Ghost to select individually and directly the agents for this work and to awaken<sup>4</sup> missionary vocations. Wherefore, the Catholic missionaries can also claim the title of true messengers and ambassadors of God, of divinely authorized and empowered representatives and preachers of Christian truth. The specific and official powers of their calling, however, are transmitted to them ordinarily only through the ecclesiastical agencies.<sup>5</sup>

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the hierarchical and juristic conception of the Church permits a quick, mechanical [?] solution of the difficult problem of the subject of the sending" (loc. cit., II, 25). "On the basis of this [?] conception of the Church, which is diseased in its very roots, the Roman missions acquire an absolutely [?] hierarchical and not a congregational [democratic] character" (loc. cit., II, 26).

<sup>3</sup> The going out of individual missionaries on their own authority is an impossibility according to the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church (II, 24).

<sup>4</sup> Materially, through intellectual and moral qualifications; formally, through the general call in Holy Orders; and specifically, through the ecclesiastical assignment to a definite territory (cf. Vermeersch).

<sup>5</sup> Even Warneck admits: "Both must therefore concur—the interior Divine impulse and the exterior human calling" (II, 22).

The subject of the Catholic missions, of the mission right and the mission obligation, is thus in the wider sense the Church as a whole. This we have already shown in discussing the truths of faith when we were establishing the dogmatic and ethical sanctions of the missions. It consequently follows that the Church as a whole, the community of all the faithful, and therefore also every individual Catholic according to his position in the hierarchical constitution, is bound by the general obligation towards the missions—the obligation to make them possible and support them. There can be no doubt that, in contradistinction to the attenuated Protestant system of Christianity, the Catholic Church in its organic form and hierarchical constitution is the subject and agent of the missions, and that thus the relations of the subject to the missions must also be determined by the laws of this hierarchical institute. However, in view of the varying degrees of participation found within the ecclesiastical body, the further questions immediately arise: Who in the Church is the immediate mission subject? In what way and degree are the different ecclesiastical authorities bound to promote the missions? Who, as the personal and official holder and representative of the mission right and obligation, bears the responsibility for the fulfilment of the Divine mission command? Who must send out missionaries, who perform the “sending,” who conduct the missions, and who support them? From this series of questions, two mission factors—two categories of mission subjects—may be deduced: the home and the foreign, the “sending” in the widest sense and the “sent.” We shall first consider the former group—the “sending” or home subject.

According to Catholic dogma and canon law, it follows as a consequence of the monarchical and primatial constitution of the Church that the Pope of Rome, as representative of Christ and successor of St. Peter, stands at the head of the whole Church and of all its activities, and thus also of the ecclesiastical missions.<sup>5a</sup> In the Pope,

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<sup>5a</sup> Cf. *CIC.*, Can. 1350, § 2: *in aliis territoriis universa missionum cura apud acatholicos Sedi Apostolicæ unice reservatur.*

therefore, we have the supreme visible ruler and agent of the pagan missions. It is he who, in the final analysis, must send out missionaries and assign them their tasks, supervise and regulate both the home and the foreign mission organizations, establish (or sanction), rule, and control missionary societies and associations, superintend and direct the practical work in the mission fields, especially by regulating the organization of the missions and appointing their hierarchy.<sup>6</sup> He is the ultimate source of every sending forth of missionaries, and to him every missionary delegation and authority must be traced. From the Pope thus emanates that wonderful centralization and uniformity which have awakened such admiration and envy among persons of other confessions, and which constitute the specific prerogative of the Catholic over the Protestant missions. Split up and rent by their differences, the latter present a dreary and unwholesome spectacle which is, frequently yet in an artificial manner only, covered up by their antagonism to Catholicism.

The papacy has claimed and exercised the supreme supervision of the missions in every age, although during the earliest Christian period this supremacy was not so conspicuous in practice as the initiative of single churches or clerics. It is due primarily to the papal direction that, despite all reactions, the Catholic missions have always received a new incentive, and have enjoyed a continuous and uniform organic development.<sup>7</sup> From the fact that the Popes had always fulfilled their task of sending out missionaries to every part of the world, the Carmelite Thomas a Jesu (seventeenth century) furnished the historical proof that the papacy was primarily responsible for the conversion and salvation of the pagans.

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<sup>6</sup> Consequently, in places which do not belong to any diocese, the Pope is the bishop.

<sup>7</sup> Fischer, *Jesu letzter Wille*, 87 sqq. Even before the creation of the Propaganda, the whole missionary organization rested, as Warneck (II, 23) admits, on the immediate or indirect papal delegation. We shall not discuss in detail here the question whether the direct sending to pagan missions, which was exercised by the bishops in earlier times, was a right vested in them in virtue of a *ius divinum*, or was merely delegated or tolerated by the Holy See.

Similarly, his brother in religion, Matthias a Corona, demonstrated the sanctity of the popes by their care in sending out apostolic messengers of the faith.<sup>8</sup> Theoretical and practical grounds for the proposition that the popes had to establish and authorize mission organizations and to cultivate and support missionary work were also furnished by the Franciscans Caron and Gubernatis, in the same century; by Erasmus of Rotterdam, in the sixteenth; by Bernard of Clairvaux, as early as the twelfth; and by Raymond Lully in the fourteenth. This special obligation of the Pope is officially declared in the Constitution founding the Propaganda in 1622, where the ascending degrees of the obligation to participate in the "work of leading souls to the Church of Christ" are developed:—first of all come the faithful, then the bishops, and finally the Supreme Head of the Church.<sup>9</sup>

While, therefore, it is not true that according to the Catholic conception the Pope is simply the Church, as Warneck insinuates, the latter is yet in accord with our ecclesiastical traditions when he continues: "The question, 'Who sends?' is promptly answered as follows: the Pope sends, or conveys his sending right to authorized agents who exercise this right in his name."<sup>10</sup> The centralization of the Catholic mission authority, however, is not so absolute that the Pope monopolizes, as it were, the missions and rejects all co-operation and assistance in their administration. On the contrary, he shares his rights and powers with other agents, and assigns to the latter a certain initiative and relative autonomy, while continuing to assert his claim to be and remain the final arbiter of the missions.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Thomas a Jesu, *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613), and Matthias a Corona, *De missionibus apostolicis* (1675).

<sup>9</sup> "Quocirca quod Apostolis omnibus a Domino mandabatur, ut praedicarent Evangelium omni creaturae, principaliter Petro incumbabat, qui omnibus praestabat prerogativa Principatus, et cui soli iniunctum fuerat a Domino, ut pasceret oves suas"—with an allusion also to St. Peter's vision at Joppe (*Ius pontificium de Propaganda Fide*, I, 1).

<sup>10</sup> *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 22.

Who, then, are these other agents? The Pope has designated the Congregation of the Propaganda<sup>11</sup> as the central mission authority "ad hoc." This Congregation consists of about twenty-five cardinals and fifty consultants; it holds conferences every week, and plenary meetings monthly. It was instituted by the Constitution of Gregory XV, of June 22, 1622,<sup>12</sup> after various writers on mission theory—especially Thomas a Jesu (1613) and still earlier Raymond Lully—had emphasized the necessity of the uniform conduct of home and foreign missions by a special body, and had thus prepared the way for the creation of the Propaganda.<sup>13</sup> A special "mission *ministerium*" was thus created with the distinctive task of promoting and superintending the missions, whereas earlier the various Orders and jurisdictions had overlapped more or less, unregulated and without any strict definition of their respective authorities. So great an improvement was this mission organization that even Protestant writers on mission theory, like Justinian von Weltz and Hoornbeek, were compelled to laud its advantages while vainly recommending their co-religionists to imitate it.<sup>14</sup> In the Propaganda is vested the duty, not of directly sending out all the individual missionaries, which is usually done by the societies, but of erecting and defining, dividing and uniting, reducing and suppressing, the separate mission territories; of entrusting the missionary societies with the charge and administration of these territories and commissioning them to send forth future missionaries; of proposing or designating<sup>15</sup> the mission superiors (bishops, vicars, and prefects);

<sup>11</sup> The Pope nominates the members for life, and the subordinate officials *ad beneplacitum*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ius pontificium*, I, 1 sqq., and *Collectanea*, I, 2 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> The historical aspect of the creation and development of the Propaganda belongs to mission history. Cf. Schmidlin's Jubilee article in *ZM.*, XII (1922), 1 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Galm, *Das Erwachen des Missionsgedankens im Protestantismus der Niederlande* (1914). "The *Congregatio de propaganda fide* is beyond doubt one of the most magnificent institutes in the world" (Warneck, *Missionslehre*, II, 23). Cf. also Huonder in *KM.*, L (1922), 65 sqq., and Pieper in *ZM.*, XII (1922), 31 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> The vicars are named by *Literæ apostolicæ*, and the prefects by *Literæ patentes* of the Propaganda (can. 298, § 2).



of granting the proper powers (faculties and privileges) and dispensations for the lands under its supervision; of receiving mission reports and questions on missionary matters, and of giving the universally binding, as well as the directive or advisory, mission decisions.<sup>16</sup> However, notwithstanding the original intention of Pope Gregory XV in creating it, the Propaganda is by no means the exclusive central missionary authority. Large missionary territories are even today withdrawn from its jurisdiction, while on the contrary non-Catholic Christian lands are subject to it.<sup>17</sup> Actual subordination to the Propaganda is thus a result of historical circumstances.

When Pius X reorganized the Roman Curia by the Constitution, *Sapienti consilio*, of June 29, 1908, the Propaganda underwent a decisive reform, and its jurisdiction was substantially reduced. In the first place, the territorial sphere of its jurisdiction was limited to lands with a mission hierarchy (apostolic vicariates and prefectures); and consequently a number of organized dioceses which were no longer in an incomplete initial or missionary stage were removed from all connection with the Propaganda.<sup>18</sup> This decrease in the territory subject to the Propaganda will progress still further, since, accord-

<sup>16</sup> "*Ut omnia et singula negotia ad fidem in universo mundo propagandam pertinentia cognoscant et tractent et graviora . . . ad nos referant, alia vero per se ipsos decidant et expediant pro eorum prudentia; missionibus omnibus ad praedicandum et docendum evangelium et catholicam doctrinam superintendant, ministros necessarios constituent et mutent*" (*Ius pontificium*, I, 2). Can. 252, 1. Cf. can. 215 of the new *Codex Iuris Canonici (suprema ecclesiastica potestas)*.

<sup>17</sup> Krose, Hilling, Grentrup, and (on the Protestant side) Mejer and Warneck.

<sup>18</sup> Especially Great Britain and North America, aggregating 30 archdioceses and 147 dioceses, while on the other hand 11 South American missionary dioceses were transferred from the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Propaganda. Cf. the text in the Bull of Reorganization: "*Sacrae huius Congregationis iurisdictio iis est circumscripta regionibus, ubi sacra hierarchia nondum constituta. Verum, quia regiones nonnullae, etsi hierarchia constituta, adhuc inchoatum aliquid prae se ferunt, eas Congregationi de Propaganda Fide subiectas esse volumus . . . Reliquae ecclesiasticae provinciae ac dioeceses, iurisditioni de Propaganda Fide, hactenus subiectae, in eius iure ac potestate maneamt. Pariter ad eam pertinere decernimus Vicariatus omnes Apostolicos, Praefecturas seu missiones quaslibet, eas quoque, quae Congregationi a negotiis ecclesiasticis extraordinariis modo subsunt.*"

ing to the principle now established, all missionary bishoprics will become subject to the common law as soon as they are ripe for this promotion. On the personal side, the competence of the Propaganda was also diminished, since the regular clergy in the missions were subject to it only as missionaries (in other respects to the *Congregatio pro religiosis*), furthermore, it thenceforth possessed no jurisdiction over the mission societies, and might issue the quinquennial faculties only to subordinate bishops. Finally, the powers of Propaganda were actually decreased, since it no longer discharged within its jurisdiction the tasks of the other Roman Congregations. Previously, it possessed "*in ventre*" (to quote the somewhat vulgar phrase) all these other powers, which extended to questions of faith, matrimony, rites, etc., but which were thenceforth vested in the Congregations of the Office, the Sacraments, Rites, etc. even for missionary territory.<sup>19</sup> We thus see that, in consequence of all these reforms, the Propaganda has lost not a little of its former legal status, which took greater account of the special character of the missions. It has, however, been rightly pointed out that the interests of both the whole Church and the pagan missions are furthered by the new regulations, which have effected a greater concentration and

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<sup>19</sup> The competence of the Congregations of the Holy Office, the Index, Rites, Ceremonies, and Extraordinary Affairs extends without qualification to the missionary lands. The Congregation for the Sacraments has a limited jurisdiction in matrimonial causes (not, however, in connection with the *Privilegium Paulinum* or impediments *disparitatis cultus et mixtae religionis*, which pertain to the Holy Office), and the Congregation of Religious has jurisdiction over the missionaries in their character as regular clergy. Furthermore, territories under the Propaganda are within the jurisdiction of the following three tribunals for strictly legal proceedings: the *Poenitentiarum pro foro interno*, the *Rota Romana*, and the *Signatura*. Consequently, the Propaganda must share the government of its territories with these Curial bodies. It thus still retains unrestricted jurisdiction only in matters pertaining to the Congregation of the Consistory, the Council, and the Studies: its restricted competence in matters of the Congregation of the Sacraments and Religions has been already explained (*Const. Sapientis Consilio*, AAS., I (1909), 1—19; *Ordo servandus in Romana Curia*, *ibid.*, 36—135). Cf. also especially Hilling, *Die rechtliche Stellung der Propagandakongregation in ZM.*, I (1911), 147 sqq., Grentrup, *Die rechtlichen Beziehungen der Missionsländer in AKK.* (1913), 277 sqq.

uniformity—a rigid consolidation on one hand and a clear differentiation on the other. It has also been shown that the work of the Propaganda itself has been facilitated and made more homogeneous, while the dioceses withdrawn from its jurisdiction have attained independence. The new codification of canon law essentially confirms and to a certain extent clarifies the constitution and administration of the Propaganda, by defining its duties as not only the superintendence of the preaching of the Gospel in the pagan territories, the appointment and recruiting of the missionaries, the consideration and execution of all necessary or useful steps to promote these purposes, and the convocation and confirmation of mission councils, but also the erection and management of the mission seminaries at home, the training of missionaries, and their ordination and appointment.<sup>20</sup> In the separation of the Oriental Congregation for the Oriental Missions, the Propaganda suffered the greatest abridgment of its jurisdiction.<sup>21</sup>

Cf. Mejer, *Die Propaganda, ihre Provinzen, und ihr Recht* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1852); Warneck, *Evangel. Missionslehre*, II, 23; Fabricius, *Salutaris lux evangelii* (Hamburg, 1731), chap. 33. Catholic Works: Baumgarten, *Die Hl. Kongregation zur Verbreitung des Glaubens und ihr Gebiet in Katholik*, 69, I (1889), 250 sqq.; *Idem*, *Das Wirken der kath. Kirche auf dem Erdenrund* (1906), 123 sqq., Bangen, *Die römische Kurie*, 260; Schwager, *Die kath. Heidenmission der Gegenwart*, I (1907), 17 sqq.; Krose, *Katholische Missionsstatistik* (1908), 11; *La Propaganda* (Rome, 1875); Grentrup, *Die rechtlichen Beziehungen der Missionsländer zur römischen Kurie in der Gegenwart*, *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht* (1913), 277 sqq.; Hilling, *Die rechtliche Stellung der Propagandakongregation nach der neuen Kurialreform Pius' X. in ZM.*, I (1911), 147 sqq.; *Idem*, *Die Propagandakongregation in Missionsblätter für Studierende und Gebildete*, VI (1918), 42 sqq. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith*, Washington (1922). Also, besides the Jubilee Literature (especially *ZM.* (1922), and Arens (*Handbuch der kath. Missionen* (1925), 71 sqq.), *Gerarchia Cattolica*, *Annuario Ecclesiastico*, *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* and *Missiones Catholicae*.

The Propaganda, therefore, is far from monopolizing Catholic missionary affairs so completely as to leave no opportunity for other factors to display a more or less

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the decisions mentioned above regarding the territorial, personal, and actual jurisdiction of the Propaganda (can. 252).

<sup>21</sup> *Motu proprio* of 1917 (*AAS.*, IX (1917), 529 sqq.) and *CIC.* (can. 257).

independent initiative and activity. Such factors, in so far as the home cultivation of the missions is concerned, are (besides the Pope and the Roman Curia) the bishops and clergy.<sup>22</sup> As the successors of the Apostles and inheritors of the Divine mission command, the bishops are bound to promote missionary work by urging their priests and flock to support it, and may not regard themselves as relieved of this obligation of their office by the ecclesiastical needs at home.<sup>23</sup> The bishops, however, enjoy a right corresponding to this obligation: it is their right to conduct and superintend the mission organizations within their dioceses, to be consulted in connection with mission collections and undertakings,<sup>24</sup> to approve and control mission associations, and to admit and inspect mission societies and mission houses within their territory, in so far as this is not contrary to papal exemptions.<sup>25</sup> This obligation and right of the episcopate cannot be displaced or compensated for by the mission associations. The bishops of the home dioceses are assuredly not expected to concern themselves with the details of the missions in the pagan fields; but in virtue of the vocation assigned them by God and inherited from the Apostles, they must according to the Catholic view exercise at least a certain supervision of the missionary activity at home, although they need not take exclusive charge of the arousing and promotion of this activity. To put the matter more concretely, even though they need not concern themselves with the distribution of the alms among the various mission territories, they

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<sup>22</sup> As was already shown by Raymond Caron in his *Apostolatus evangelicus* (1653).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Jesu letzter Wille*, 70 sq.

<sup>24</sup> By Papal Decree, collections for the mission may be made only with the permission of the Prefect of the Propaganda and of the diocesan bishop (cf. Froberger, *Konferenz der Missionskommission*, 1910, 32 sqq.). Cf. the New Codex (can. 621—624, 691, §§ 3—5, 1503).

<sup>25</sup> How far they are justified in sending missionaries directly, as they did in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages—whether this right was theirs originally, and was only restricted by later prerogative or monopoly—we shall not discuss here. In the *Kölner Kursus* of 1916 (cf. *MKK., Report*, p. 2), Cardinal Hartmann decides in the negative.

should be in a position to see and know that the alms contributed by their dioceses are applied to the pagan missions.<sup>26</sup>

In the cultivation of the missions at home, as in every other ecclesiastical activity, the bishop must have the support especially of the secular clergy. If, as Warneck states, the pastor is to be regarded as "the most responsible and influential of the home mission workers," and as the "chief agent of the missions" without whose pastoral instructions and co-operation a sound missionary spirit cannot be developed in the community; if, furthermore, "in all camps of Evangelical Christianity, on both sides of the ocean, in established and free churches alike, only one voice" rules on this point, so that even the Anglo-American independent missions cannot dispense with the aid of the secular clergy,<sup>27</sup> how important and indispensable is the co-operation of the pastor in the Catholic Church! In both theory and practice, the pastor occupies a much more essential and influential position in the Catholic Church than in Protestantism which in principle recognizes no hierarchical distinction between clergy and laity. Consequently, the mission obligation

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<sup>26</sup> They have, therefore, at least the same rights and duties as Warneck ascribes to the home governing bodies of the Protestant Church in their relation towards the mission societies: they should possess fundamental information concerning the work and achievements of these societies within their own dioceses, make public acknowledgment of the missions by their church through the appointment and admission of mission organizations and collections, and finally lend their official support to the pagan missions (*Missionslehre*, II 59 sqq.). For, still more than the Protestant ecclesiastical authorities, the Catholic bishops at home, through the ordination of priests on the title of missions and through the previous examination of those who are to be ordained, share in the sending of missionaries (*loc. cit.*, II, 48 sqq.), even though the real *missio*, granted for the exercise of the powers in the mission field, does not emanate from them. Cf. *AMZ.*, VI (1879), 453 sqq.; XI (1884), 317; XV (1888), 120 sqq.

<sup>27</sup> "God's work indeed does not devolve entirely on the pastors: if they are silent, the voices of the laity will be raised; but it is a serious matter if these voices accuse the pastors before God. By their vocation the latter are and must remain the builders in the Kingdom of God; and consequently this constructive work which, in fulfilment of the commission from the Most High, aims at the spreading of the Kingdom to the ends of the earth, must also find in them its professional agents" (*Missionslehre*, II, 113 sq.).

rests more heavily on the priest than on the layman, and the promotion of the missionary movement—the arousing, confirming, and increasing of the missionary spirit at home—belongs “to the proper, ordinary, and immediate official and professional duties of every pastor at home.” He has certainly to consider his own congregation first, and need not engage personally in the service of the missions, because his own vocation prevents that. But it is his duty to exercise the different pastoral means to make the missions possible and create for them a home base. Among such means might be mentioned sermons and instructions, mission services and feasts, the encouragement of vocations and alms for the missions, the spreading of mission literature and periodicals, and the fostering of mission associations and societies (to which, however, he must not leave the whole task of enrolling members and every other detail). This duty again involves a certain right—not indeed a right to interfere in the foreign missionary organizations, but a claim to be heard in the home movement, at least within his own parish. In other words, he has the right, not only to cultivate and foster the missionary movement in his own community, but also to superintend and guide it. Consequently, the representatives of the various societies may not adopt an independent or wilful attitude, or act without consulting the local pastor. Conversely, with this missionary right is also associated a missionary obligation and responsibility, of which every pastor should be aware.<sup>28</sup> This obligation means that the pastor himself should be an enthusiastic friend of the missions and be always ready to support them, for only thus can he win the co-operation of others in this necessary task. It also means that the pastor must acquaint himself fully

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<sup>28</sup> “As the ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God (I Cor., iv, 1), and as sharers in the teaching office, every one of us is responsible, in proportion to his knowledge and capability, for the progress of the pagan missions. It is one of our most sacred duties of obedience to the Son of God, and an undoubted obligation of our office to support and promote to the best of our ability the highly important and truly ideal work of converting the pagans” (Ostermann, *Paderborner Missionskonferenz*, 51).

with the question of the missions, which he has to explain to his flock.<sup>29</sup>

On the whole question, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 113 sqq.; *Idem*, *Die Missionspflicht, welche die Kirche an den Heiden zu erfüllen hat*, in *AMZ.*, VI (1879), 433 sqq.; *Idem*, *Der Pastor als Arbeiter für die Heidenmission* in *AMZ.*, VII (1880), 49 sqq.; *Idem*, *Pflanzung und Pflege des Missionslebens in Kirche und Schule* in *AMZ.*, XIV (1887), 385 sqq.; Axenfeld, *Die Eingliederung der Arbeit für die Mission in die ordentliche pastorale Arbeit*, in *AMZ.*, XXX (1903), 445 sqq.; Jakob, *Der Pastor als berufsmässiger Pfleger der Mission in Jahrbuch d. sächs. Missionskonferenz* (1902), 52 sqq.; Haller, *Theorie und Praxis der konstruierten Missionskonferenzen* (Basel, 1902). For the Catholic viewpoint, consult the two addresses, of Father Schwager and Professor Schmidlin respectively, delivered at the Münster Missionary Conference on the pastoral means for promoting the missionary spirit at home, and on the necessity of securing the co-operation of the home-clergy in the work of the pagan missions (published as a brochure and in *ZM.*, II, 1912), 189); also the kindred addresses by Lausberg, Metz, Ostermann, Zahn, and Galm; finally, the periodicals, *Priester und Mission*, *Het Missiewerk*, *Rivista di Studi Missionari*, *Bulletin de l'union du clergé en faveur des missions*, *Kerk en Missie*, *Illuminare* (Spanish).

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<sup>29</sup> This view is supported by Warneck and the resolution of the Mission Conference of Münster. Pastors are recommended to join the mission association for priests, so that this pastoral work for the missions may be systematized and unified. Cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, II, 18 sq.: "All the preceding statements invariably bring us back to the indispensability of the co-operation of the clergy. If a zealous and enlightened missionary spirit is to flourish among the school children, the members of sodalities, the trades-unions, the high schools and the girls' schools, in the universities and among the educated classes, the intelligent guidance of the secular clergy is everywhere the essential requirement. Once the secular clergy of every country realize the world-embracing missionary task of the Church, grasp its extreme urgency, and accordingly explain it to the faithful, the Catholic Church will within a few years be the missionary Church which its Founder willed it to be. It will then fulfil its apostolic obligation with such overwhelming energy that the powerful missionary organization of Protestantism will be cast into the shade, and the fortresses of paganism will begin to totter." Dr. Grundemann, the Protestant mission statistician, justly says: "If all priests were ardent representatives of the pagan missions, and used their influence in the confessional to further them, the Catholics would necessarily have furnished astonishing means for the missions" (*Missionsstudien und -kritiken*, II, 200). Prince Löwenstein addresses the theologians as follows: "How shall we become ardent for the spreading of the holy faith, unless you, the guardians of the faith, enkindle the fire? How shall we realize our share in the missionary obligation, unless you instruct us?" Cf. *Eröffnung des Akademischen Missionsvereins zu Münster*, 25).

## 2. Missionary Societies and Associations

Of the two kinds of missionary organizations which must be regarded as the chief executive agents of the home missionary movement, the Catholic missionary societies must be ranked first, because they have to supply and train the actual personnel of the missions. These societies are absolutely indispensable, at least under the missionary methods of today. It is indeed possible to conceive in the abstract another method of sending out and directing missions. For example, the Pope or the bishops might send out missionaries directly, either to work singly or as a body. This method was, in fact, followed on many occasions in ancient times and during the Middle Ages, but (as later in the case of the Protestant missionary organizations) historical development and practical necessity brought it to pass that, besides the official ecclesiastical "subjects" and the supporters of the missions at home, special societies were formed on a voluntary basis with the special object of undertaking missionary work. The whole complicated structure of the missionary movement at home and in the mission fields rendered it advisable to entrust the task of preserving contact between the home base and the missions, not to the home ecclesiastical authorities, nor to representatives of the supporters of the missions, still less to the too distant mission hierarchy, but to a missionary society especially instituted for this purpose and entrusted with this task by the Church. There is a radical difference between these societies and the corresponding Protestant bodies. The latter are often associations or corporations pursuing, more or less, missionary work on a businesslike basis in the name of a larger association which stands behind them, and giving special prominence to the financial side of their undertaking. The Catholic missionary societies are established on a much deeper and more ideal basis, as they rest on the solid principles of Christian asceticism.

For many centuries the Catholic Church has possessed an institution which is admirably suited to assume the rights and duties of the missions, and which has thus



been the chief agent of missionary work since the Middle Ages. This institution, which Protestantism rejected in principle immediately after its separation and consequently now sorely needs for the cultivation of its missions, is that of religious Orders or Societies. From these bodies the greater part of the Catholic missionary contingent is drawn.<sup>1</sup> The whole organization and spirit of these Orders, their admirable system of division of labor and subordination, their community of goods and community life, their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, their striving for special perfection and heroic asceticism, their connection with the home on the one hand and their nobility and capacity for action on the other—all these characteristics lend to the Catholic regular Orders advantages which make them appear especially fitted for the pagan missions, apart from the fact that the circle of ideals and obligations of these Orders necessarily includes the desire and endeavor to convert the pagans.<sup>2</sup>

We shall not attempt to decide the contest which is still being waged between the different religious institutes to prove which has rendered the greatest missionary services and which is best suited for the missions. It is sufficient to say here that all the Orders are adapted

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<sup>1</sup> According to Arens (*Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 30) not less than four fifths, of whom half belong to the real or older Orders.

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1613, in the second book of his great work, Thomas a Jesu demonstrated at length on historical and theoretical grounds that the regular clergy are entitled to first consideration as the executive agents of the missions; that they—not only the cenobites who live in community and lead active lives, but also the hermits who devote themselves to contemplation—are bound also to cultivate the missions; since not even the most sublime contemplation or the most strict *clausura* may excuse the latter from their missionary call. Most rigidly bound of all are the Mendicant Orders, which, because of their original aims, are specially suited for the missions (*De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, 59 sqq.). The other writers on mission theory of the same period, according to their personal allegiances, also affirmed the special missionary qualifications and obligations of their orders, citing the missionary achievements and the numerous powers and privileges which were granted to the regular clergy (especially their own order) for missionary activity. Joseph Acosta thus wrote for the Jesuits, Thomas a Jesu for the Carmelites, and Herborn, Caron, and Gubernatis for the Franciscans.

and called for the pagan missions, although some may be more so than others. It is immediately apparent that all the Orders will show in their missionary work specific peculiarities and characteristic methods—some advantageous and others detrimental—which are organically bound up with their very essence and their special aims.<sup>3</sup> In recent times the older Orders have been joined by the Congregations,<sup>4</sup> of which many were founded especially for missionary work and have thus adopted this task as the essential if not the exclusive feature of their program. Passing over the few non-missionary Orders, we must accordingly distinguish (1) those Orders and Societies that have other important aims (e. g., home missions) besides the pagan missions, like the Benedictines of the Early Middle Ages,<sup>5</sup> the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians of the Late Middle Ages, and the Jesuits and Capuchins of the modern era, and (2) the Mission Societies proper that have for their exclusive or prevailing aim service in the pagan missions, such as the Society of the Divine Word, the Pallottini, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, the White Fathers, etc.,<sup>6</sup> besides the many missionary congregations for women and the various societies of mission auxiliaries (School Brothers etc.).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For example, the Benedictines emphasize the principles of stability, monastic settlements, patriarchal relations to the superiors, an aversion to absolute centralization and a preference for agriculture.

<sup>4</sup> The distinction is a purely canonical one, and consists in the fact that the members of the Congregations take only simple vows, while the members of the Orders take three solemn vows of profession at the hands of their superiors (Arens, *Handbuch der kathol. Missionen*, 28 sqq., and the literature given there).

<sup>5</sup> The Mission Society of St. Benedict, as a special missionary congregation, devotes itself exclusively to the pagan missions, and thus belongs to the mission societies (cf. its Constitutions of 1913).

<sup>6</sup> The White Fathers and the Pallottini are really only associations of secular clergy, inasmuch as they take no vows, but merely make a promise.

<sup>7</sup> Arens (*Handbuch*, 29, 82, 87) enumerates 52 missionary associations of priests—18 Orders and 34 Congregations. Among the latter, two are old and 32 of more recent foundation, of which 9

As to which of the two classes merits the preference from the missionary standpoint, it is difficult to say. The older Orders have the advantage of possessing large organizations that are more firmly rooted in the general ecclesiastical life at home; while the modern bodies, on the other hand, are able to devote themselves more intensively and freely to missionary work, inasmuch as increased activity and elasticity are marked characteristics of these institutes. The general constitution of all these Societies is the same as that of the Orders (excepting the most ancient Order of all—the Benedictine).<sup>8</sup> The relation of the home base of the Order to the home mission authorities on the one hand, and to the foreign mission authorities on the other, varies greatly. It is usually regulated as follows: the Propaganda exercises a general supervision in missionary matters, confers the missionary powers for both the home and mission territory, and names the mission superiors; the heads of the Order, on the other hand, appoint local Order Superiors, to whom the missionaries are personally subordinate. Sometimes, to avoid questions of competence, both functions are by common understanding associated in one person.<sup>9</sup>

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are founded for missionary work mainly. He also enumerates 11 associations of Brothers which are active on the missions, and 298 associations of Sisters distributed over Europe and America.

<sup>8</sup> At the head usually stands a General with a Council or General Chapter; over each province stands a Provincial with a Provincial Chapter, and over each cloister or house a Rector (Superior, Guardian, Abbot, Prior). The most important Superiors are usually elected by the chapters with papal approval, while the house Superiors are named by the governing board of the Order. Cf. the Statutes of the individual Orders and Congregations.

<sup>9</sup> As a rule, the Provincial Superiors (e. g., the Religious Superiors of the Steyl Congregation, the Superiors of the Jesuits, and the Visitors of the Lazarists) are different from the Mission Superiors. Furthermore, according to the Constitutions of the Benedictines of St. Ottilien, the ecclesiastical Mission Superior is not identical with the *Superior regularis*, and his character of missionary is subject to the Holy See although he remains a member of the Order and must report to the Lord Abbot (111 sq.). Cf. the Statutes of the other Societies (Pallottini, Capuchins, etc.). Since the Curial Reform of 1908, the missionaries as regular clergy are under the *Congregatio pro religiosis*. We do not propose to discuss here the shortcomings of the Mission Societies. Professor Pieper has laid his finger on one failing (*MKK.*, 109).

The pagan missions, however, must not be regarded as so exclusive a matter of the Regular Orders<sup>10</sup> that the secular clergy have not also the right and obligation to participate in them directly. Even in earlier times, the secular clergy engaged in the missions, although they possessed no special form of organization for this work. More recently, specially organized Mission Societies for Secular Priests have taken their place beside the Missionary Orders and Congregations. Included among these are the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères* in Paris, the Italian Mission Institute, and to a certain extent the Propaganda College.<sup>11</sup> Proceeding on a principle almost opposite to the earlier exclusively monastic organization of the missions, which carried the tendencies of the respective Order into the mission field and thus greatly impeded the development of a purely secular hierarchy in the mission churches, the Paris Missionary Society, disregarding its own interests as an organization, sought to enroll recruits from the secular clergy of the different dioceses, and to establish especially the authority of the missionary bishop in the ecclesiastical structure of the mission. According to their plan, no General Superior<sup>12</sup> was to exercise supreme jurisdiction over the territories, but all affairs were to be regulated by the common rulings of the mission superiors and the Directors of the Seminary, and all the offices in the Seminary were to be

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<sup>10</sup> As might be supposed, for example, from the writings of Father Wehrmeister, O.S.B.

<sup>11</sup> Besides the Paris Foreign Seminary, Arens (*Handbuch*, 65 sqq.) mentions the Seminary of Lyons for the African Missions; the Seminaries of Milan, Turin, Parma, and Rome; the Swiss, Spanish, Portuguese, Irish, American, and Canadian Seminaries; the Seminary of Mill Hill and the Society of St. Joseph of Baltimore for Colored Missions. He includes the Scheutveld and Verona Institutes among the Congregations, and the Apostolic Schools of the Jesuits among various missionary associations. Up to the present, all attempts to establish a Missionary Society for Secular Priests in Germany have failed; but this plan is being again widely discussed.

<sup>12</sup> Its advantage lies in increased initiative and individuality; its disadvantage, in weakened organization and continuity. But sometime ago the Paris Missionary Society also created the office of a Superior General.

filled by practical missionaries.<sup>13</sup> Inasmuch, however, as this organization of secular priests also represents itself legally and publicly as a mission Society, one may say that behind all the Catholic missions of today stands a Society as the immediate sending subject at home.

In contrast to the Protestant organizations, the duties, rights, and obligations of a Catholic missionary society are independent of the mission community, since the society derives its power, not from the community, but from the ecclesiastical hierarchy; yet, fuller information as to the missions, and contact with them, both personal and through literature reports, articles, lectures, etc., is to be desired for their Catholic friends. The Catholic missionary societies have also to represent their missions before the ecclesiastical and state authorities and other missionary societies, conduct the necessary negotiations with these, attend to the collection, administration, and employment of the mission budget,<sup>14</sup> erect and maintain the mission houses and institutions, and finally supply the mission with the necessary personnel. In other words, they have to seek out, obtain, and provide a scientific and ascetic training for the missionary priests, brothers and sisters; and they have to procure for them their means of support, although not in the form of a salary as is done by the Protestant bodies.<sup>15</sup> In the actual tasks and problems of the missions the missionary societies share with the home and (especially) the foreign-mission hierarchies which issue their instructions through these channels and conversely receive reports. It is also the task of the society to seek out and take over the mission

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Statutes of the Society; also Launay, *Hist. génér. de la Soc. des Miss. Etr.*, I (1894); Schwager, *Die kathol. Heidenmission der Gegenwart*, I, 40 sq.; *La Société des Missions Etrangères* (1916); Huonder in *KM.*, XLV (1917), 169 sqq. The Paris Seminary has also served as a model for most of the later missions of secular priests.

<sup>14</sup> This task is all the more difficult because they have no assured income to draw upon but must depend on voluntary and uncertain almsgiving; for they are usually without any subventions (even for their home organization) from the mission associations or the state.

<sup>15</sup> For the parallel powers and tasks of the Protestant mission societies, cf. Warneck, II, 72 sqq.

territory (but not the principal stations), to decide questions of missionary principle, to establish the general rules and regulations for mission practice (based always on constant and sympathetic contacts, and not on mere theory), to visit the mission stations and missionaries and to exercise supervision and disciplinary authority over the missionaries."<sup>16</sup>

Modern canon law grants the missionary societies a certain autonomy with regard to the domestic ecclesiastical authorities, and it does so for the same reasons that recommended this source also to the Protestants. These societies, in large proportion, with their mission houses and institutions, are subject, not to the bishop, but, in virtue of special privileges and exceptions of greater or less extent, directly to the Holy See; and in missionary matters, to the Propaganda.<sup>17</sup> This relative freedom and independence extends to everything pertaining to the internal affairs of the Society and the foreign missionary field, but concurs with the rights of the episcopate and clergy (as we have seen) in the supervision and cultivation of the home missionary movement so that the domestic ecclesiastical authorities retain the supreme, or at least the joint, right of superintending the participation of their flock in missionary work. The direct sending and the immediate management of missionary affairs, however, rest exclusively with the mission societies, thus leaving them a freedom of movement which the very nature of the work demands. If the missionary organization were separated from the ecclesiastical, as the difference between their objects, aims, and methods would seem to recommend, the responsible missionary institutes established by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities could work freely within their proper

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<sup>16</sup> It might be advisable for the Catholic missionary societies also to install a sound and rational division of labors, to establish especially a special finance department, and to entrust the intellectual tasks to special workers trained in mission science. Cf. Warneck, II, 94 sq.

<sup>17</sup> The bishops consequently have often the right of visitation. According to the most recent ordinances, the Societies may institute collections only with episcopal permission (Cf. *CIC.*, can. 691).

sphere and for their special objects without clashing at every step with such secular priests as, whether from ignorance or ill-will, are opposed to the pagan missions. How far this independence or subordination should go—in other words, what limits should be set between the powers and obligation of the bishops and pastors on the one hand, and those of the mission societies on the other—is not exactly defined in Church law. Consequently, the two factors have to be guided by their mutual goodwill and their common-interest in the cause at stake.<sup>18</sup>

As important and necessary members of the Catholic mission movement, the missionary societies together with their houses and institutes are undoubtedly entitled to our active and effective support, and may also legitimately claim it. Consequently, the agitation which aims at excessive centralization and the creation of a monopoly by directing all the force of the home missionary movement into the mission associations, and which would leave the missionary societies without support, is absolutely unjustifiable. For, even if the associations were of themselves able to satisfy the needs of the foreign missions which they support with their direct subventions, the societies would still be far from superfluous, since they must provide and train the personnel both before and after assignment to the missions. The home missionary institutions (which are as urgently needed by the missions as the ecclesiastical seminaries of the home dioceses) and the mission territories require enormous sums annually, which must be obtained by our missionary societies from the home circles.<sup>19</sup> Although the mis-

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 10 sq. Concerning property rights and the acquiring of juridical personality under the New Codex, cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 30. Concerning the legal competence and legal subject of the missions (missionary Orders and Societies), cf. Braam in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 232 sqq.; Friedrich, *ibid.*, IX (1919), 101 sqq.

<sup>19</sup> No one should offer the trivial objection that the mission societies are wealthy enough. They must certainly have large incomes, but these are needed for the equally great tasks to be accomplished. As these tasks might be increased literally *ad indefinitum*, a mission society has never an excessive income when all its funds are expended conscientiously on the missions and no useless surpluses are created. The promotion of the missionary societies (as distinct from the cosmopolitan associations) also furnishes

sion societies and houses by no means represent the whole missionary movement but are only particular phases of it, their development and success should nevertheless lie at least as close to our hearts as the mission associations. The pastor, indeed, must display more personal activity in the promotion of the latter, while he can leave the interests of the societies to their own representatives, and need only support them morally by his authority.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the literature on the individual societies (including Streit, *Die katholische deutsche Missionsliteratur* (1925), cf. Fischer, *Was jeder von der Mission wissen muss* (1918); Schwager, *Die katholische Heidenmission der Gegenwart, I (Das heimatliche Missionswesen)*; Pieper, *Missionswissenschaftlicher Kursus in Köln*, 98 sqq.; Grösser, *Akadem. Missionsblätter* (1917); Schmidlin, *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 12 sq.; *Idem*, in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 3 sq.; Louis, *Der Beruf zur Mission* (Aachen, 1919); Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1908); Arens, *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen* (1925), 27 sqq.; and the monographs enumerated there. For the Protestant viewpoint, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 47 sq. (chapter 18. *Die freien Missionsgesellschaften*; 19. *Die Missionsleitung*; 20. *Die Vertretung der heimatlichen Missionsgemeinde*); Report of the Edinburgh World Congress, VI.

The second factor in the home missionary movement, which is of more subordinate import to the Catholic than to the Protestant field, is the missionary associations which have for their aim the support of missionary work and especially the provision of the necessary funds for the missions. In earlier times, except for ecclesiastical and state grants, the participation in the support of the missions was neither fixed nor regular. During the nineteenth century, however, there developed in the missionary movement, as in other departments of ecclesiastical life, flourishing associations; in fact, the mission associations are among the first found in Catholic circles.<sup>21</sup> There are various definitions and classifications

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an opportunity for combining the national incentive with the international and enlisting special sympathy and support in the countries in which the societies have their home bases.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the practical suggestions made at the Mission Conference of Münster, in *ZM.*, II (1912), 269 sq.; VIII (1918), 3 sq.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Arens, *Handbuch*, 289 sqq., and *Die katholischen Missionsvereine* (1922), 3 sqq.



of the Catholic mission associations, and their constitutions disclose various differences.<sup>22</sup>

It is best to distinguish between general and special (i. e., restricted) associations. The oldest are the two international associations—that for the Propagation of the Faith and that of the Holy Childhood, of which the former is intended for adults and the latter for children. The Association for the Propagation of the Faith was founded at Lyons in 1822, and has been recommended and highly lauded by popes, councils, bishops, and missionaries. It is a truly “universal association” (as its founders named it), and has spread among all nations and stations. Gregory XVI called it “as ecumenical as the Church itself,” and “a truly great and holy work which merits the admiration and love of all good people.” Pius X called it “the instrument appointed by God for the extension of the kingdom of Christ on earth.” According to Cardinal Ledochowsky, it is “the most effective aid of the Church for the attainment of her exalted purpose of the evangelization of the world,” and according to Montalembert it is “one of the most glorious institutions of the Universal Church.” It is essentially a collecting and universal association:<sup>23</sup> all Catholics without exception may belong to it, provided that they make the weekly contribution and say the association prayer. The whole association is divided into decades (or groups

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<sup>22</sup> Arens defines a mission association as “an organization depending on voluntary enrolment which has for its object the welfare of the missions abroad and the creation of a base for the missions at home” (loc. cit., 2). He draws a vague distinction between properly organized mission associations, collecting organizations working only for the support of the missions but without any close connection with them, and mission auxiliary bodies without organization or without missionary objects; and on a later page, between associations for collecting and for prayer, associations for awakening missionary zeal and for fostering missionary vocations (loc. cit., 7 sq.). In the organization of these associations three fundamental forms are distinguished: that of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, associations for collecting contributions, and those which are concerned with individual missionary works (loc. cit., 6 sq.).

<sup>23</sup> “The work appeals to all the Catholics of the world through the simplicity of its rules and the smallness of the obligation imposed” (Louvvet, *Les missions catholiques au XIX. siècle* (1898), 3a.

of ten), with a promoter (or collector) at their head; then into centuries (or groups of one hundred), which are conducted by the local priest, and into divisions (or thousands). The diocesan branches are conducted by a director and a committee, and the national by a central council.<sup>24</sup> After the transference of the general headquarters from Lyons to Rome, through the *Motu proprio* of May 3, 1922, the whole association became "the instrument of the Apostolic See for collecting the contributions of the faithful throughout the world and devoting them to the use of all Catholic missions." As such, it is subject to the Propaganda and an international General Council, whose duty it is to administer the funds and distribute them according to the policy laid down by the Propaganda, to attend to the installation and spreading of the association according to its fundamental statutes, and to audit the accounts of the national branches.<sup>25</sup> This centralization undoubtedly offers great advantages, both from the ideal and the technical standpoints: it ensures the unity and universality of the association, permits better administration and supervision, and makes the organization more influential.<sup>26</sup> Most of the remarks above may be also applied to the Association of the Holy Childhood, which was founded in Paris in 1843, and still has its headquarters there. This association is recruited from the Christian children, and is intended primarily for the saving of pagan children.<sup>27</sup>

While an international structure may be of extreme importance for a missionary organization, and while a

<sup>24</sup> According to the *Motu proprio* of 1922.

<sup>25</sup> *Motu proprio*, "*Romanorum Pontificum*" (AAS., XIV (1922), 321 sqq.). The Secretary of the Propaganda is the President; the General Secretary, who is entrusted with the transaction of the business of the association, is appointed by the Propaganda at the suggestion of the General Council. This change removes some of the objections expressed in the first edition of the present work.

<sup>26</sup> As Huonder justly emphasizes. We differ from him, however, in his estimate of the association as "an unsurpassable ideal of a Catholic missionary organization," because its basis for the distribution of funds has up to the present left much to be desired. Cf. Arens, *Die katholischen Missionsvereine*, 48 sqq., and the literature mentioned therein.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 66 sqq., and the literature given there.

reduction of the home missionary organization to a strictly national basis would be deeply regrettable, it is nevertheless undesirable to neglect entirely national feelings, since by their proper appraisal we may evoke greater enthusiasm, interest, and support. Furthermore, the broad and indefinite nature of the object and the very extent of the two enormous associations mentioned above, together with the very small demands made on their members, make the existence of additional but special missionary societies advisable.<sup>28</sup> In fact, such special associations, established usually on a national basis, have existed for a long time, and have been fostered by the bishops and approved by the popes.<sup>29</sup> Limited as to the nationality of its members are the *Ludwigsverein* for Bavaria and the *Xaveriusverein* for the rest of Germany, both of which organizations are closely connected with the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. Limited in the character of their membership are the *Frauenmissionsvereinigung*, the Academic Mission Associations, and the *Unio cleri*. Limited in their object are the *Verein vom Heiligen Lande* and the *Claversodalität*,<sup>30</sup> and as special associations in the most restricted sense, belong, finally, the various auxiliary organizations connected with individual mission societies and houses. The purpose of these organizations is to form the friends and benefactors of a particular society into a missionary community with special objects and tasks. Among such associations may be mentioned the admirably organized *Missionsverein der Franziskaner*, the *Messbund* of the

<sup>28</sup> The disposition of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith to absorb all other associations, and its opposition to their growth, would thus seem unjustified. This tendency seems to a certain extent to find official approval, inasmuch as the other missionary associations are given only a provisional and temporary recognition (cf. the Decrees of Pius IX and Leo XIII in Huonder). Cf. Huonder, *Der Verein der Glaubensverbreitung*, 26 sqq., and Arens, *Handbuch*, 295 sq. About the approval of other missionary associations, cf. AAS., XX (1928), 266 sq., and Arens, *Die katholischen Missionsvereine*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the articles by Schmidlin in *ZM.* (especially VIII (1918), 4 sq.), and in the Memorials (especially *Erläuterungen zur Xaveriusvereinsfrage*, VIII (1918)).

<sup>30</sup> This occupies a special position, inasmuch as it aims to be also a religious association, and thus a missionary society.

Capuchins, the *Liebeswerk des hl. Benedikt* for St. Ottilien, the *Hiltruper Liebeswerk*, the *Marianische Missionsverein* for the Oblates, and the *Verein fuer Knechtsteden*.<sup>21</sup>

If we examine these associations more closely, we shall find that no one of them is meant to be a mere "collecting organization,"<sup>22</sup> since even the Society for the Propagation of the Faith seeks also to arouse through trustee representatives the general missionary zeal of its members, by means of mission lectures, special devotions, etc. It is indeed true that this broader and more important aim of the organization might and should receive closer attention; and it is also true that the missionary communities (or their representatives) should be invited to co-operate on a wider scale than at present, and especially be given an insight into the whole administration. Furthermore, these communities should be represented in the society by a more democratically elected delegation, for thus the zeal and initiative of the whole body would undoubtedly be heightened. These concessions naturally would not go to the extremes found in the Protestant missions; for the final decision, the sending and the supreme management, must be reserved to the ecclesiastical authorities and the mission societies; and in fact, the associations themselves may be regarded as having ecclesiastical recognition only in so far as they are instituted or approved by the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>23</sup> Whether universal or special, the mission asso-

<sup>21</sup> This is needed in addition to the *Xaveriusverein* which may not absorb or displace it, as otherwise the German missions and mission houses cannot be maintained (cf., besides the Memorials of the Mission Associations and Missionary Societies, Fischer: *Was jeder Missionsfreund wissen muss*, 1917). See also, Liertz, *Ein Wort zu den "päpstlichen Missionsvereinen,"* *ZM.*, XV (1925), 305 sqq. In his Tables, arranged according to countries, Arens mentions 246 missionary associations, of which 38 are class organizations, 37 for the support of mission institutions, and 84 for special mission territories (*Die katholischen Missionsvereine*, 8 sqq.).

<sup>22</sup> This is Warneck's chief accusation against the Catholic mission association (*Evang. Miss.*, II, 56).

<sup>23</sup> These features are even more pronounced in the German (as distinguished from the general or French) form of the society, since the headquarters of the German branch at Aachen have been equipped with every modern means of recruiting.

<sup>24</sup> Can. 686 of the New Codex (*ZM.*, VIII (1918) 35). They be-

ciations, as excellent means for promoting and assuring the regular support of the missions, merit the keenest interest and most active co-operation from all those whose duty it is to awaken and foster the missionary spirit at home.<sup>35</sup>

Cf. Guasco, *L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyons, 1898; 2d ed., 1904); Neher, *Der Missionsverein oder das Werk der Glaubensverbreitung, seine Gründung, Organisation und Wirksamkeit* (Freiburg, 1884); Huonder, *Der Verein der Glaubensverbreitung, Address at the Berliner Konferenz der Missionskommission der Katholikenversammlungen Deutschlands vom 22. Januar 1910* (Report, page 6 sqq., which appeared in *KM.*, XII (1913), 1 sqq., and was also sent from Aachen as a brochure to all pastors; Krose, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, I (1908), 212 sqq.; Schwager, *Die katholische Heidenmission der Gegenwart*, I, 36 sqq.; *Idem* in *ZM.*, II (1912), 275 sqq.; Pieper, in *MKK.*, 98 sqq.; Schmidlin in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 4 sq. Also the latest memorials and controversial writings on the question of the Xaveriusverein, especially Schmidlin, *Erläuterungen*; finally, Arens, *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 289 sqq.; *Idem*, *Die katholischen Missionsvereine* (Freiburg, 1922). For the literature on the Association of the Holy Childhood, cf. Streit, *Führer durch die katholische Missionsliteratur*, 33 sqq.; *Idem*, *Die katholische deutsche Missionsliteratur* (1925), 13 sqq., and Arens, loc. cit. These missiographical surveys naturally describe both mission associations and mission societies as they actually are, while mission theory aims to show what they should be and must thus find place for criticism and the indication of shortcomings.

In view of the strong emphasis which Protestant mission theory lays on the necessity of an authoritative and official sending for mis-

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come juridical entities only through ecclesiastical decree of erection (can. 687). Regarding statutory questions and episcopal supervision, see can. 689 sqq. Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 4.

<sup>35</sup> Schwager develops this idea by offering a series of excellent practical hints for the secular clergy. He exhorts the latter to see that the two great associations especially are introduced into every community and highly developed—the one with the co-operation of the other church organizations, and the other with the assistance of the teachers. While in many respects these associations may still be imperfect and in need of reform, they are, at least for the present, indispensable means for the home cultivation of the missions—means for which there is no comparable substitute now or in prospect. On the other hand, we must remember that these associations represent only one phase and not the whole of the missionary movement, and consequently should not be cultivated exclusively and at the expense perhaps of equally necessary institutions. Concerning the relation of the national to the international motive in the home missionary movement, cf. *ZM.*, VI (1916), 128 sqq., VIII (1918), 10 sq.

sionaries, one would expect that it would establish the official church as the subject or agent of the sending, however opposed this might be to the democratic principle of Protestantism. In fact, in the church missions as we find them incorporated in the case of the United Brethren of Germany and Denmark, and as they were still earlier represented by the Dutch and Danish "Halle missions," the mission administration or at least the decision as to the missionary tasks proceeded (as in our case) from the ecclesiastical authorities, whether their constitution was an episcopal or a synodal one. Warneck, however, and with him the majority of Protestant writers on mission theory and practice, fails utterly to make proper acknowledgment of the complementary functions, rights, and obligations pertaining to the official sending-modus through church government, synod, and pastoral administration; and asserts that the only right and practical method of procedure was through the independent associations as they had developed historically from out of the earlier oppositional backwardness of the Protestant authorities. Warneck endeavors to prove that this procedure was not a mere temporary makeshift, but should be accepted as a permanent institution resulting from a natural historical development, even now that friendly relations between church and missions have been established. Appealing to the apostolic age, he postulates (as we have already seen) the church community, and within this a mission community which arose from free association, as the "sending" agent. He holds that to the present day, this free missionary organization proves itself—as it will in the future—the most natural agent, or in any case more practical and conducive to progress than the ecclesiastical. The Christian life of faith and home interest in the missions is promoted by freedom and spontaneity, and is hampered and bound when subjected to the authority and bureaucratic methods. "Moreover," he continues, "we [Protestants] could not simply expropriate the lawfully existing mission societies, nor find a suitable ecclesiastical agent as the sending subject" (chap. xvii). The mission subject, represented by the free society, is divided, a moment later, into two entirely distinct elements: the "mission government," in which the actual sending is vested, and, a remote foundation, the "home mission community" which, as the donor of the contributions, must also exercise certain rights of control through a properly arranged representation. These two factors are analogous in form to the Catholic organizations, but are entirely different in nature and structure, in power and sphere of action. The managing board of the society, or missionary board, is obtained partly by co-optation and partly by free election. It has special officials (directors, inspectors, secretaries), and has the following tasks or duties: (1) Regarding the home movement: (a) to provide for the financial support of the missions; (b) to supply information to the home mission community; (c) to keep in correspondence with it; (d) to act as representatives before the ecclesiastical and state boards; (e) to secure, train and support the missionaries: (2) Regarding the mission territory: (a) to select the mission field; (b) to conduct the official

correspondence with the missionaries; (c) do decide fundamental missionary questions in principle; (d) to draw up the mission regulations; (e) to exercise disciplinary authority over the missionaries; (f) to visit the mission territory; (g) to negotiate with other mission societies (chapter 19). The representatives of the mission congregations are limited in number, and must be selected by the individual associations or unions on a proportional basis according to their financial contributions.\* Apart from their advisory influence, these representatives have a decisive voice in the following matters: (a) the selection of the directors, while they co-operate in the calling of the first inspector or director; (b) the supervision of the financial administration and especially the yearly accounts; (c) the approval of all purchases or sales of property, of the foundation, transfer or suppression of institutions, of the undertaking, resigning, or exchange of mission territories, of the incorporation of or union with another association; (d) changes in the statutes and dissolution of the association; and finally, (e) they form a disciplinary court in cases involving removal from office. They may, however, claim no supreme or even joint powers of administration, since the mission directorate must remain the real executive agent under all circumstances (chapter 20). We must confess, nevertheless, that despite these meticulous definitions, it is not quite clear to us how this "mission directorate" succeeds in uniting the whole management and the sending in its hands, since it itself has no strict "sending" or authority (especially if it merely co-opts its members, not even from the mission community, whose right to send is very doubtful from the Protestant standpoint, as we have already explained in detail. We thus see that the whole basis of the Protestant home mission movement is exceedingly weak, even if the skein of contradictions in which it is involved can be unraveled. Finally, it need scarcely be pointed out that the absolute denial of the authority of the official church in the management of the missions may lead to disastrous consequences in other phases of the ecclesiastical life of Protestantism ("For the ecclesiastical order is a human form, and this form ceases to be the only privileged agent of the church, when it proves itself an obstacle to the execution of the divine will!").

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 20 sqq. (chap. 17—20) and the literature given there; *Idem*, *Die Missionspflicht der Kirche* in *AMZ.*, VI (1879), 445 sqq.; *Idem*, *Mission und Kirchenregiment*, *ibid.*, XI (1884), 37 sqq.; *Idem*, *Kirchenmission oder freie Mission. Eine Antwort auf die Frage: Inwieweit ist die Eingliederung der Mission in den amtskirchlichen Organismus berechtigt und ausführbar*, *ibid.*, XV (1888), 97 sqq.; Schreiber, *Die Organisation der heimatlichen Missionsgemeinde*, *ibid.*, XVII (1890), 145 sqq. Also the *Repertorium* to *AMZ.*, 169 sqq.

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\* According to Warneck, the mode of distributing representatives among the individual associations causes many difficulties.

### 3. Cultivation of the Home Missionary Movement

The discussion of missionary societies and associations leads directly to the root and source of all missionary activity—the sending mission-subject in the wider sense, or the home missionary movement. So long as the mission continues to be a mission: that is, until it has grown into a sound, highly developed, completely independent native church, it remains dependent financially or for its personnel on the home church, namely, the church from which the mission issued and by which it was called into life. Consequently, this church retains as a rule the personal and material provision for the mission. The ecclesiastical management of this home missionary movement is, as we have seen, vested in the three ranks of the hierarchy—the papacy, the episcopate, and the clergy.<sup>1</sup> The laity, however, must be also regarded as included in the home mission subject, since we have already seen that the whole Church must stand as a body behind the missions, and that consequently, not only the pope, bishops, and clergy must support the missions, but also the faithful, as individuals and as a community.<sup>2</sup> This participation, which we have established theoretically, is also a practical necessity: for, just as the missionary work abroad would be impossible without the prayers, vocations, and alms which support it from home, so also the priest must have the help of the laity if the home missionary movement is to be sustained. With respect to its universality, the missionary obligation of Catholics has been rightly compared to general military service: although all are not required to carry arms and go forth in person to this holy war, the obligation of assisting and providing for our representatives falls on every Catholic, even (or especially) if he remains at home.<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with the democratic and unhierarchical character of Protestantism, its mission theory assigns a still more important rôle to the home mission organizations. Warneck takes as his model

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, 140 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. our discussion of the dogmatic and ethical sanctions of the missions, 82 sqq., 88 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Linckens, *Missionspflicht und Missionsdienst* (1910), 13.



and type the delegation of the first pagan missionaries from Antioch, where the Christian community chose suitable messengers of the faith and designated them by the laying on of hands: accordingly, "the community, acting at the suggestion of prophets and teachers and under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Ghost, must be declared the human sending subject" (II, 31). In this, "the basis for the solution of the sending problem" is contained, since thereafter also the circles of disciples or brethren were to perform the sending. This could be done either by the whole local community or, better still, by all the local communities acting as a body, or by the whole church (as in the case of the United Brethren; and this was the ideal). It might also be done even by a chosen community within the church, impelled by the Divine Spirit to perform the sending: this would be a narrower missionary community, which, with other similar communities, would form a missionary church union and command the recognition of the official ecclesiastical agents. Warneck maintains that, in the present missions also, the Holy Ghost has "reminded us of the half-forgotten mission command, and created new forms or regulations for the sending." This spiritual invitation, like the missionary commission of Jesus, is addressed, not to a hierarchy, but to the whole body of believers. However, inasmuch as this "ἐκκλησία of the New Testament," this "holy Christian people," by no means corresponds in practice to the external church community, it must organize itself within the latter. This organization, which is at once the approximate representation of the community of Jesus Christ and the sending agent of the church, is the free association. Warneck overlooks the fact that the charismatic age is past, and that the spiritual principle, if consistently applied to the general church problem, must lead to the dissolution of every obligatory ecclesiastical ordinance regarding external functions. His argument, however, is sound to the extent that it demands a home community which is willing and ready to undertake and bear the burden of the missions.

The Catholic mission, also, requires a home missionary community. From this it receives, not the direct sending in the sense of proper and legitimate authority, but its essential stimulation and support. In Catholicism, also, we find, on the one hand, the entire Church undertaking the support of the whole missionary movement as a common Catholic and international duty; and on the other hand, we see a community, limited as to its membership or territory, being formed to sustain the missionary movement—usually, in this case, specific missions. In both cases it is, unfortunately, also true with us that the support is lent only by individual friends of the missions, who, as representatives of the whole Catholic community, form the general or special missionary associa-

tions, or aid the missions as isolated individuals. The ideal would of course be that Catholic Christendom as such should undertake the missions and provide the means for their support. A writer on the home missionary movement rightly points out that the more lavish Protestant expenditure on the missions is to be ascribed partly to the fact that the Protestant missions emanate more directly from the people: Protestants regard the missions as a personal rather than a church affair. Every one is thus set to work to secure the co-operation of the widest possible circles and to obtain the many millions required for Protestant missionary objects. The majority of Catholics, on the other hand, regard the missionary movement, not as a personal concern of theirs and one in which all must co-operate, but as an official affair of the Church, and thus leave its execution to the ecclesiastical authorities. This explains why so many Catholics fail to appreciate and lend active assistance to the work of the missions, and why the active missionary community is limited to so small a minority that the missions are being reduced to a "private enterprise." <sup>4</sup> There is no real basis in dogma or canon law to explain this abnormal view: for, while, according to Catholic teaching, the hierarchy, and not the community, is entrusted with the sending and management of the missions, every Catholic must, according to his ability and vocation, contribute his gold, incense, and myrrh—his alms, prayers, and self-denial—to the threefold missionary sacrifice. Because of its enormous proportions, the missionary task will be unachievable without this universal co-operation; and the missionary command of the Son of God certainly includes the demand for the necessary means and operative forces.<sup>5</sup>

Our co-operation with the missions, moreover, must not be confined to a platonic interest or a pious wish: it must find expression in lively self-sacrificing, and

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<sup>4</sup> Fischer, *Jesu letzter Wille*, 267 sqq., 292 sqq. Cf. Ostermann (*Paderborner Missionskonf.*, 50); "It is much too frequently regarded as the exclusive task of Providence, who must seek out the messengers for it, without any responsibility devolving on our side."

<sup>5</sup> Fischer, *loc. cit.*, 290 sq.

generous action. This missionary activity of the home church, as already suggested, includes especially a three-fold support, through missionary vocations, prayers, and alms. From the individuals and families of the home church must be recruited the missionary priests, brothers, and sisters: for, while God must in the first place decide these vocations, yet it often follows that a truly heavy sacrifice has to be made both by the candidates and their relatives if the Divine call is to be hearkened to and executed. It is also the duty of the home church to pray for the missions, not only for the foreign missions, that divine grace may support the work of the missionaries and fructify with its dew the stony soil of the pagan lands, but also for an increase of the missionary spirit among the Christians at home. These prayers should be both regular and periodic (e. g., on extraordinary missionary occasions or when some special missionary issue is at stake); they should be recited by individuals in private and also in connection with the ecclesiastical prayers and hymns during public services.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the pagan missions need our material support in every respect—through donations of money and goods (vestments, etc.). All the expensive undertakings necessarily associated with the missions—the erection and maintenance of the mission houses at home, the training and support of the missionary candidates, the traveling expenses of the missionaries to and on the missions, the building and upkeep of mission stations, churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals—demand enormous sums, which have usually to be contributed by the faithful at home, either by single or occasional donations.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "The introduction of the missionary ideals into the public prayers and divine services is unquestionably one of the most excellent means by which the pastor can promote the missions" (Zahn, 15; cf. literature given at the end of this chapter). Also, missionary hymns and communions (Galm, *MKK.*, 161). Cf. Arens, *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindeleben* (1918), 51 sqq., and the literature given there.

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the furnishing of material assistance for the missions through donations of overplus church goods, mission collections, offering boxes, etc., cf. Arens, loc. cit., 44 sqq. (Schmitz, *Das Missionsalmosen nach dem CIC.*, in *ZM.*, XV (1925), 149 sqq.),

A rational plan must, therefore, be developed for cultivating missionary zeal and support within the Christian community at home; and because of the reciprocal action between the missions and the home bases, this cultivation must begin with the awakening and enlivening of the general life of faith and religion. The first personal prerequisite for real missionary work at home is the possession of truly interior missionary understanding and sentiments—the possession of a missionary enthusiasm that is not as mere straw, not mere show or empty talk, not mere formalism or routine.<sup>8</sup> This sincere, honest, interior missionary spirit, however, must also be awakened by word and example, and especially by building up the moral and religious foundation and disposition that must underlie it. Not without reason have we been warned against isolating the missions—that is, against treating the missions as if they had no connection with the general religious life.<sup>9</sup> We must, on the contrary, grasp their basic importance:<sup>10</sup> to the theoretical and formal expression we must bring a personal faith and a vital Christianity.<sup>11</sup> Especially should the Christian family, as the nucleus of religious life, be enrolled for the wider promulgation of missionary knowledge and missionary activity.<sup>12</sup>

It is true that all ecclesiastical activities that aim at the general elevation of the spirit of religion among

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Bernardini, *Peter's Pence, Catholic University and Foreign Mission Collections*, in *Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXIX (1928), 15 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Die Belebung des Missionssinnes in der Heimat*, 26 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Warneck, loc. cit., 29.

<sup>10</sup> For the enlivening of the missionary spirit we need above all an elevation—that is, an intensification and strengthening—of the whole religious life” (Warneck, loc. cit., 30).

<sup>11</sup> Warneck, loc. cit., 31 sq. Cf. *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 123: “Consequently, this is the real essence of missionary work: to engender life from God and to nourish its life with true pastoral fidelity . . . . Once the religious life of a community has been awakened, it is not so difficult to give this life a missionary bent.”

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 1 sqq. As means by which families can co-operate with the missions, the author discusses especially prayers and sacrifices, the organized auxiliary works for the missions, little ways and means, gifts from the rich and generous, and the family sacrifice of a missionary vocation (*ibid.*, 10 sqq.).

the faithful (especially pastoral activities, popular missions, etc.), directly or indirectly develop and increase a zeal for the missions. Missionary zeal in its turn also fosters the religious spirit and sentiments, and thus promotes the objects of the church at home. These favorable reactions, however, are not sufficient to secure all the necessary support for the missions. There is needed, besides, a specific and systematic cultivation and spreading of the missionary spirit—a propagation that is directly adapted to the various categories and conditions of the faithful at home.

Through this propaganda all circles and classes of Christian society must, if at all possible, be enrolled and won for the missionary movement, particularly those who, because of their station in life (social or otherwise), possess a greater importance for the missions. Proper methods must be developed for enrolling the persons of both sexes, filling them with the missionary spirit, and teaching them how to participate practically in the missionary work.<sup>13</sup>

Persons of the various periods of life must also be reached and influenced by appropriate methods: the children, through the schools and special institutions such as children's feasts and the Association of the Holy Childhood; the older children, by the creation of special movements and organizations,<sup>14</sup> or at least by the development or utilization of the clubs for young people. The adults, finally, should be reached partly through laymen's movements and unions (these, however, are still largely undeveloped among Catholics, and partly through the medium of the existing religious, professional, or trades organizations.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Such an organization is the Missionary Association of Catholic Women; but there is no corresponding association specially for men.

<sup>14</sup> This is one of the aims of the Protestant Young Men's Christian Association—an aim that was also pursued formerly by the Duisberg Mission Union of Catholic Young Men, and still later by the *Düsseldorfer Zentrale der katholischen Jünglingsvereine*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. MKK., *Missionspflege und Vereinsleben* (187 sqq.), concerning the methods to be followed; Msgr. Schweitzer, concerning the general and absolute necessity and methods; the individual representatives of the association, on the cultivation of the missionary

With respect to the different stations in life, the priests and teachers merit special attention, because with the duties of their calling they are able to combine a particularly effective work in promotion of the missions. Special missionary associations for priests and teachers should, therefore be organized." Educated and the wealthy persons also should receive special attention on account of their superior understanding and their ability to render relatively greater service. To these should be assigned as their specific missionary task the intensive study of the missions and the promotion of their cultural aims; and to this end it is necessary that special effort and agitation should be made, inasmuch as, compared with the middle and poorer classes, they have heretofore shown themselves shamefully lacking in interest in the missions.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the universal organizations and societies, as effective means for the cultivating of the home missionary movement, merit our care and extension, even though

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spirit in their organizations; Schweitzer, on the trades unions; Mos-tert, on the Young Men's Association; Tapper, on the girls' and mothers' associations; Müller, on the workmen's clubs; Breuer, on the clerks' associations; Kreuser, on the commercial associations; Krug, on the male, and Sander, on the female teacher associations. "No community of the Third Order, no religious confraternity, no Catholic association—whether composed of men or women, teachers or pupils—should exist in which there are not either special divisions for the cultivation of the missions or at least one or more occasions specially designed each year for the devoted and effective consideration of the missions" (Zahn, 22).

<sup>18</sup> Such an organization for the secular clergy has been realized first [in Germany] by the Mission Conferences and Mission Association of Diocesan Priests (now the *Unio cleri*): for male and female teachers, there are (besides their special association) special committees within other Catholic organizations.

<sup>19</sup> We find a preparatory step in the Academic Missionary Movement, which, starting in Münster, has established Academic Missionary Associations in several universities, and has formed an Academic Mission Union for Germany. This movement has also prospered in Holland, Switzerland, and elsewhere; but it cannot yet rival either in extent or degree the corresponding Protestant organization. The extension and intensification of the work thus begun is an urgent need of the home missionary movement. The organization has still to be extended upwards to include all educated Catholics, and downwards (by a corresponding missionary organization) to the higher schools for pupils of both sexes. The greatest and most promising of all missionary organizations is the "Catholic Students' Mission Crusade" of the United States.

the indefiniteness of their aim and the narrowness of their scope curtails their efficacy.<sup>18</sup>

To produce a steady increase in the good-will and effectiveness of the home missionary movement, the utilization of the general pastoral means in favor of the missions is very necessary. Besides the services mentioned above (with prayers and hymns), sermons and instructions should be employed to further this work, not only because the interests of the missions demand this, but also because they offer such interesting and edifying material—material rich in homiletic and catechetical values. The clergy must feel humiliated when lay persons, like Prince Löwenstein and Countess Ledochowska, are forced to declare in public addresses that they have seldom or never heard any mention in the pulpit of the work of propagating the faith among the pagans. It is the business of the preacher to initiate his congregation into the knowledge and appreciation of the missions and to emphasize the missionary obligation of Catholics. He will establish this obligation on biblical, dogmatic, and ethical grounds, and also by relations of concrete facts, and he will do so not only in special missionary sermons on specially appropriate occasions and feasts (Christmas, the Epiphany, Ascension Thursday, and Pentecost), but also throughout the year by introducing missionary thoughts into his Sunday and holyday sermons (especially the pericopes, which afford many useful missionary texts).<sup>19</sup> Catechetical instruc-

<sup>18</sup> Those organizations are the two great general associations, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for adults and the Association of the Holy Childhood for children; restricted in their aims or membership are the Missionary Association of Catholic Women, the *Ludwigsverein*, the *Afrikaverrein*, etc.; most restricted of all are the missionary associations affiliated to the individual missionary orders or congregations (cf. above, 143 sqq.). In connection with the extensive and intensive development of propagandistic and recruiting campaigns, we have still much to learn from the Protestant missionary circles, particularly from the very energetic Anglo-American societies and from their gifted organizer, John Mott. In making this statement we are not overlooking the many undesirable features of this movement—its excessively commercial character, its extravagant methods of publicity, and its too enthusiastic and visionary attitude (cf. Schwager, *ZM.*, II (1912), 269 sqq.).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the Collections of Missionary Sermons by Fathers Huonder

tion also, and whenever possible, the whole school instruction of the priest or the teacher as well, should be permeated with the missionary idea, and frequent occasions should be utilized for referring to the facts of mission life and the missionary obligation. These references, moreover, possess a distinct pedagogic value. Schwager's manual shows how easily and naturally the missionary material can be combined with the catechism and biblical history, with the doctrines of faith, morals, and salvation, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Old and the New Testament, and also history and geography. Besides these incidental missionary instructions, Schieser<sup>20</sup> endorses Warneck's suggestion of a special four-hour course on mission history including the missions of today. But in addition, the schools, from the primary grades up to and including post-graduate studies, should be also permeated with the missionary idea, and should be pressed into service; and the children

and Streit (each in 3 vols.), and Spieler, *Licht und Schatten, Beispiele aus der Heidenmission für Kanzel, Schule und Haus* (1914). Father Maurus Galm suggests as a guiding principle: "Frequently during every year the pastor should preach a sermon devoted expressly to the pagan missions" (*MKK.*, 152). Concerning the matter and object of such a sermon, he says: "The matter of the mission sermon should be richly flavored with beautiful incidents and gripping features of missionary life. The aim of the sermon should be to create a better understanding of missionary work, a greater realization of the missionary obligation, and to enkindle the whole community with zeal for the cause of the missions" (*ibid.*, 154). Father Arens declares that, in sermons and Christian doctrine especially, the instruction on the missions should be fervent and urgent (*loc. cit.*, 42). "Sermons are and will remain the first and most excellent means of convincing the faithful of their missionary duty, and of enkindling their hearts with ardor for the propagation of the holy faith" (*ibid.*, 41).

<sup>20</sup> *Methodik des gesamten Religionsunterrichts*, 114 sq. To the Protestant treatises by Warneck and Heilmann have been finally added in recent years three Catholic works: *Die Heidenmission* (1911), by Professor Ditscheid; Schwager's much more fundamental work entitled *Die katholische Heidenmission im Schulunterricht* (1913), and Odorich Heinz' *Religionsunterricht und Heidenmission* (1914). Concerning the "fructification" of instruction by the missions, cf. Zahn, 16 sq.; concerning the pedagogical value of mission instruction, cf. (besides the works already mentioned) Stoeffler, *Der Missionsgedanke in der Erziehung (Zweite elsässische Missionskonferenz, 1915, 12 sqq.)*; the Address by Dr. Marx in Cologne (*KM.*, XLV (1917), 25 sqq.), and that delivered by Gastreich at the *Lehrerinnenkursus* held in Münster (116 sqq.).



and young people should be trained to show their love of the missions by their prayers and communions, and by their readiness to make sacrifices and to participate personally in the missionary work.<sup>21</sup> Valuable recruiting for the missions may be done in the confessional also, and in the many Catholic associations.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to all said above, however, there must be special and extraordinary practices for arousing and cultivating missionary zeal at home. Among Protestants, the most important of these special means is the so-called "missionary hour."<sup>23</sup> In Catholic circles, sermons are the usual substitute for this practice, or, otherwise (in accordance with the liturgical character of the Catholic religion), missionary services or devotions. As a rule, such services are held at regular intervals (usually every month or year) on appointed Sunday afternoons; and they are intended sometimes for adults, and sometimes for children, and are often connected with meetings of the existing missionary associations.<sup>24</sup> Such mission devotions may be made more attractive or may be prolonged by sermons, addresses, stereopticon views, plays, etc. These occasions will thus develop naturally into "mission days" or "mis-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 61 sqq. (*Die Mission in der Schule*); Ditscheid, *Die Heidenmission in der Schule* (MKK., 163 sqq.); Peters, *Katech. Monatsblätter* (1916). Protestant Works: Warneck, *Die Mission in der Schule* (1896 and 1909); Müller, *Mission und Erziehung* (1901); Vorwerk, *Heidenmission und Kindesseele* (1914).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 122 sqq., on the foundation and method of promotion work among the associations. Also Huonder, *Die Mission auf der Kanzel und im Verein* (1913).

<sup>23</sup> "A special public missionary service in which, with or without a biblical text as foundation, connected stories from mission history (or better still of missionary life) are given, and the congregation unites in prayer for the missions." This service may be held either in the church or a hall, on a Sunday or week-day, in the afternoon or evening, monthly or quarterly, and with or without liturgical ceremonies. It may follow the lines of either a biblical or historical address (cf. Warneck, *Missionslehre*, II, 129 sqq.; also his *Missionsstunden*, 37 sqq., 182 sqq., 330 sqq.). This practice is regarded in Protestant circles as a necessary supplement to the periodical sermons and prescribed literature, and is usually cultivated with zeal and success. Whether it suits the Catholic temperament is questionable, and has still to be tried out.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 50 sqq. (also the Appendix of Prayers given on 135 sqq.). Cf. the rites prescribed for this service in the *Diocesan Hymn Book of Paderborn*.

sion feasts." In Protestant circles in Europe these have existed for decades and have proved highly popular and fruitful festivals. They have been widely adopted by Catholics also (e. g., in Fulda, Munich, Osnabrück, Münster) and, though still confined to certain localities, have proved highly successful.

These feasts are held periodically (usually once a year), and may extend to a whole diocese, a whole district, a whole deanery, or merely to a single parish or several parishes in one locality. A mission sermon is preached and a mission collection is taken up at every mass (at least, at the principal and children's masses); in the afternoon mission devotions are held; and in the evening missionary addresses are given in every parish (if possible, also in the schools and association assemblies). Thus every part of this day is pervaded by the thought of the missions. It would be highly desirable if every town and community held its own annual mission feast, inasmuch as eye-witnesses (including the pastors) have declared themselves unable to give adequate praise as to the advantages and blessings of this institution.<sup>25</sup>

Literary and scientific propaganda also ranks among the most effective and indispensable means of extending

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<sup>25</sup> "The mission feast, if celebrated in the right way, may become a fountain of youth for religious sentiment and the deeper inspiration of faith. It may bring it to pass that the faithful, of their own accord and with augmented zeal, will interest themselves not only in the missions, but in all the other ecclesiastical necessities. This goal will be surely attained if the mission sermons are not turned into collecting or begging addresses, but lead Catholics, by a faithful description of the misery of the pagans and the incomparable happiness of possessing the true faith, to see and appreciate what a treasure and source of consolation and true spiritual happiness we possess in Our Saviour and His Church. These considerations will necessarily awaken a feeling of deep gratitude to God and of most profound sympathy for the pagans" (Schwager, *ZM.*, XII (1912), 273 sq.). According to Metz, the mission feast is a "general draft for the service of the kingdom of God" (*Elsässische Konferenz*, 75). Besides the reports on the mission feasts in Fulda (by Streit) and Münster (by Schmidlin), cf. Sommers in *Münster. Pastoralblatt* (1913), 103 sqq.; Freitag, *Das katholische Missionsfest* (1913); Leberle, *Missionsfeste* (1916); Arens, *Die Mission im Festsaal* (1917); Freitag in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), sqq. Concerning the Mission Sunday "as a masterpiece of spiritual and material assist-

the home missionary movement. First of all come the numerous mission periodicals—the general publications, and those confined to one Society or mission field, which, together with their calendar and annual reports, keep up the interest of the friends of the missions and spur them on to co-operate in the world apostolate.<sup>26</sup> The missionary appeal is also sounded in monographs published in book form, especially those of a popular, hortative, and practical character. The scientific literature of the missions is also capable of winning helpers by explaining mission aims and establishing the bases of of them. It is indeed the special task of missiological literature to bring the educated into the missionary movement.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the circulation of mission periodicals and the promotion of the activities associated with it occupy a prominent place among the tasks of the home missionary program.

Besides the public methods of fostering the missionary spirit, Schwager also recommends the individual influencing of the faithful through the regular exercise of the ministry (e. g., in the confessional,<sup>28</sup> especially on days or occasions of particular missionary interest, by procuring vestments for the missions, by the careful cultivation of missionary vocations, and so on. He recommends especially that individual communities should care for certain stations or some other definite undertakings in the mission field,—especially in places where some of the missionaries or sisters are natives of such communities,—since the motive of local patriotism very frequently evokes a greater spirit of self-sacrifice. Warneck mentions also the distribution of missionary writings (pamphlets, books, periodicals, reports, etc.) through energetic sale in the public streets; the obtaining of contributions by annual house-to-house collections, in addition to the receipt of the regular monthly or quarterly donations; visits and addresses by missionaries; missionary preaching tours, etc.; finally, the request for prayers. This request should not be couched in the trite form that those who can do nothing else for the missions, can at least pray for them, because everyone who earnestly prays for

ance,” cf. Arens, *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindeleben*, 56 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Arens, *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindeleben*, 4 sqq., and *Handbuch der katholischen Missionen*, 340 sqq., with the literature given there. He enumerates 411 missionary periodicals, of which 102 are general and 309 special.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Arens, *Handbuch*, 395 sqq., with the articles mentioned there; also other articles of Schmidlin (especially in *ZM*).

<sup>28</sup> Discretion, of course, must be always exercised.

the missions can also give something to them. As the fundamental prerequisite for securing enduring fruits from all these labors, he emphasizes especially that "the chosen laborers in the community and schools should do their duty and engage largely in practical action" (*Missionslehre*, II, 135 sqq.).

Cf. Schwager, *Pastorale Mittel zur Hebung des heimischen Missionswesens in Missionskonferenz und Missionsvereinigung des Münsterschen Diözesanklerus*, 24 sqq.; *Idem*, *Moderne Strömungen und Bestrebungen im protestantischen Missionsleben in ZM.*, II (1912), 64 sqq.; Maurus Galm, *Heimatliche Seelsorge und Heidenmission, Vortrag auf dem Missionskursus in Würzburg (Im Kampf fürs Kreuz*, 1915, N. 11); Metz, *Mittel und Wege zur Förderung des Missionswerkes (Erste Elsässische Missionskonferenz zu Strassburg*, 1913, 60 sqq.); Ostermann, *Beteiligung des Klerus an der Heidenmission (Bericht über die erste Missionskonferenz des Paderborner Diözesanklerus*, 1913, 47 sqq.); Lausberg, *Priester und Mission (MKK.*, 205 sqq.); A: Schmidlin, *Die Pflege des Missionsgedankens unter der Jugend (Strassb. kathol. Vereinsblatt*, 1912); Freitag, *Geschichtliches, Systematisches und Praktisches zum kath. Missionsfest in ZM.*, VIII, (1918), 152 sqq. Protestant writers: Warneck, *Die Pflege des heimatischen Missionslebens in Evang. Missionslehre*, II, 111 sqq. (chap. 21); *Idem*, *Die Belebung des Missionssinns in der Heimat (Gütersloh*, 1878); *Idem*, *Die Mission in der Schule (Gütersloh*, 1909); *Idem*, *Pflanzung und Pflege des Missionslebens in Gemeinde und Schule in AMZ.*, (1887), 385 sqq.; *Idem*, *Der Pastor als Arbeiter für die Heidenmission, ibid.*, VII (1880), 49; Axenfeld, *Die Eingliederung der Arbeit für die Heidenmission in die ordentliche pastorale Arbeit, ibid.*, XXI (1903), 445 sqq.; Lucius, *Die Kräftigung des Missionssinns in der Heimat (Strassburg*, 1885). The World Missionary Congress of Edinburgh (vol. VI) recommends mission services, the interesting of the children through the schools and literature and of the adults through missionary associations and addresses, missionary contributions to the press, mission literature in the libraries, mission courses, lectures, exhibitions and dinners. Cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 182.

## B. The Subject in the Mission Field (Mission Personnel)

### 1. Position and Gradation of the Missionary Agents

Having discussed the relations of the home missionary movement with the sending mission subject (or sending subject), we now begin the consideration of missionary activity proper with its executive agents. These agents are the foreign mission subject; and they are also the object of the sending, since they are sent out by the home missionary authorities, consisting, on the one hand,

of the Pope (or the Propaganda) and, on the other, of the missionary societies. The discussion of the home-subject of the missions has shown us how closely and inseparably the sending subject and the object sent are united. To this fundamental connection the Catholic missionaries are indeed indebted for the fact that they can approach both Christians and pagans with greater authority and legitimacy than can Protestant missionaries who are unable to make such an appeal to an authoritative sending on the part of their church.<sup>1</sup> The Protestant missionary can at best base his claim on the inaudible and therefore unverifiable spiritual call and on the acquiescence of some single community at home. Consequently, he must work, as it were, with a broken staff and scepter. The Catholic missionary, on the contrary, appears on the scene "*auctoritatem habens*" (armed with authority in the fullest sense). He appears, on the one hand, as the herald and representative of God, who has not only selected him by personal vocation to serve as His instrument among the pagans, but has also expressly empowered him through His lawful Church to serve in that capacity. He also appears as the official agent and delegate of this ecclesiastical body, which, acting through the Propaganda and the missionary societies, has sent him out and provided him with the mission. Consequently, the Catholic missionary is what a Protestant can never claim to be—the actual envoy and representative of a universal teaching institute of salvation which traces from its Divine Founder the right and obligation to teach and convert the pagan peoples, and is equipped through His power and jurisdiction, with the teaching and governing powers that were committed by Him to His Apostles and their representatives and that have been transmitted to the missionary through the ecclesiastical sending. It is this Divine and

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<sup>1</sup> Because the Protestant "church" plays an entirely different rôle with regard to the missions, and has really nothing to say in direct relation to them, at least in its official capacity; because its sending societies possess no more fundamental authority or power than any individual; in short, because there is no hierarchy to undertake the management and sending of the missions as a matter of right.

ecclesiastical sending that imposes on the missionary workers the apostolate to the pagans as their chief duty and vocation.

The missionary societies, to which the individual missionary agents belong and are subject, and to which, moreover, the various missionary fields are entrusted, constitute the executive mission subject. The relations of the individual missionaries and the mission hierarchy to these sending missionary authorities at home vary greatly. Usually, however, the missionary in his personal capacity as regular cleric (e. g., in matters of discipline) is subject to the superiors of his society (that is, to the Provincial of the province to which he belongs);<sup>2</sup> but in so far as the missionary activities are concerned, he is subject to the Propaganda and the mission superior it has designated. These two functions can be separated not only juridically, but also in practice: for example, besides the missionary superior of the Society, a special Provincial or Regional may be appointed to direct personally the clerics of the mission. Otherwise, the functions are combined by personal union, the Apostolic Vicar or Prefect being simultaneously the Superior of the Mission and the representative of the missionaries under his jurisdiction in their character of regular clergy. Similarly, the Superior of a station may also be the *superior regularis* over his subordinates.\* The Curial Reform which Pius X instituted by the Bull *Sapientis consilio*, of June 29, 1908, fixed finally the previously varying practice, by declaring that missionaries belonging to

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<sup>2</sup> This may be a home province with its seat in the home country, or a foreign one with its seat in the mission territory (Lazarists). Cf. the statutes of the individual societies.

\* In the case of the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word and the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, and also the Jesuits and Franciscans, the two functions are separated; in the case of the White Fathers and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, they are united. The Benedictines of St. Ottilien also distinguish between the ecclesiastical superior and the *superior regularis*: the former visits the missions to scrutinize the mission work and the missionary, while the latter inquires into the conditions of the monks, houses, and institutes. A common understanding, however, should exist between them (Constitutions, 112 sq.).

an order are subject to the Propaganda only in their character of missionaries: in their character of regular clergy they became subject to the *Congregatio pro Religiosis*. This has been confirmed by the New Codex.<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to the plan of the Protestant missions, which, just as at home, recognizes only the more or less external supervision of the inspectors and superintendents, the hierarchical scheme of the Catholic missions is, at least for the present, developed with strict consistency, is governed by uniform regulations, and is peculiar to the missions. This special mission hierarchy, however, appears as a proportionately late product of gradually developing missionary conditions. Formerly, the missionaries without distinction were subject to their Order or to their bishop, just as though they were at home; and, regardless of the enormous extent of his sphere of jurisdiction, there was no canonical distinction between this bishop and any Ordinary.<sup>5</sup> Shortly after its institution in the seventeenth century, however, the Propaganda began gradually (first in Asia and then everywhere) to destroy the old diocesan scheme, which was introducing the European pastoral system too quickly into the pagan missions and which was thus pushing the actual missionary work into the background. The old diocesan system was replaced (or supplemented) by a special constitution which made the missions directly subject to the Pope and Propaganda. This transformation was not accomplished without bitter fights and quarrels, as the cries

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<sup>4</sup> "Quod vero spectat ad sodales religiosos, eadem Congregatio sibi vindicat, quicquid religiosos qua missionarios, sive uti singulos sive simul sumptos tangit. Quidquid vero religiosos qua tales, sive uti singulos sive simul sumptos attingit, ad Congregationem religiosorum, negotiis praepositam remittat aut relinquat" (CIC., can. 252, § 5; ZM., I (1911), 156 sq.; AAS., I (1909), 13). Cf. ZM., I (1911), 150, and VIII (1918), 38). While the mission superiors may not interfere in the discipline of the Order, their command takes precedence over that of the Regular Superior in case of conflict (can. 296, § 2). According to a decision of the Propaganda for China (1848), the *missionarii religiosi* owe a double obedience—to the Mission Superior and to the Order Superior; in case of conflict, the former takes precedence (*Collect.*, I, n. 1033).

<sup>5</sup> The reader may recall the Bishop of Funchal whose gigantic diocese stretched across Africa to Goa, and thence across the ocean as far as Japan.

in the Far Eastern missionary circles of this period prove.<sup>6</sup> The result of these conflicts, in which Rome was usually victorious, was that superiors named and appointed by the Propaganda replaced the bishops and Regular Superiors in most of the missionary territories. In a few cases, however, the older episcopal hierarchy has succeeded in retaining its independence of Propaganda even to the present day thanks to the power reserved by certain European states of nominating the prelates for the missions in their colonial territories.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the Apostolic Delegates,<sup>8</sup> who are appointed supreme supervisors over certain larger missionary areas, we have to consider the Vicars and Prefects Apostolic, who administer individual missions. The Vicars Apostolic are usually Titular Bishops,<sup>9</sup> and, according to the New Codex, enjoy within their jurisdiction all the rights and faculties of diocesan Ordinaries,<sup>10</sup> in so far

<sup>6</sup> This process of transformation deserves still closer investigation. Cf. Jann, *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan, ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrh.* (1915).

<sup>7</sup> The missions in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies are not even today subject to the Propaganda.

<sup>8</sup> *CIC.*, can. 267, § 2. Cf. *Missiones catholicae* (1922) and Arens, *Handbuch der kathol. Missionen*, 23 sq. (Japan, India, Persia, etc.).

<sup>9</sup> The New Codex assigns them the privileges of Titular Bishops, provided they are consecrated bishops; otherwise, they enjoy within their territories the privileges of the Apostolic Protonotaries *de numero participantium* (can. 308). Cf. the Synodal Statutes. Concerning the earlier law, cf. Löhr, *Beiträge zum Missionsrecht*, 1 sq. Formerly, the Vicars Apostolic were either prominent bishops to whom the Pope assigned the supervision of extensive areas or prelates commissioned to administer vacant dioceses. Today, however, they are papal representatives in charge of a missionary region; their sphere of action, however, is not so strictly defined as that of an Ordinary, and their attention is directed to an extensive propagation of the faith rather than to intensive pastoral work (Löhr, loc. cit., footnote 2). Also Grentrup, *Zur Geschichte und Ernennung der Apostol. Vikare*, *ZM.*, XVI (1926), 107 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> The benedictions, indulgences, faculties for the administration of Confirmation, Holy Orders and the Papal Blessing (once annually), to declare an altar privileged, and to grant *literae dimissoriae* (*CIC.*, can. 294, § 2; 349, § 2, n. 2; 782, § 3; 914, 916, 957, 958, § 1, n. 4; cf. Lux in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 32). Earlier the Vicars were regarded as *ad nutum amovibiles*, and not as bishops in their own vicariate: they might exercise jurisdiction there, but without the customary



as the Holy See has not expressly set a limitation in their cases. They are appointed solely by the Holy See," and accordingly possess a *jurisdictio ordinaria vicaria*.<sup>11</sup> Their right of control extends over all missionaries,—even to the otherwise exempt regular clergy, who are subject to the jurisdiction, visitation, and discipline of the Vicar in all missionary matters and must submit their powers to him and at his request participate in the pastoral

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honors and privileges (throne in their church, insertion of their name in the Canon), although no Ordinary could interfere in their territory (*Collectanea*, I, 253). According to Zitelli (1880), 101, 137, and the Cameroon Statutes, 1, the Vicar Apostolic, "in virtue of his consecration and his title of bishop, possesses all the power of the *Ordo* and all the privileges of titular bishops." According to Löhr, loc. cit., 4 sq., he does not possess the faculty to grant indulgences, nor that of adjudication, as do diocesan bishops, but has the right to the episcopal cross and canopy, the ring, mitre, and staff, while his obligation to reside in his territory is much stricter, because of the special necessity for his presence there (*Collect.*, n. 356 of 1746). He may reside in any part of his territory he desires, but should naturally select a place that is central and easy to reach; he may also fix a certain territory for his own missionary activities (*Collect.* n. 2249 of 1723). Concerning his obligation of residence, visitation, and application, cf. Lux, 33, on can. 301 and 306. In this chapter, as distinct from elsewhere, we are quoting from the first edition of the *Collectanea* (1893), which is arranged systematically.

<sup>11</sup> "*Ab una Apostolica Sede*" (*CIC.*, can. 293, § 1), that is, to the exclusion of other (especially civil) factors. This does not exclude a preliminary understanding with the government of the territory concerned, but simply gives expression to the principle of the independent papal right of appointment (Lux, in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 32).

<sup>12</sup> *CIC.*, can. 197, 198. Previously their jurisdiction was delegated from Rome in their Brief of appointment or by their faculties (*Collect.*, 253 and 1346). Concerning the faculties of the Vicars Apostolic (and Prefects), cf. Löhr, loc. cit., 31 sqq.; also his article on the "New Missionary Faculties" (to the Vicar Apostolic of Daresalam) in *ZM.*, VII (1917), 20 sqq., and the criticism of his position, in the succeeding fascicles by Mergentheim, *ibid.*, 115 sqq., Enshoff, *ibid.*, 201 sqq., and Hecht, *ibid.*, VIII (1918), 63 sqq. According to the analysis in Löhr, *Beiträge*, 8 sq., the Vicar Apostolic has the right to establish statutes for his vicariates, to supervise the whole official and personal conduct of the subordinate clergy, to institute canonical trials, and to decide ecclesiastical cases in the first instance. He divides missionary faculties into ordinary (ten formularies) and extraordinary, although the latter are also commonly granted to whole groups, especially of the same Society (Löhr, loc. cit., 31 sq.; Munerati, 18). Cf. the *Elenchus privilegiorum* of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost (Paris, 1900) and the *Facultates Apostolicæ* in *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses* (1917), lib. II.

work of his district.<sup>13</sup> To the Propaganda the Vicar Apostolic is bound to submit annually a list of the baptisms and the other sacraments administered, and to make a quinquennial report *pro visitatione liminum*.<sup>14</sup> The Propaganda desires that the Vicar Apostolic shall form a council for the discussion of the more important and especially the temporal affairs of the mission. While the three members of this council possess only an advisory voice, a majority vote should be heeded. The Propaganda, furthermore, desires that, wherever possible, a conference of the experienced missionaries shall be summoned annually, and also that a synod shall be held and attended by all the missionaries invited. The decisions of the synod are to be binding only after their ratification by the Propaganda.<sup>15</sup> Immediately upon his arrival, each Vicar Apostolic must appoint a pro-vicar, or administrator, to possess during the lifetime of the Vicar only the powers delegated to him by the latter; but in case of the death or incapacity of the Vicar, the pro-vicar takes

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<sup>13</sup> *CIC.*, can. 295, § 2; 296, § 1; 297 (cf. Lux, loc. cit., 32 sq.). In pastoral disputes, the Vicar renders decision without prejudice of recourse to the Holy See (*CIC.*, can. 298). Except in the cases provided for in canon law, he may not interfere in the discipline of the Order; but in case of a conflict on pastoral matters arising between him and the Order Superiors, his view has precedence (*CIC.*, can. 296, § 2). The precept regarding the regular clergy dates back to a Constitution of Clement IX of September 13, 1669 (*Collect.*, 186). For further details regarding the relation of the Vicar to the missionaries, cf. Löhr, loc. cit., 5 sqq. Grentrup, *Das Amt der Apostolischen Vikare nach Natur und Rechtsinhalt* in *ZM.*, XVI (1926), 177 sqq. *Idem*, *Die Pflichten der Apostol. Vikare*, *ibid.*, 258 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Lux, loc. cit., 33, concerning *CIC.*, can. 299—300. Vicars *extra Europam* need only make the actual visitation decennially. The Propaganda ordinance regarding the list dates from 1741 (*Collect.*, 331); regarding the report on the status of the territory from 1844 (*Collect.*, 989; the questions, *ibid.*, 104; and answers, *ibid.*, 109). Formerly, the formula of 1877 was used (*Collect.*, II, n. 1473); but since 1921 the formula of the Consistorial Congregation of Nov. 4, 1918, has been available (*AAS.*, XI (1918), 487 sqq.). Cf. Löhr, loc. cit., 16 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> Concerning the council, 1883 (*Collect.*, 1606); concerning the synod, *ibid.*, 454. Also the Synod of Cameroon, 3 sq.; Szechwan and Hongkong. Cf. Löhr, loc. cit., 9 sqq., and Lux, loc. cit., 33, on *CIC.*, can. 302, 303 and 304 § 9. Concerning the council, cf. Grentrup in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, XCVI (1916), 546 sqq.

over the entire administration with the same jurisdiction as the Ordinary.<sup>16</sup>

The office of Prefect Apostolic was later instituted to mark the progress or transition of a territory from a simple mission towards a vicariate. A Prefect Apostolic is usually, with respect to his orders, a simple priest, but is provided with episcopal jurisdiction and essentially the same powers as a vicar, for territories which, because of their smaller extent or the continuance of their initial stage of development, are not raised to the status of vicariates. According to the New Codex,<sup>17</sup> the Prefects Apostolic enjoy in other respects a position substantially similar to that of the Vicars Apostolic. The individual (even the independent) missions are subject to Superiors (Mission Superiors); and sub-districts (sections or districts) embracing several stations, wherever they exist, are subject to Superiors of a higher rank (usually deans).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Lux, 34, on *CIC.*, can. 309. The pro-vicar must now in turn appoint a spiritual successor immediately; otherwise, the missionary who is longest in service must undertake the administration (can. 310). This was prescribed as a greater guarantee for cases of sudden deaths, by *Literæ Apostolicæ* of Benedict XIV, in 1753 and 1755 (*Collect.*, 387), and was extended to include two pro-vicars for the East Indies, in 1786 (*ibid.*, 583): in case of necessity the temporary administration during a vacancy was entrusted to the *senior* of the mission, in 1787 (*ibid.*, 591). According to a decision of 1882, the missionary bishop may during his lifetime delegate such of his powers as he chooses to his pro-vicar (or pro-vicars); and during his absence his pro-vicar (or pro-vicars) possesses his powers and precedence throughout the vicariate, although there are no Vicar Generals in our sense of the word in the missionary territories (*Collect.* 777). A *vicarius delegatus* has the authority of a Vicar General. Cf. Cameroon, 1 sq. Concerning the newly instituted *vicarius delegatus*, cf. *AAS.*, XII (1920), 120, and Ybáñez, *Directorium Missionariorum* (2nd ed.), 28 sqq. Concerning the representatives of the Vicars Apostolic, their importance and their powers, especially during a vacancy, cf. Löhr, *Beiträge*, 24 sqq. (chapter 2).

<sup>17</sup> *CIC.*, can. 293, 311. Cf. *Collect.*, 243 sqq. (ed. 1893); Löhr, loc. cit., 28 sqq. (chap. 3). Concerning the faculties, cf. *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, 77 (1897), 567 sq. Until the nineteenth century, *Mission Prefects* meant the Regular Superiors of the individual missions. On this point cf. (according to Streit) Comajuncosa, O. F. M. (died 1814), *El Comisario prefecto de Misiones instruido en las obligaciones y facultades del suo officio* (Ms.).

<sup>18</sup> Division into deaneries is recommended for dioceses in general (*CIC.*, can. 217). For China, cf. Fabrègues, 28 sqq., and the *Manuale* of Shantung.

The individual messengers of the faith, who are subordinate to the Vicars or Prefects, are known as *missionarii*, or missionaries. The epithet "apostolicus" (apostolic missionary), by which this term is frequently qualified, possesses a distinct importance. The Propaganda has expressly decided that this title belongs only to missionaries sent out from the Papal College or those on whom the Propaganda has conferred it; it grants a certain precedence to those who possess it, at least over the native clergy.<sup>19</sup> Heretofore the missionaries were not regarded as pastors of their communities; consequently they did not possess any of the parochial rights but only delegated jurisdiction. They could therefore be removed at any time by the Vicar Apostolic, although it was recommended that for practical reasons they should be left in places with which they had grown familiar.<sup>20</sup> The New Codex assigns them a quasi-parochial character with all the rights and duties of a pastor.<sup>21</sup> Before beginning their ministry, they must submit their faculties to the Mission Superior, and receive his permission to perform spiritual functions.<sup>22</sup> If the missionaries are secular clergy, they are subject in every respect to the Vicar Apostolic; if they belong to an Order, they are subject to the Vicar with respect to pastoral duties and the administration of the Sacraments.<sup>23</sup> They may not leave or exchange their mission without the consent of the Propaganda and the Vicar Apostolic.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 1853 *Collect.*, n. 1092. This precedence is observed, for example, on entering choir and in conventions. Cf. AAS., I (1909), 148, 465 sq. The Congregation of the Holy Office may also grant the title "apostolicus" to missionaries who are not subject to the Propaganda (*ibid.*).

<sup>20</sup> *Collect.* (1st ed.), n. 1080; not capriciously (1698; *ibid.*, n. 532).

<sup>21</sup> *CIC.*, can. 451, § 2, n. I. Cf. Friedrich, in *ZM.*, X (1920), 145 sqq. On their duty of application (as *quasi-parochi*), which is governed in individual cases by the application days appointed by the Vicars Apostolic, cf. *CIC.*, can. 306, 466, § 1 (also Lux in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 35).

<sup>22</sup> *CIC.*, can. 295. Cf. *Collect.*, 93.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1563, Cf. *CIC.*, can. 296, § 1.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *CIC.*, can. 207. Whenever possible, they must wear black or white cassock (*Collect.*, 563, 1346). Concerning the *Applicatio*

The missionary forces consist of the missionaries proper and the mission auxiliaries.<sup>25</sup> In the Protestant missions, a corresponding distinction is drawn between ordained and non-ordained missionaries; but the distinction in their case cannot be so sharp, since neither on the missions nor at home does Protestantism regard holy orders or jurisdiction in our sense. Consequently, whereas missionary physicians and other auxiliaries without theological training are often referred to by Protestants as missionaries, this term is according to the Catholic view strictly limited to the ordained, specifically commissioned and theologically trained and prepared missionary priests. They alone are regarded as the real preachers of the Gospel and dispensers of the mysteries; they alone possess the teaching, sacerdotal, and governing power necessarily linked with the missionary vocation; they alone, because of their spiritual paternity, fully merit the honorary title of "Father," which is universally applied to the missionaries; furthermore, the missionary task and authority were, according to the Catholic view, entrusted only to the Apostles, their successors or the representatives of the latter.<sup>26</sup> The sacerdotal character is thus an indispensable requisite for the assumption and exercise of the missionary office in its full extent. Thanks to this priestly character—especially the religious functions and the sacramental ministrations which are associated with it—the Catholic missionaries are more closely wed to their calling, and their attention is more definitely fixed than that of the Protestants on the conversion of the pagans. Since the close of the Middle Ages—in fact, since early medieval times—this sacerdotal character was usually combined with allegiance to an order or congre-

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*pro populo*, division and dismemberment of mission parishes, rights on journeys, etc., under the old canon law, cf. Löhr, loc. cit., 126 sqq. (chapter 8); concerning the faculties of the missionaries, *ibid.*, 133 sqq. (chapter 9).

<sup>25</sup> According to Krose (*Kirchliches Handbuch*, 1916. 15), personal servants of the missionaries do not belong to the mission personnel.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Krose, *Missionsstatistik*, 25, and Linckens in *ZM.*, II (1912), 183. Cf. above 39 sq., also Kappenberg in *Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, I, 166 sq.

gation. Consequently, the majority of our missionaries possess a double status—that of missionaries under the missionary authorities and that of regular clergy under the guidance of their regular superiors. It cannot be denied that the regular clergy possess advantages which make them especially suited for the missionary calling. These include the distribution of labor made possible by their communal organization, a much greater guarantee of permanency, development, and tradition, a stricter and more careful testing and preparation (especially by the novitiate), and a more rigid asceticism and unaffected heroism. The asceticism and heroism of the regular clergy are the result of their special striving for perfection, particularly marked by their three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, their complete renunciation of private possessions, family connections and their own wills, and in fine, by their unreserved subordination and the absolute merging of their personality in the task authoritatively set before them.<sup>27</sup> It would, however, be a fatal error to suppose that only the regular clergy are entitled or qualified to serve as missionaries, and that secular priests may not and should not also embrace the missionary calling.<sup>28</sup> Let us not forget that the Apostles and Disciples of Jesus Christ—in fact, all the missionaries of Christian antiquity—belonged to no religious order, and that even today the missionary vocation is not necessarily, and should therefore not be regarded as equivalent to, a vocation for the regular life.<sup>29</sup> It may be that specific difficulties and impediments

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, and Caron. Rovenius favors the regular clergy as pagan missionaries, and the secular clergy at the head of the churches.

<sup>28</sup> It is almost unbelievable that so many regular clerics, writing on the missionary vocation (e.g., Wehrmeister, p. 63; still earlier, Acosta and Caron), could maintain the view that all missionaries ought to belong to the religious congregations, and that many clerics who wish to work as secular priests on the missions entertain this desire only because they are aiming at an independence deleterious to the missions. Urbano Cerri (1677), on the other hand, wanted secular priests exclusively as missionaries (*Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine dans toutes les parties du monde*, 300 sqq.).

<sup>29</sup> The separation of the two vocations is realized, for example,

to missionary activity are inherent in the status of the secular clergy (viewed in the abstract), but these difficulties and impediments may be easily overcome by a good organization, as past experience has shown.<sup>20</sup> Such difficulties are, for example, the retention of personal property (which is correlative to the fixed salary on the mission) and personal freedom of action (which is very hard to reconcile with the universally rigid subordination and lifelong devotion to the missionary service). On the other hand, however, the secular status also possesses advantages which might prove beneficial for missionary work under certain conditions—at least, for countries and peoples whose standards are somewhat analogous to the European (e. g., the civilized lands of Eastern Asia). Missions of the secular clergy might provide a broader and more cosmopolitan outlook, possibly a higher culture and more extensive experience with life, a closer connection with the home, a more practical talent for organization, greater elasticity and mobility, and especially an easier transition to an independent and indigenous church.<sup>21</sup> In view of the urgently needed increase and strengthening of our missionary contingent, it is extremely desirable that secular priests and theologians also should embrace the missionary calling in large numbers; that more earnestly than ever before they should ask themselves the question whether God has not destined them also to be His heralds, and to carry His name to the Gentiles; and that, therefore, through special missionary societies and seminaries, the opportunity should be offered to them to participate in the conversion of the pagans in their character of secular priests, not as isolated or scattered among various societies and territories, but in their own vicariates.

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in the French and Italian Missionary Societies for Secular Priests. The early establishment of a similar German society is anticipated.

<sup>20</sup> As proved in the case of the Paris Seminary. More negative results were shown in the Italo-Austrian Society of Verona during its earlier stages.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the Statutes and Objects of the Paris Society. We refer especially to the development of a native clergy—a problem in which the Paris and other missionary seminaries have obtained much greater success and results than the Orders.

The Brothers and Sisters support the "Fathers" as auxiliaries in the missionary service, and might therefore be classed as missionaries in the wider sense, as Linckens (p. 30) rightly emphasizes. In these auxiliaries is especially revealed the superiority of the Catholic (particularly the regular) missions over the "Evangelical." This superiority is conceded by Warneck in the following passage: "The manual work of these Brothers suggests the true reason for the praise which the Roman missions receive from travelers and colonial statesmen<sup>22</sup> who have little or no conception of the religious task of the missions. In these Brothers the Catholic missions possess the most valuable auxiliaries in all those external labors which might perhaps be grouped under the name of missionary cultural work. They do not stand on an equality with the Fathers, and, as far as we can read between the lines, there is no lack of differences between the representatives of the two grades [?] of the orders. The monastic vows, however, bind the useful brothers to the community life of the cloister, and thus also to the missionary service at the stations, which they cannot leave at will [?]. Once and for all let it be said that Protestant freedom [!] is no soil in which to plant such or similar associations; since, without the monastic vows, the associations are not tenable [?], and at such a price we dare not purchase them [!]. Repeated attempts have indeed been made in the Evangelical missions—for example, in the Hermannsburg and Rhenish missions, and most recently in England—to station ordained missionaries together with colonists and artisan brothers, and to establish a kind of communal family life between both classes. The experiment, however, has been a complete failure, and not merely because of personal dissensions, but also from practical causes existing in the very nature of the work of these colonizing and artisan brothers. Consequently, it is not advisable that the experiment be repeated in the same form. There is, notwithstanding, something very practical in the institution of auxiliary brotherhoods; and it is therefore worthwhile to consider the question: "Is it possible to create within the Evangelical missions a substitute which, while eliminating the monastic by-product and avoiding the danger of compromising the religious missionary task [?], might perform a similar service, only in an evangelical and sounder [?] way?" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 233 sqq.). Warneck considers three possible substitutes: (1) that the mission invite independent Christian farmers, artisans, merchants, and so forth, to settle among and direct the natives, and utilize and pay for their services as the need may arise; (2) that they should engage such co-workers for a time at a fixed salary; (3) that they admit them permanently into their association with the express stipulation that they devote themselves to these objects. This last method has been adopted, for example, by the Moravian Brothers from Germany and in the English "industrial missions." In so far, however, as it gives to artisans or lay missionaries the same status as that of ordained missionaries, and even entrusts them with the

<sup>22</sup> He is referring especially to Major von Wissmann.



preaching of the word of God, Warneck regards it as abnormal, and demands a severance of the secular and religious callings. As to the second alternative of paid auxiliaries, he would like to see this realized, especially in the case of young missionaries. As to the first suggestion, of colonists who, while independent, would co-operate actively in the work of Christianization, Warneck regards this as the ideal, which has seldom been actually realized and is attended also with grave difficulties. Warneck is in favor also of special missionary physicians and women auxiliaries.

As already said, the problem finds its best solution in the Catholic missionary practice. Subordinate to the Fathers and morally bound to their Order (and thus also to the mission) by their vows and the evangelical counsels, the missionary Brothers undertake the various subsidiary works of the mission and in a humble and unassuming spirit and with a splendid zeal and self-denial that compels our admiration.<sup>33</sup> Two objects are thus attained. In the first place, thanks primarily to the higher status of the Fathers, the external cultural work remains organically and harmoniously combined with the religious activity of the missionaries. Consequently, the chief task of the missions (the preaching of the kingdom of God) is encroached on in no way, but on the contrary, both lines of activity are benefited. On the other hand, the two spheres are kept separate at least in their representatives, and the missionary priests, who are already sufficiently absorbed by their religious activities, are spared at least a portion of these more worldly occupations. It was indeed this very idea that led the Apostles to institute special deacons, since they felt they were not called to serve the tables, but the Word.<sup>34</sup> These missionary Brothers, who are mostly recruited from the working classes,<sup>35</sup> support the missionaries in the most various domains as true pioneers of Christianity and civil-

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<sup>33</sup> Their proportion of the work does not of course reach the extravagant dimensions which Warneck assumes. For example, they are not more numerous than the Fathers: according to Arens, they number 4,019 as compared with 12,712 priests—that is, they are approximately one fourth.

<sup>34</sup> "The powers of the priest are thus multiplied by good missionary Brothers" (Fischer, *Für Christi Reich*, 36).

<sup>35</sup> Very often also from noble families in earlier times—e. g., many Jesuit and Franciscan Brothers during the sixteenth century.

ization. They care especially for the daily corporal needs of the missionary and the members of the station, and perform or direct besides various economic activities, such as the erection of buildings, the tilling and preparation of the soil, the raising of cattle, the management of workshops and warehouses, the buying and selling of commodities, the supervision of the natives at work and their training by advice and example. They also assist in the training and instruction of children in the missionary schools, and in the general superintendence of the young people; participate in charitable relief-work and care of the sick, and, by no means least important, furnish by their example a model of subordination and industry to both the Christian and pagan natives. While these Brothers are usually united with the Fathers in one and the same congregation, they form in some instances independent societies (e. g., the School Brothers), which are partly Western and partly native.<sup>36</sup>

A similar or still more emphatic meed of praise must be paid to the "silent heroines"—the Missionary Sisters. These outnumber the Brothers,<sup>37</sup> and are sometimes organized into independent congregations. It is their special task to establish through their hidden self-immolation the physical foundation and the social and charitable background for the missions: to supplement the labors of the men by the institution of household occupations and handicrafts (cooking, laundry work, sewing, etc.), by training and instructing the young (especially the

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. *In the Ranks of the Lay Brothers*, Mission Press, Techny, Ill.; *Out of Many Hearts (Thoughts on the Religious Vocation)*, Brothers of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Ind., also the two excellent brochures: *Der Brudermisssionar in der Kongregation vom Hl. Geist*, by a Father of the same congregation (1912), and *Stille Helden*, by Father Rosenbach, O.M.I. (7th volume of the *Blüten und Früchte vom heimatlichen und auswärtigen Missionsfelde der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria*) (1913), Galm, *Die Laienbrüder als Hilfsmisssionare*, ZM., XVII (1927), 272 sqq.

<sup>37</sup> They number over 22,000 according to Arens' *Handbuch* (1925), 240 sqq.; according to Streit, *Catholic Missions*, 30,756. Cf. Vâth, *Die Frauenorden in den Missionen* (Aachen 1922); works on the individual congregations, e. g., on the Sisters of Steyl and the Franciscan Sisters of Nonnenwerth; also Norbert, *L'institut des Franciscaines missionnaires de Marie* (Vannes, 1895); *Echo aus Knechtsteden* (1912).

girls) and cultivating in them a spirit of industry, by their devoted care for the personnel of the mission and the poor or sick natives (whether Christian or pagan) in the hospitals or dispensaries, the asylums or orphanages. They also assist the missionaries by practising a species of pastoral activity, especially among women in places where these are by social custom or for any other reason more or less shut off from the missionary.<sup>38</sup> An intimate spiritual bond joins these Sisters also to the life of the Catholic Orders, and establishes not only permanent mutual ties among the Sisters themselves, but links them all with the whole missionary organization in sentiments of sisterly love and self-sacrifice.<sup>39</sup>

The Missionary Sisters and the medical activities of the trained Fathers and Brothers take the place of the lay physicians, who are almost unknown on the Catholic missions. The fact that the lay medical mission has been assigned so restricted a rôle in our missions<sup>40</sup> is not due

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Vâth, loc. cit., 69 sqq. (*Über Wert und Bedeutung, Tätigkeit und Beurteilung der Missionsschwwestern*). Especially is to be mentioned, Sr. Sixta Kasbauer, *Die Teilnahme der Frauenwelt am Missionswerk. Eine missionstheoretische Studie* (1928).

<sup>39</sup> Warneck's insinuation that the enforcing of celibacy on the monks and nuns who must live close together on the missions sometimes results in scandals, must be indignantly denied. However, he declares he has not the desire to minimize (in so far as it is free from rhetorical exaggeration) the praise lavished by the Roman authorities on the Sisters who devote themselves to the missionary service. Nevertheless, he thinks that the Evangelical woman missionary merits a double praise, because, besides her burden as a mission worker, she must carry also that of a wife or mother (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 228 sq.). We will not inquire what part, if any, the missionary motive plays in this burden, but in any case the Protestant missionary must often find a wife as great an impediment as an aid. It is, of course, undeniable that she may be, and frequently is, a useful aid to her husband. We find, however, that Protestant missionary circles, especially in England and America, are seeking an intermediate course by sending out bodies of unmarried women as missionaries. According to Warneck, these cannot replace the wives of the missionaries, but they admittedly make better teachers and nurses, and can especially devote their undivided attention to their calling, even though, as is readily understood, they cannot at all compare with the Catholic Sisters (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 227 sqq.).

<sup>40</sup> At least the great Far Eastern missionary hospitals have their own professional physicians (cf. Schwager in his *Surveys in ZM.*)

(as Protestants frequently assume)<sup>41</sup> to fundamental difficulties or to fears regarding a possible emergence of the lay body; it is due solely to the financial inability of the missions to engage them. They would at all times gladly welcome the assistance of professional physicians and the religious influence which their healing of the sick would have; they would also joyfully hail them as associates, even though they could not grant them the title of missionary in the strict sense, or confer on them the proper faculties for preaching the Gospel. It would indeed be only a fulfilment of the deep desire of the missionaries if a large number of Catholic physicians could be found who were willing to practise their profession on the missions, even for a fixed salary.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the Catholic missionaries would be as delighted and grateful as the Protestants, if good and pious Catholics from home would settle around the Fathers, Sisters, and Brothers, whether as officials, colonists, farmers, or merchants; and these would readily command the title of mission colonist, mission merchant, or the like, provided they were ready to offer themselves for the service of the apostolate.<sup>43</sup>

Besides the European, the native auxiliaries also belong to the mission subject, or personnel. In discussing the purpose of the missions, we shall see that the natives of the rising generation, amidst all the actual difficulties in the way, present no basic obstacle to the specifically Catholic outlook upon the missions, but decidedly appear as the outstanding postulate of the mission.

<sup>41</sup> For example, Mirbt and to some extent even Warneck.

<sup>42</sup> We see no need of a biblical sanction for this collaboration, such as is given in Warneck's *Missionslehre*. Cf. above, p. 43. In recent times, the movement in favor of medical missions has been promoted in England by Dr. Margaret Lamont, in America by Dr. Anna Dengel, and in Germany by the Medical Institute for the Missions at Würzburg (cf. Becker, *Die ärztliche Mission*, Aachen, 1922). Keeler, *Catholic Medical Missions*, 1925. Lamont, *Catholic Medical Work in the Missions*, in *Our Missions*, II (1922), 18 sqq. *Idem*, *Medical Needs of the Missions*, *ibidem*, 34 sqq., 50 sqq., 66 sqq., 82 sqq., 98 sqq. Becker, *Lösungsversuche missionsärztlicher Fragen*, ZM., XV (1925), 228 sqq.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 239 sqq., and the literature given there.

Provided it is found feasible, even the bishops, Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters may and should be chosen from among the natives, as not only a regard for the task and future of the missions, but also the expressed wish of the Propaganda and other missionary bodies demand.<sup>44</sup> These native missionary agents can in many cases work more easily and effectively than foreigners, who will always be so regarded and always so regard themselves. On the other hand, it is true that there are also all kinds of obstacles to the creation of a native clergy, and a danger of distressing effects. In any case, a large number of male and female native catechists are indispensable for the chief stations and especially for the outposts, which indeed are entrusted to their care. The same is true of male and female teachers, if in a somewhat lesser degree. Placed under the constant guidance and control of the missionary, these catechists have in case of necessity to represent him in functions not strictly priestly—for example, in the administration of baptism, the holding of prayer and other devotions, the conversion of pagans, the instruction of catechumens, the training and guidance of the recently baptized, and especially the teaching of the children. At the larger stations, these tasks are performed under the supervision of the Fathers or Brothers; at certain stations of secondary importance, the catechists have to act unaided except for the periodic visits of the missionary. Their most important, and sometimes their exclusive, duty consists in the religious instruction and training of the natives:<sup>45</sup> hence their name of catechists. However, they are usually entrusted also with the conducting and care of the children on their way to divine service. Included also in the mission personnel, especially in China, are the unmarried women-auxiliaries who live either in communities or with their families. This native teaching and auxiliary force also performs absolutely indispens-

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<sup>44</sup> In the New Codex, this is expressly declared an obligation *onerata graviter conscientia* (CIC., can. 305). Cf. also Benedict XV's Encyclical on the Missions.

<sup>45</sup> For example, in the so-called "catechism schools."

able services for the missions: it co-operates with the missionaries by sowing the seed, however thinly; it relieves the heavily laden Western workers of a large portion of their burden, and acts as the medium or link between missionary and people.\*

For the literature on the native personnel of the missions considered in the abstract, cf. below under Social Aims of the Missions. Concerning the triple division of the auxiliaries, cf. Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, 520 sqq.; concerning their position and importance, the Memorial of Marnas to the Japanese episcopate (*Note sur le rôle important des Catéchistes*, 1891). Concerning missionary physicians (besides Becker, loc. cit.), the numerous Protestant treatises quoted above; concerning the Brothers and Sisters, the literature quoted above. Concerning Missionaries and Mission Superiors, besides *CIC.*, Lib. II, C., VIII (Can. 293—311); Löhr, *Beiträge zum Missionsrecht* (1916), Dantes Munerati, *De jure missionariorum* (cap. ii, *De missionum regimine*; cap. iii, *De missionariis*), the Paris *Collectanea* of 1880 (p. I, c. ii, *De vicariis*; c. iii, *De provicariis*, c. iv, *De missionariis*), various *Synodal Statutes* (Nagasaki, 25 sqq., Shansi, 5 sqq., Tongking, 19 sqq., Hongkong, 23 sqq., Cameroon, 1 sqq.), and the Indian Provincial Councils in Tit. II (Bombay, 95 sqq., Calcutta, 67 sqq., Pondicherry, 51 sqq., Verapoli, 34 sqq.); *De personis ecclesiasticis* (c. i, *De episcopis*; c. ii, *De curia episcopali*; c. iii, *De consultoribus*; c. iv, *De vicariis foraneis*; c. v, *De vicariis provincialibus*; and Tit. V, c. i. *De missionariis* and c. ii, *De catechistis*), (Bombay, 128 sqq., Calcutta, 90 sqq., Pondicherry, 90 sqq., Verapoli, 83 sqq.). Concerning the relations to the mission superiors (Pope, Vicar, Provicar, Council, etc.), cf. the Directories of Taiku, nn. 13—17, and Burma, 49 sqq. Concerning the positions and duties of the Vicars Apostolic, cf. *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong* (1910), 11 sqq., and Andrucci, *De vicario apostolico* (*Hier. eccl.*, 233 sqq., 599 sqq.). Vromant, *Ius Missionariorum* (Louvain (1929)). Concerning the legal subject and personality of the missions, cf. Braam and Friedrich in *ZM.* and below under Aims of the Missions.

## 2. Qualifications of the Missionaries

The most important question that arises in connection with the mission subject and sending object—the very first question that every human agent of the pagan mis-

\* Cf. Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*; (1909), *MKK.*, 81 sqq., Löhr, loc. cit., 164 sqq. (chapter 12). The native priests are to be considered as missionaries in the strict sense (cf. Kappenberg, loc. cit., 168, in answer to Vermeersch). Concerning the native priests, catechists, and unmarried auxiliaries, cf. also the synods, especially *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong*. 16 sqq., 43 sqq., 58 sqq.

sions, whether priest or auxiliary, must ask himself—is that of vocation: 'Who shall be sent? We may know in a general or abstract way that men, or priests, or the regular clerics, are called to the missions, but this by no means settles the entirely individual, personal question of the actual calling. All priests and all regular clerics are not suited to be missionaries, but only those whom God has appointed, whom legitimate authority has entrusted with this task, whose natural character fits them for the work, and who possess the necessary qualifications. To the missions particularly may be applied the statement that only those who are called should enter, and that any forcing of the uncalled into the service is sooner or later bitterly regretted. If there is any vocation that makes many and stringent demands on the personal soundness and fitness of every candidate, it is the missionary calling. The individual member of the ecclesiastical body at home, like the individual soldier or even officer in an army corps, is merged in the whole, and consequently the question of his possession or non-possession of a true vocation does not involve so much profit or damage. The exposed mission fields, however, like military outposts or patrols, make extraordinarily heavy demands on individual initiative. Acosta thus early pointed out the special difficulties and complicated tasks of the pagan missions—the spatial, linguistic, and social obstacles, the wide separation from home, the great strangeness and variety of the conditions, the isolation from one's own race, the unaccustomed mode of life, the handling of the racial and religious peculiarities of the mission object, the many corporal and spiritual trials and renunciations, the striving for the various aims of the mission, the utilization of the different missionary methods, the giving of instruction and administration of the sacraments in connection with so many other religious and cultural tasks. All this demands a high degree of knowledge and ability, of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arens, *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindeleben*, 35 sqq.; Fischer, *Mehr Priester für das Heil der Welt* (Steyl, 1916); Louis, *Der Beruf zum Missionar* (Aachen, 1921); Silvestri, *Educazione missionaria* (1921), 39 sqq.

strength and energy.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, we cannot too strongly condemn the prejudiced opinion<sup>3</sup> that a missionary need not be so capable as the average priest at home. On the contrary, it is the conclusion of both Catholic and Protestant writers that only those of highest type are good enough for the missions: and, however the degree and direction of the missionary qualifications may vary in accordance with the variation of the mission object, it cannot be said that within the immense mission field one mission (e. g., among primitive races) needs less qualified missionaries than another (e. g., among civilized pagans): every mission offers a series of complicated problems. Among uncivilized races, for example, there are difficult questions of their education and civilization, of accommodation to the native views and customs, and even the very problem of race inferiority. Consequently, it is absolutely wrong, and a sign of ignorance and unprogressiveness, for secular priests at home and representatives of other callings to look down rather contemptuously on the missionaries, as if these were in a sense merely priests of a lower order. One might indeed declare that the missionary vocation, like the regular, is in a certain respect the most well favored and sublime, as it is also the most difficult and responsible.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we must not set the demands and criteria of the missionary voca-

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<sup>2</sup> *Verum nusquam aequè necessaria commonefactio, a nemine magis illa excellentia flagitanda, quam ab eo, qui animas verbo Dei lucrificandas Christo suscepit, et animas infidelium, idque apud Indos, hoc est, ubi adiumenta habiturus sit pauca, impedimenta quam plurima; ubi quo praeclarius opus aggreditur, tanto in maiore periculo versatur, ne dum quaerit alios ipse pereat, imo vero ne et se et alios perdat, quod utinam non tam vere et crebro usurparet sermo divinus: Laqueus ruinae populi prophetæ (Acosta, 335). Cf. Warneck's *Missionslehre*, II, 142 sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Acosta (537) had already to contend with this prejudice: "*At nos aliter censere solemus: Et ad haec quis non sufficit? Ad Indos docendos quis non sufficit, etiam si literis vacuus, etiam si moribus non ornatus?*"

<sup>4</sup> *AMZ.*, XIII (1886), 215. Cf. Christlieb, Livingstone, etc. (*ZM.*, II (1912), 15). Also Wehrmeister, *Der Missionsberuf*, 63 (In *Missionsblätter von St. Ottilien*, 1910, 3 sqq.): "I repeat what I have written often before: the mission is the place for only the best." This is also the judgment of Krier (*Der Beruf*, 241). The Synod



tion too high, and thus afford a convenient excuse for dismissing with an easy wave of the hand this important and vital question.<sup>5</sup>

The fundamental qualification for the missionary life is, after all, the same as for every other state of life, although it must be more positive here than elsewhere. This condition is that one shall in fact have the vocation for the life. Consequently, one must first of all convince oneself on this point. Granted that there is a missionary vocation, and a certain conviction of it, the obligation to answer this call unconditionally then follows as a moral consequence. For, while the public in general, and the individual considered in the abstract, is as little bound to personal missionary service as to observe the evangelical counsels, the moral necessity to correspond with the Divine call of grace may nevertheless arise from one's clear perception of the will of God and the consideration of one's individual circumstances.<sup>6</sup> The missionary call (or its recognition) may

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of Hongkong (1875) says: "*Inter omnes clericales status maxima est ad Missiones vocatio*" (c. I, n. 2). In his instructions Libermann also declares the missionary call is the ideal of the priestly vocation.

<sup>5</sup> It is, however, not necessarily narrow-mindedness or love of pleasure and worldliness (as, for example, Wehrmeister loc. cit., 59, assumes), that holds many back from the missions, although a certain selfishness and love of ease are often at least indirect and unconscious factors. Not infrequently the case is merely a dejected misgiving as to one's strength, or simply the negative (urge) that the mission remains beyond one's horizon. Silvestri is also opposed to the demanding of too great a perfection of the missionary and thus discouraging many (loc. cit., 61 sq.). Mott used to ask his audience, not whether they had a positive and palpable inclination towards missionary activity, but, on the contrary, whether they believed they were *not* called for this work. In this way thousands of Anglo-Saxon students have been won for the missions. Answering in *Die Christliche Welt* the question why an equal number of Germans did not embrace missionary work, a Protestant theologian stated that, through lack of knowledge or because of a certain reticence towards it, the majority had never seriously considered the question of vocation. Cf. Arens, *Die Mission im Familien- und Gemeindegelieben*, 107 sq.

<sup>6</sup> According to the most modern theories as to the test for a vocation, this obligation would be greatly restricted, and could only very seldom be recognized with certainty.

come early in life, or not till late; it may seem as clear as the noonday sun, or may be accompanied with many doubtings; it may spring from an intellectual insight, or find a still deeper source in a warm impulse of the heart. It need not be, however, a kind of magical inspiration or revelation, since, even though it come as a special grace from above, it may at first be incited, awakened, and fostered—as it may be retarded—by external, human factors. It assumes, nevertheless, the presence of certain natural fundamentals.<sup>7</sup> While not infallible or even absolutely necessary, the usual signs of a missionary vocation are an inclination and readiness<sup>8</sup> to engage in missionary work and to undertake the labors and sacrifices entailed therein, and consequently purity of intention and a certain heroic disposition. The deciding motive must not issue from worldly considerations, such as the lack of opportunity at home, a mere desire to travel, the “lust for adventure” or “romantic enthusiasm,” but from the love of God and of souls.<sup>9</sup> Two qualifications are thus necessary for the good missionary: in the first

<sup>7</sup> In making this statement, we do not wish to decide the controversy which Lahitton provoked by representing the external call of the bishop and the internal purity of intention, together with personal suitability, as sufficient for the priestly vocation (*La vocation sacerdotale*, 1913). This view was approved by the Papal Secretariate of State in 1912 (Silvestri, loc. cit., 47). Cf. Arens, loc. cit., and Lehmkuhl in *Linzer Quartalschrift*, LXVII (1914), 263 sq. According to the Capuchin Statutes, instead of a positive inclination, the readiness to go whenever the Superiors order is sufficient (203 R. 30).

<sup>8</sup> Provoked by the reading of missionary literature, sermons on the missions, visiting of mission houses, departure of missionaries, presentations (Krier, 255 sq.).

<sup>9</sup> The honor of God, the salvation of souls, one's own sanctification (Krier, 257). According to Nicholas Herborn (1532), neither human motives (such as curiosity or a desire for fame) nor diabolical (such as heresy) should incite the missionary to the difficult task, but only a call from Heaven—the Divine and apostolic Spirit. Similarly, Erasmus of Rotterdam warns the pagan missionary not to seek out the non-Christian peoples because of a desire for material gain, like the mercenaries of earthly kings, but only because of his fidelity to the Supreme Prince, his longing for his everlasting crown and his desire to save immortal souls (cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 217 sq.). According to St. Bonaventure, a vocation should spring “*non levitate, non impetuositate, non astutia subterfugiendae disciplinae, sed divina inspiratione*” (*Op. omnia*, VIII, 436).

place, he must possess a certain degree of ability and talents, of knowledge and natural gifts; and in the second, he must have a religious and moral character of interior innocence and strength, instinct with ideals and enthusiasm, capable of heroic action, and inspired with pure motives.<sup>10</sup> The two extremes condemned by Protestant writers on mission theory are much more easily avoided by Catholics, because of the greater importance attached to the personal qualifications of all aspirants for the priesthood, while similar importance is attached to scholarly and practical training in the case of candidates for the missions. It cannot, however, be denied that in both cases we, too, might combine the two elements more symmetrically and harmoniously. In the case of our missions, also, the qualification holds good that not every missionary need unite in himself all the gifts specified, since the various talents and capabilities may be combined into a uniform whole within the Catholic mission organism. A certain and solid foundation must, however, be required of every missionary. This is especially true when candidates are destined for new missions which do not yet permit a division of work and specialization and in which consequently every missionary must be a man of universal dimensions, so to speak, within his lonely kingdom.<sup>11</sup>

In its learned Instruction of 1659, addressed to the first Vicars Apostolic, the Propaganda summarizes the necessary qualifications of the pagan missionaries as follows: "*Hoc in primis curandum vobis est, ut inter plurimos magno studio perquiratis ac secernatis viros aetate ac corporis valetudine sustinendis laboribus idoneos; tum vero,*

<sup>10</sup> According to Warneck, a personality spiritually and charismatically suited for the missionary office. He complains bitterly that a specified amount of knowledge, with the regular completion of the prescribed studies and examinations, is accepted as sufficient for the parish clergy at home, and that little investigation is made into their personal qualifications, while the Missionary Societies, on the contrary, confining their attention to ethical and practical considerations, attach too little importance to natural talents and admit into the missionary service many pious youths who are not sufficiently qualified for the work (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 144 sq.)

<sup>11</sup> Warneck, loc. cit., II, 145 sq. On the whole question, cf. Krier, 243 sqq. (*Opferberuf*); Manna, *Operarii autem pauci* (1909); Roothaan, *De Missionum Exterarum desiderio excitando et fovendo* (1833).

*quod pluris est, non mediocri charitate ac prudentia insignitos; quas virtutes, non aliorum iudicium et coniectura, sed diuturnus rerum usus et experientia aliis in muneribus cum laude peractis probaverit; qui secretorum sint capaces tenacesque custodes, qui gravitate morum, comitate, mansuetudine, humilitate, patientia et omni virtutum exemplo, christianae fidei, quam ore profitentur, opere adstipulentur; qui denique ad evangelicae charitatis normam efformati aliorum sese ingenio ac moribus accommodantes, nec sociis quibuscum viexrint graves, nec exteris invisí ingradique reddantur, sed cum Apostolo fiant omnia omnibus."*<sup>12</sup>

The Propaganda thus demands, as the first prerequisite for the missionary calling, a sound physique fit to endure labors and hardships. The special conditions of the missionary field—the diversity of climate, the new mode of life, the numerous and great exertions and privations, and frequently the lack of hygienic arrangements and medical help—require a high degree of bodily ruggedness, and in fact a more or less special constitution, since many who enjoy good health at home cannot stand the tropical climate, and conversely many who are subject to certain maladies at home enjoy better health in foreign lands. It is thus a dictate of missionary prudence for Catholics to make sure that their missionaries are sound in health at their reception and when sent out on the mission, and to take the necessary hygienic precautions on the missionary field."

Both the ancient and modern writers on mission theory mention at the head of all requirements for the missionary service the ethico-religious qualities of virtue and holiness. This demand is based on the special necessity

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<sup>12</sup> *Collectanea*, I, 42, n. 135. Similarly in 1893 (*ibid.*, II, n. 1828). It thus demands the prudent and careful selection of the candidates, especially an investigation of their morals and previous life. Cf. also the *Monita* and St. Bonaventure: "*Idonei qui robusti corpore, constantes in fide, probati virtute, semper irreprehensibiliter conversati*" (*Op. omnia*, VIII, 436).

<sup>13</sup> Besides Warneck, II, 146 sqq., cf. the Letters of St. Francis Xavier, the Mission Manuals, the *Monita* of the Propaganda and the Constitutions of the Societies. According to Silvestri, no exceptional health is required in a missionary. According to Wehrmeister, sickly dispositions such as epilepsy or mental disorders automatically disqualify one for the missionary calling. A cheerful and lively temperament, however, far from disqualifying a candidate, is an asset.

of the good example which the missionary should give. The Apostle of the Gentiles thus early writes to the first Bishop of Ephesus: "*In omnibus praebe teipsum exemplar bonorum operum, in integritate, in gravitate, in fide non ficta*" (Tit., ii, 7); and, in a passage often quoted by missionary writers, Chrysostom points out that, among the first Christian missions, the Apostles effected more conversions by their example and conduct than by miracles.<sup>14</sup> According to Acosta, the apostle can convince by his works, even though he has not yet mastered the language of the natives.<sup>15</sup> "*Nulla alia maior vis et efficacia,*" writes Thomas a Jesu, quoting from Seneca, "*quam exemplorum: exempla enim maius pondus habent quam verba, et ad faciendam populis fidem et ad animos permovendos magis praestant.*" Example teaches its lesson quickly and effectively: quickly, because primitive man learns to understand love more easily from a beneficent act than from a long dissertation; effectively, because the precept of the Gospels is thus shown to be capable of accomplishment, and the authority of the preacher simultaneously strengthened.<sup>16</sup> Conversely, Matthias a Corona and Verricelli refuse the title of apostle

<sup>14</sup> "*Agite igitur,*" Erasmus also urges the missionaries, "*viri fortissimi, eximii Christianae militiae duces, induite vos galeam salutis, loricae pietatis, adsumite scutum fidei et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, ac succincti lumbos baltheo pudicitiae, calceati pedibus, qui sunt adfectus, tota denique panoplia mystica praeparati ad praedicandum Evangelium pacis, intrepidis animis ad tam praeclarum facinus accingimini*" (cf. ZM., IV (1914), 11 sq.).

<sup>15</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute* (1596), 244.

<sup>16</sup> "*De procuranda salute omnium gentium*" (1613), 188 sqq. The Franciscan Gubernatis (1689) also demands of the missionary: "*singularem onerique tanto adaequatam vitae probitatem, ne destruat exemplo, quod verbo aedificat*": then following closely the Aristotelian classification:—*prudencia universalis et specialis in conversatione cum infidelibus, fortitudo in aggrendendis arduis et perferendis angustiis, iustitia ad praestandam obedientiam etiam infideli regi, temperantia tam circa temporalia quam circa spiritualia necessaria* (*De Missionibus, Orbis Seraphicus*, I, 10). The Synod of Shansi of 1890 declared: "*Illud in primis a Missionariis enitendum est, ut eorum facta verbis respondeant: facilius enim persuadentur homines factis quam dictis, et longum iter ad virtutem fit efficax et breve per exemplum. Proinde Missionarii sermocinatio conjuncta esse debet cum fama virtutis et exemplo vitae, in hoc vestigiis inhaerendo. D. N. J. C. de quo legitur, quod coepit facere et docere. Probata quippe Missionarii vita magnam apud populos auctoritatem sibi vindicat,*

to one who preaches Christ only by word, and not by example, because such a one denies in his works what he preaches with his mouth.<sup>17</sup> "*Cuius vita despicitur,*" Acosta also declares: "*necesse est ut etiam praedicatio contemnatur.*"<sup>18</sup> Like Thomas a Jesu, Acosta also emphasizes the necessity of good example for missionary work.<sup>19</sup> This experienced veteran of the missions, therefore, solemnly warns the missionary against scandal-giving vices (particularly avarice and unchastity), which are the antitheses of the virtue and make the priest odious and contemptible; he also warns the missionary against all severity towards, and tyranny over, his native subordinates.<sup>20</sup> The danger of these vices seems to him all the greater since the pagan missionary, living in seclusion and shut off from intercourse with civilized men, sins unpunished and unseen; and consequently his conversion often becomes difficult and indeed impossible until long after his fall, since the physician (confessor) is distant, virtue is forgotten, and evil becomes a habit.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the lonely missionary, thrown on his own resources and surrounded by a degraded society, needs a very special moral power of resistance and strength of character if he is not to succumb to the dangers and temptations that threaten him and if he is to safeguard his innocence and purity from encompassing snares.<sup>22</sup>

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*honorem, et admirationem ipsis parit, et eorum benevolentiam conciliat*" (82). The reader will also recall the saying: "*Verba docent, exempla trahunt!*"

<sup>17</sup> *De missionibus apostolicis* (165), 213.

<sup>18</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 397.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. below, *The General Missionary Means*.

<sup>20</sup> The Propaganda also issued warnings against greed and avarice, in 1669 and 1890 (cf. Linckens, *Weltreich Christi und Missionsliebe der Katholiken* (1913), 65 sqq.).

<sup>21</sup> Acosta, loc. cit., 399 sq.

<sup>22</sup> More than any other individual, the missionary is exposed to the temptations to sin (Krier, *Der Beruf*, 270). Cf. Warneck, II, 151 sq. The Synod of Szechwan (1803), admitted by the Propaganda into the *Collectanea* (1883), also demands of the missionaries, as corresponding with their dignity and task, an extraordinary degree of personal holiness, a greater wealth of virtue, greater perfection, more devotion of prayer, zeal for reading, discretion in their intercourse, moderation in eating and drinking, patience in suffering, kindness

As opposed to the special vices just mentioned, both the earlier and later spiritual teachers commend on the one hand, poverty, and on the other, chastity. Like Erasmus, Caron points to the example of St. Paul (I Cor., ix, 12), who in his apostolic poverty did not wish to be a burden on any one, but earned his living with his own hands.<sup>23</sup> Acosta advises the avoidance of even a suspicion of impurity,<sup>24</sup> and St. Francis Xavier also requires his missionaries to be men "of extraordinary purity."<sup>25</sup> Acosta and St. Francis Xavier declare humility the foundation of the missionary virtues, because the humble missionary alone resigns himself unreservedly to God and remains steadfast in the midst of the great trials of the Apostolic life, and because it is only to the *humble* missionary that the indispensable divine grace is given.<sup>26</sup> Resting on its foundation, the missionary's life of faith is raised aloft, according to Acosta<sup>27</sup> and Thomas a Jesu,<sup>28</sup> by piety and the spirit of prayer, as the examples of great praying missionaries, like St. Paul and St. Francis Xavier, prove. The missionary must pray to God to open the ears of the pagan peoples to his preaching; and also that He will ever rekindle the sacred fire in his own heart, because grace must be besought through constant prayer and true interior piety.<sup>29</sup> Patience especially is lauded

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in their conversation, and sobriety in mien, deportment and dress (§ 2; cf. Löhr, *Beiträge*, 71). Cf. the beginning of Pars II (*De ministerio apostolico*) of the *Instructiones Missionum Ordinis Carmelitarum*: "*Qui ad exterarum et infidelium nationes pro Christo legatione apostolica functuri sunt, tali vitae sanctitate et animarum zelo nitere debent, ut vel ipsis silentibus religionis quam profitentur puritatem et divinitatem praeferant.*"

<sup>23</sup> ZM., IV (1914), 12.

<sup>24</sup> Loc. cit., 413.

<sup>25</sup> De Vos, *Leben und Briefe des hl. Franciscus Xaverius*, I, 383.

<sup>26</sup> Acosta, 123 sqq. Concerning humility and obedience, see *Monita ad Missionarios*, c. I, a. 3 (cf. Löhr, 64 sq.).

<sup>27</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 161 sqq., 242, 411.

<sup>28</sup> *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, 242 sqq., 406 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> The missionary is deprived of many of the tested expedients for preserving and vitalizing piety which we enjoy at home: books, devotions, impressive divine services, the exhortation and encouragement of pious brothers in religion, the virtuous example of God-fearing parishioners, and even confession" (Cf. Krier, 263).

as a virtue of the missionary calling, by St. Francis Xavier, Acosta, Possevinus, Thomas a Jesu, Caron, Matthias a Corona, and others. Both ecclesiastical and profane history teaches us, moreover, that, like all the other great works of God and the Church, the very difficult and as a rule slowly progressing task of Christianization demands self-denial, perseverance, and a spirit of sacrifice, in view of the unfavorable conditions of life, the hostility of the surrounding people, and the weakness of the missionary himself, who can accomplish nothing without patience and self-control, especially in his instructions and in the confessional.<sup>30</sup> With this patience and considerateness must be associated, however, intrepidity, recollection, and resoluteness, and also goodness and forbearance coupled with energy and vigor.<sup>31</sup> Especially should every missionary be filled and inspired with a burning zeal for souls, which, if necessary, will not hesitate at martyrdom, although this must not be sought in a spirit of rashness.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the missionary edifice of virtue finds its specific crown and completion in the three divine or theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Above all others, the missionary who is to preach and propagate the true faith must himself possess a belief that is profoundly interior, firm, and unshakable. Even the Protestant missions, although they occupy a much more difficult position with regard to dogma and have necessarily to allow more latitude in this respect, cannot help but demand this personal possession of faith in their agents.<sup>33</sup> How much more rigidly, therefore, must the

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Propaganda 1893 (II, n. 1828) and 1784 (I, n. 569), quoted by Löhr, 62 sq.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Warneck, II, 154.

<sup>32</sup> Concerning the necessity for the spirit of sacrifice, cf. *Monita*, c. I, n. 2. Quoted by Löhr, 67 sq.

<sup>33</sup> Warneck states that the first official test which must be applied to every missionary is that which Jesus applied to His Apostles—namely, a statement of his position with regard to the fundamental articles of the Gospel, especially as to the Person and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. What, in other words, is his answer to the great question: "Who do you say that I am? What think you of Christ: whose son is He?" Matt. xvi, 15; xxii, 42). "The faith which



Catholic Church, which is rooted in dogma and possesses in the ecclesiastical teaching office so absolute a guarantee of truth,—how much more rigidly must she insist that her missionaries shall possess a solid dogmatic foundation and conviction fit to weather every storm and cope with every demand. That our missionaries must also be animated with an impregnable hope and interior confidence in God, if they are not to be depressed and to sink into mere listless resignation, is evident from the very nature of their work, particularly its objects and its fruits. Following the precedent of their Divine Master, Acosta<sup>24</sup> and Caron<sup>25</sup> compare the pagan apostle to a sower who confidently prepares his field and, while it is still the sowing time, thinks of the sickle and the barn, consoling himself, however, with the thought that the sowing and harvest do not occur simultaneously. Finally, charity—an ardent, heroic love of God which surrenders all and shirks from nothing, and which reveals itself in the purely supernatural character of the missionary motive and in humble self-abandonment and confident recourse to Him in prayer—is enjoined on the true missionary as the climax of his qualifications.<sup>26</sup> And associated with this love of God is a similarly glowing love of one's neighbor, inspired and nourished by the love of God; for, according to Acosta, this is "the shortest road for the winning of

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Jesus presupposes in His messengers is indeed an interior life-experience; but this subjective experience would be an artificial deception unless it were founded on objective realities. The faith which Christ's witnesses—especially those entrusted with His message to the pagan world—must possess, imperatively demands personal conviction of the actuality of the evangelical history, since the entire doctrine, the consolation and hopes, connected with this history otherwise hang unsupported in the air. The faith which proclaims that "which we have heard, which we have seen with our own eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have touched, of the Word of Life" which we announce to you,—this objective certainty, which our subjective conviction maintains as reality,—guarantees a victory that will conquer the world (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 151).

<sup>24</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 112.

<sup>25</sup> *Apostolatus evangelicus*, 12 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> Warneck likewise emphasizes the necessity of the love of Jesus in qualified form in accordance with the second interrogation of Christ when conferring the office of evangelical pastor on St. Peter: "Peter, lovest thou Me?" (II, 151 sq.).

souls." " Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, and St. Francis Xavier return again and again to this love of neighbor, not only because it is beautiful in itself and obligatory, and not only because it is commended by the Bible and the Fathers, but also because it serves as a psychological bridge to the hearts of the natives.<sup>37</sup> As Matthias a Corona points out, it is charity which first lends to apostolic hearts that universal impetus which, disdaining all barriers of space and time, embraces all humanity.<sup>38</sup> It is charity especially which spurs the missionary to burning spiritual zeal when he considers the inestimable value of souls redeemed by the Blood of Christ.<sup>40</sup> It is charity which inspires him to a noble imitation of the Divine mercy and of the Incarnate Word; it is charity which leads him to follow in the footsteps of that consummately zealous Apostle of the Gentiles, whose admonition to the Corinthians (I, xii; xiv sqq.) might, according to Acosta, be adopted as the code of all missionaries.

It is charity above all that wins from Heaven the grace which is the missionary's highest endowment, which lights up all his natural gifts, and without which all his efforts and good intentions are in vain.<sup>41</sup>

But, however great emphasis must necessarily be laid on his moral and religious characteristics, every missionary must also possess the proper intellectual qualifications. With the "*singularis vitae probitas*" must be com-

<sup>37</sup> Loc. cit., 415.

<sup>38</sup> "*Sentiant infideles,*" says Acosta, "*sentiant catechumeni, sentiant neophiti patrem et advocatum . . . Dicit non potest, quam sit ad persuadendum efficacis charitas, et viscera digna Apostolo*" (*ibid.*, 244 sq.).

<sup>39</sup> *De missionibus apostolicis*, 215.

<sup>40</sup> "*Non solum sua libenter impendant, sed seipsos superimpendant, pro animabus suorum, licet plus diligentes minus diligentur a suis; denique quorum esset insigne verbis rebusque expressum: Non vesta sed vos*" (loc. cit., 579). Meinertz, *Mystik und Mission bei Paulus*, ZM., XIII (1923), 1 sqq. According to Gubernatis also, the missionary should be filled with "*ea in Deum et proximum charitate, ut pro praedicationis evangelicae defensione sanguinem et vitam profunderere non formidet*" (*Orbis Seraphicus*, I, 10).

<sup>41</sup> That baptism of the spirit and spiritualizing process which Warneck also demands of Christian missionaries (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 152 sqq.).

bined, as Gubernatis says, "*doctrinae sufficientia*." In the comparison which Matthias a Corona institutes between the missionary and the high priest of the Old Testament, the *operatio* (or conduct) of the missionary is his ephod (or amice), and his *doctrina* is his breastplate.<sup>42</sup> The missionary knowledge recommended by the earlier writers was chiefly of a practical nature, and was grounded in experience and prudence. Prudence was to guide the missionary in every difficult situation and question—in his intercourse with the secular authorities and in providing for the temporal support of the mission, in settling quarrels among and disciplining the natives, in his public appearances and in all his missionary methods. This prudence was to teach him how far he might and should go in the matter of accommodation—that is, in meeting the pagans and harmonizing pagan practices (St. Francis Xavier, Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, Caron).<sup>43</sup> No one has more urgent or frequent need of this prudence than the missionary: in doubtful cases, he cannot quickly consult a book or a friend, but must usually decide for himself and never appear at a loss; he must always have a ready answer for the naive questions and objections of the primitive people; he must thus be able to adapt himself to the intellectual peculiarities of the natives, enter into the spirit of their language, and accommodate himself whole-heartedly to local conditions. Consequently, he particularly requires the talents for teaching and management.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *De missionibus apostolicis*, 210.

<sup>43</sup> Among the natural gifts (the intellectual *charismata*), which he represents as indispensable for the missionary office, Warneck also ranks first the *sensus communis*, sound common sense, mother wit, presence of mind and tact, prudence, caution and discretion, a knowledge of human nature and benevolence, a practical sense and skill in economics.

<sup>44</sup> According to Warneck, *διδασχῆ* and *κυβέρνησις*. By the missionary talent for teaching, he means that (1) the missionary must be firmly grounded in the possession of evangelical truth (cf. the propositions, II, 162, which seem doubly stringent as coming from a Protestant pen); (2) that he must know how to present the truths of faith in the simplest and clearest manner possible to the understanding and conscience of all: This refers specifically to the didactic art, but not so much to the ability to teach as to the talent of plain

With these practical talents, however, must be combined culture and scholarship.<sup>45</sup> Both the theoretical and practical writers, it is true, draw a distinction here according to the mission object. For example, for the ordinary missionary tasks in India, St. Francis Xavier declares himself satisfied with assistants who possess no great learning, but all the greater virtue; while he demands of the missionaries connected with the Portuguese colonial circles and the high schools in Japan a scholarly training and more than the usual knowledge.<sup>46</sup> Acosta<sup>47</sup> and Thomas a Jesu<sup>48</sup> also confine the necessary intellectual equipment of the ordinary missionaries among the Indians to a practical knowledge of the most important mysteries, the prayers and the sacraments; but desire that such missionaries shall be accompanied by thoroughly trained theologians who can act as their advisers on difficult questions. Both these writers strongly recommend the knowledge and study of the native languages, since without them the missionaries would be greatly

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communication, either through the narration of circumstances or by way of parable; finally (3) that, thanks to a trained judgment, he shall be able to find a sure solution for the practical problems of life, both for individuals and for the whole social community—in other words, that he must be able to give enlightening advice in decisive questions (Warneck recalls the resolutions and decisions of the Apostles, and also the present missionary attitude towards wife-purchase). The missionary's talent for management is defined as the qualification for influencing and directing men, for advising and guiding individual souls and whole communities, and especially the talent for organization, which is at least as necessary among uncivilized or half-civilized peoples as among the civilized races. Warneck thus enunciates the following postulate: "The talented missionary is a much more skilful instrument than the merely learned. Talent takes the place of knowledge in an emergency, but the reverse is never the case, for knowledge cannot replace talent." (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 166).

<sup>45</sup> Even Warneck, who attaches much more importance to a natural talent for teaching, states: "If the talented missionary also possesses a fundamental training in scholarship, so much the better, for a missionary can never be educated too much" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 166 sq.).

<sup>46</sup> Letters of St. Francis Xavier (ed. *de Vos*, I, 114 sq., 208 sqq.; II, 185 sqq.).

<sup>47</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 391 sqq.

<sup>48</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 192 sqq.

handicapped in their preaching and in the confessional.<sup>49</sup> If these requirements were very modest in accordance with the conditions of the time, it is certain that they must be greatly increased for the missionaries of today, both with regard to general education and theological learning, and also with regard to the missionary sciences.<sup>50</sup> We thus come to the question of the missionary training, which we shall now consider in greater detail.<sup>51</sup>

In his seventh chapter, Löhr gives the following summary of "the general and particular obligations of missionaries" according to the decisions of the Propaganda (especially its *Monita ad missionarios*) and the Synodal Decrees of Szechwan which it adopted: The missionaries should above all cultivate prayer and meditation (§ 3); examination of conscience and spiritual reading (§ 5); should annually perform the Spiritual Exercises in common (§ 4); utilize their time well for study and the labors of their calling (§ 6); mutually edify one another in pious conversations (§ 7); exercise discretion in their intercourse, especially with women (§§ 8—9); be simple in their mode of life and their community life (§§ 10 sqq.). In directing the community and exercising the pastoral office, they should avoid the two extremes of excessive harshness and complaisance (§§ 16—17); they should thus combine mildness and moderation with strictness and austerity (§ 18); base their work on a knowledge of their flock and its circumstances (§ 23); treat all members alike and show a preference for none (§ 24); attach special importance to their sermons (§ 25), which must be confirmed by their works, prepared by diligent study, based on Holy Writ, be simple in matter and delivery, and free from profane or humorous passages (§ 26). The missionaries must keep aloof, in so far as possible, from secular and temporal affairs (§ 19); should not loan money to the faithful (§ 20), nor hold collections for ecclesiastical objects (§ 22). These are mere counsels; but, notwithstanding their particular and local character, they possess a general value; and similar recommendations could be culled from a number of other Synodal Statutes. The Propaganda has, in addition, issued a series of special instructions and decisions for particular cases and conditions. It regulates, in the first place, the entrance into office; restrains and punishes its neglect or postponement; in-

<sup>49</sup> Similarly, the Decrees of the Propaganda (cf. Löhr, 60 sq.).

<sup>50</sup> According to a Propaganda Decree of 1771, these subjects should be studied from standard authors (especially missionary writers) and from the Decrees of the Holy See.

<sup>51</sup> Krier, 259 sqq., enumerates the qualifications of the missionary as follows: self-denial, a spirit of faith, deep piety, a burning zeal for souls, talent and scholarship, a kind and stable character, tested chastity, robust health, and the capacity for corporal work. "*Vitae integritas et prudentia supra caeteros eminentis*" were classed among the spiritual requirements (*requisita necessaria*) of Vicars Apostolic in 1663 (*Collect.* 51, n. 152).

sists that the missionary shall remain at his post even when his life is threatened (but not on perilous sick-calls during times of persecution); forbids him to return home without the permission of the mission superiors and the provision of a substitute; and forbids him to exchange posts. In his intercourse with secular authorities and in political matters, great prudence and reserve are inculcated, and the utmost possible accommodation to national peculiarities is recommended; but, on the contrary, opposition to definitely pagan practices is enjoined, as is also the cultivation of the despised castes. Public disputations with those of other beliefs are, however, discouraged. Finally, three spheres of activity are made subject to special regulations, limitations, or prohibitions: the practice of medicine (cf. *CIC.*, can. 139), the mercantile or commercial calling (cf. can. 142), and the otherwise laudable scientific and literary pursuits. The individual documents from the *Collectanea* are given, and, at the end, those relating to the missionary's appearance and dress. We shall return later to most of these points in another connection.

To his discussion of the missionary agents, Warneck has added two chapters on the support and marriage of missionaries (II, 207—230). We shall discuss the first of these topics later in connection with the whole question of mission finance. In so far as the mission subject is concerned, it need only be said here that, though Our Saviour commanded His disciples to go forth without money or scrip to preach the kingdom of heaven throughout the land of Israel, His instruction is not to be interpreted to mean that the pagan missionaries might not make provisions for their material support and had no title to such. In the Catholic missions also, especially among the Mendicant Orders, there have been extreme, spiritual movements, that (like the so-called "mission of faith" on the Protestant side) sought to attribute the absolute ideal of poverty to the missionaries. These exaggerated ideas, however, were usually shattered as soon as they came into contact with rude reality; and gradually the conviction has become general that lasting missionary success is unattainable, at least under present conditions, without organized financial support. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, though ideal conditions were more favorable, they were frequently impaired through lack of any financial provision from home for the missions. It is at any rate certain that, however desirable it may be to induce natives to contribute to the expenses of a mission as a step towards a self-supporting organization, the chief financial burden, at least in the beginning, must fall, not on the mission community, but on the community at home. According to Caron, the popes, bishops, priests, orders, and princes have to provide for the support of the missions; under modern conditions, the burden falls primarily on missionary societies and associations. In any case, the mission treasury subscribed at home, after it has been established, must provide for the support of the missionaries and the other expenses (stations, traveling, etc.); furthermore, if it can, and the home mission society needs it, it must compensate the latter for the training and equipment of the missionaries. Warneck raises the question as to whether

the missionary should receive a fixed salary, whether his personal expenses should be granted him, or whether a community household should be established. On the Catholic side, this question is usually settled in the way last mentioned, namely, through the community life of Orders, that have a common purse and no personal possessions. In the case, however, of missionaries who have not taken the vow of poverty and thus retain their right to hold private property (e. g., missionaries who are secular priests), there is no objection to the payment of a regular compensation out of the home or foreign mission treasury; but the missionary cannot dispose of it in quite the same way as if it were his private property: as in the case of ecclesiastical benefits, he must use the surplus in furtherance of the missions. Through their economic activities, the personnel of the missions can and should contribute towards relieving the mission budget. However, contrary to the Protestant missions, which widely utilize commerce and industry as means to an end, various decrees of the Propaganda strictly forbid the Catholic missionaries to engage in any commercial or mercenary work—for example, medical practice, or at least surgery by cutting or burning (*Collect.* 1333 sqq.; cf. Mayer in *ZM.*, I (1911), 293 sqq.; also Grentrup, *Das kirchliche Handelsverbot für die Missionare*, in *ZM.*, XV (1925), 257 sqq.).

We shall not here discuss the marriage problem in detail. It is sufficient to repeat that the Church adheres rigidly to celibacy for her Western missionary priests, and (as distinct from her attitude towards the Greek and other Oriental Rites) will not except from this precept even the native-born clergy of the pagan lands. As to whether or how far this is necessary or opportune, we offer no opinion. We must, however, combat the charges of Warneck, who represents the marriage of missionaries as a divinely ordained ideal, and declares their celibacy detrimental to missionary work. On the contrary, we consider that the burden of wife and children generally constitutes a great handicap, even though we do not agree with certain extreme apologists who regard the Protestant practice as evil in every respect. The useful services, however, which the wives of the Protestant missionaries perform *per accidens*, are far outweighed by the services of the Catholic Missionary Sisters. Celibacy is one of the sacrifices—and not the most insignificant—which our Catholic missionary forces voluntarily and magnanimously make for the promotion of the missions.

Braam, *Die Eigenschaften der Missionare nach den alten Missionstheoretikern* in *ZM.*, II (1912), 14 sqq.; Danzer, *St. Benedikts Regel als Erziehungsnorm für Missionare*, *ZM.*, XVIII (1928), 20 sqq.; Wehrmeister, *Der Missionsberuf* in *Missionsblätter von St. Ottilien* (1910), 3 sqq.; Krier, *Der Beruf* (Freiburg, 1899), III, 5, *Der Missionar* (under *Beruf zum Ordensstand!*); Louis, *Der Beruf zur Mission* (Aachen, 1921); Löhr, *Beiträge zum Missionsrecht* in *Die Eigenschaften der Missionare* (Paderborn, 1916), 58 sqq.; besides Bonjean, *Tractatus de dotibus boni missionarii* (Jaffnae, 1877); Manna, *Operarii autem pauci* (Milan, 1909). Of the earlier literature, besides

Bonaventure and the works on mission theory cited in the text, cf. Bern. van Loo, O.F.M., *Qualitates et obligationes Missionarii Franciscani (Brevis Conspectus, 1864)*, pp. 163—175; Bizzolati, *Praxis Missionariorum (1851)*, 20 sqq. and 5: *De disciplina missionariorum in apostolico ministerio exercendo*; Roothaan, *De Missionum Exterarum desiderio excitando ac fovendo (1833)*; Servi Dei Anastasii Hartmann, O. Min. Cap. episcopi, *Psychologia arti pastorali applicata (ed., 1914)*; Parras, O.F.M., *Gobierno de los regulares de la America (Madrid, 1783)*; C. Fr. a. Breno, O.F.M., *Manuale missionariorum Orientalium (Rome, 1726)*, Tr. I. (*De instructione missionariorum apostolicorum, in quo eorum dotes et necessaria requisita praeparatoria ad missiones exponuntur*); François de Tholose, O. M. Cap., *Jésus Christ ou le parfait missionnaire (Paris, 1662)*; Johannes a Jesu Maria, O. Carm., *Instructio Missionum (1605)*, p. I. (*De virtutibus, doctrina et moribus ad missiones requisitis*); also the Instructions of Clement IX (1665), the Jesuit Vieira (cf. Streit, I, 331), the Franciscan Almoguera (1671), and as early as the sixteenth century, of Quiñones for the missionaries to Mexico (cf. Streit, I, 108). The principles and exhortations of St. Francis Xavier (cf. especially De Vos, *Leben und Briefe des hl. Franciscus Xaverius (1877)*, I, 383; II, 70 sqq., 185 sqq., English text, Coleridge, *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 2 vols. (1912) were compiled in 1897 by the Apostolic Delegate to India, Msgr. Zaleski, in the *Monita et exempla (1. de qualitatibus missionariorum in India, 2. de solitudine propria salutis, 3. de examine particulari, 4. de gratia non spernenda, 5. de bono exemplo, 6. de humilitate, 7. de obedientia, 8. de castimonia, 9. de caritate, 10. de fiducia in Deum, 11. de zelo, 12. de populo sibi conciliando, 13. de benignitate, 14. de patientia, 15. de prudentia, 16. de perseverantia, 17. de vana gloria vitanda, etc.)*, amplified in Zaleski's volume entitled *Epistolae ad missionarios (1914)*, 30 sqq. (*De missionario: vocatio, amor Dei, timor Dei, fiducia, obedientia, perseverantia*) and 304 sqq. (*De desperatione, de deiectione animi*). As exemplary missionary virtues of St. Paul, Pieper names his strength in enduring, suffering and sacrificing, his patience and joy in his calling, his verve and optimism, his liberality and adaptability, his modesty and perfect mode of life. (*Die missionarische Persönlichkeit des Weltapostels in ZM.*, XI (1921), 193 sqq.). Among Protestant writers, cf. especially Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chapter xxii (pp. 141—167) concerning the qualifications of the missionaries and the literature given there (especially the English Conferences); of the earlier writers on mission theory, especially Hoornbeek, *De conversione Indorum et Gentilium: De dotibus missionariorum (Amsterdam, 1669)*.

The chief sources are the Constitutions of the Societies (e. g., Steyl and St. Ottilien), the *Monita* of the Propaganda and the *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses (S. I.)*. Cf. especially the *Instructions missionum Ordinis Carmelitarum Disc. (Rome, 1913)*, 33 sqq., Part II. *De ministerio apostolico (c. 1, De delectu eorum qui ad missiones mittendi sunt, c. 3, De requisitis ad sacrum ministerium, c. 4, De modo*



se gerendi in exercitio ministerii), Part III. *De disciplina regulari* (c. 1, *Exhortatio ad legum custodiam*, c. 2, *De obedientia*, c. 3, *De castitate*, c. 4, *De paupertate*, c. 5, *De oratione*); also many Synods:— besides the Synod of Szechwan (1803) above mentioned, *Summa decretorum Setschuen et Hongkong*, 16 sqq. (art. 1, *De dotibus missionariorum et sacerdotum indigenorum*, art. 2, *De vita et moribus missionariorum*); *Hongkong* (1875 and 1891), cap. 1 (*De missionariis*); *Shansi* (1880), S. II, c. 2 (*De missionariis apostolicis* and 3 (*De vita et honestate clericorum*); *Peking* (1886), c. 1 (*De institutione missionariorum Europaeorum*) and cap. 3 (*De habitu cleri*); *Nagasaki* (1890), Tit. I, cap. 2 (*De missionariis*: 1. *De viro apostolico*, 2. *De reverentia et obedientia episcopo debita*, 3. *De modo agendi ad invicem*, 4. *Qualis esse debeat missionarii habitus et conversatio*, 7. *De scientia in genere, quanta habenda sit et quanti facienda*, 9. *In domo et habitu decentia*); the Indian Provincial Councils (1894), Tit. IV (*De vita et honestate clericorum: pietate, habitu et conversatione, scientia, obedientia et reverentia*); *Coimbatour* (1891), Tit. III, cap. 1 (*De vita sacerdotum*); *Lahore* (1890), 15 sqq.; *Agra*, 15 sqq.; *Allahabad*, 11 sqq.; *Pondicherry* (1844), *De missionariis*, (*Collectio Lacensis*, VI, 689). The Second Synod of Pondicherry (1849) treats of the holiness of the missionaries and the necessity for prayer, meditation and spiritual reading, examination of conscience, recollection of the presence of God, frequent confession, Annual Exercises, renunciation of all unregulated desires, meekness and strength, prudence, perseverance, and spiritual knowledge (*Directoire de Pondichéry*, 373 sqq.). The Synod of the Congo of 1919, like its predecessors, recommends zeal and piety (2 sq.), fasting and prudence (11 sqq.). The *Directoire de Madagascar* (1888) demands, as the qualifications and virtues of missionaries, prudence, meekness and moderation, patience and perseverance (7 sqq., I, c. 3, a. 1); that of Bagamoyo (1909), religious life and the preservation of the three vows (c. 1); that of Pondicherry (1879), residence, watchfulness, prayer, good example, etc. (1 sqq.); that of Cochin-China (1904), benevolence, patience, discretion, dignity, etc. (176 sqq.), and the preservation of the apostolic spirit (216 sqq.); that of Taiku (1914), holiness, health, the Spiritual Exercises, etc. (1 sqq.); similarly that for South Burma. Bishop Bonjean of Jaffna, in his *Tractatus de dotibus boni missionarii*, specifies: *fides, abnegatio sui, otium fugiendum, humilitas, patientia, castitas, fortitudo, tentationibus obsistendum, deiectioni resistendum, alacritas mentis, obedientia, devotio S. Sedi, regularitas vitae, disciplina ecclesiastica . . . zelus apostolicus, trepiditas praecavenda, charitas fratrum, pietas* (*Directorium dioec. Jaffn.*, 1903), P. I; also the editions of the *Directorium* of 1913 and 1921, and Bonjean's Monograph of 1877 (cf. Streit, n. 1475). Cf. Geyer's *Handbuch für Khartum* (1914), 137 sqq., n. 16.

### 3. Training of the Missionaries

The discussion of characteristic requirements for missionaries to the pagans leads naturally to the question of their training. Besides the natural talents which a missionary must show, his calling demands acquired knowledge and faculties, that, as in the case of every art or occupation, may be learned and mastered only by systematic preparation and training; and this is also largely true in some sense even for the natural dispositions and ethico-religious outlook of the mission personnel, since these characteristic traits also must be developed by the kind of systematic training that is actually given in the mission institutes which always lay great stress on the ascetic formation of their pupils.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, the intellectual equipment of the missionary which we have here principally in mind. As in the case of all other intellectual callings, the acquisition of the knowledge and training required for the missionary task is possible only as the result of careful study adapted to the specific purpose in view. Consequently the problem of what the pagan missionary must know is equivalent to asking how and in what the missionary requires instruction and training.

In these investigations we must distinguish between the *quaestio facti* and the *quaestio iuris*—the actual conditions and the theoretical standard. For, even though mission theory should devote itself primarily to the latter, it can not altogether ignore the historical actuality, if only for the reason that it must deduce largely from this source the needs of the missions and the rules for missionary practice. There was no proper institute for young missionaries in antiquity or the Middle Ages. Missionaries usually went out without having enjoyed any special training,—at least, they had none other than that of the general clergy, whose preparation also was not, as a rule, adapted to particular religious professions. Only in exceptional cases (e. g., in the Oriental Colleges of the Later Middle Ages and in some monastery schools) was the training extended to certain professional studies. The Franciscan Raymond Lully and the Dominican Order labored tirelessly to accomplish this extension of studies—a fact which proves that the problem and need of such studies were always at least partially recognized. In the golden age of the missions, this problem became still more urgent, as the works of St. Francis Xavier and the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arens, *Handbuch*, 171 sq.

contemporary writers on mission theory—especially Thomas a Jesu (1613) and Rovenius (1624)—indicate. The Carmelite, Thomas a Jesu, has devoted a special book to the theme: *De eligentis atque efformandis Ministris pro fide Catholica propaganda*. In the first chapter he develops the idea of a Papal Propaganda, which was realized shortly afterwards; in the second, he shows that the prelates on whom falls the duty of selecting and sending out missionaries should choose for this great and difficult task only apostolic men who have a vocation for the missions and are actuated primarily by a zeal for the cause of God; in the third, he recommends that the Pope and the Orders should collaborate in the establishment of special seminaries for the systematic training of missionary recruits.<sup>2</sup> Rovenius proposed a mission seminary for secular priests, which would accept only such candidates as already possessed a "moderate acquaintance" with humanistic and philosophic learning: the teachers were to be able, pious, and zealous secular and regular priests, and, even if lectures given in other educational institutions were attended, at least three professors should be assigned to the seminary itself, to teach the language of the mission territory, exegesis, and those parts of theology which have an especially practical application (Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, Eusebius, Lactantius, Theodoret, Justin, Ambrosius). Missionaries to the Mohammedans were to be made acquainted with the Koran, and missionaries to the Jews with the Hebrew language and the refutation of Jewish errors.<sup>3</sup> The *Collegium Urbanum* of the Propaganda (founded in 1627) and the Roman Missionary College of the Carmelites, with their objects, precepts, and methods, furnish a practical and actual illustration of the conditions of this time.<sup>4</sup>

Only during the most recent times has the custom of training the future missionaries in special mission colleges become universal. This development is to be attributed partly to the fact that special societies (mostly of regular clerics) were required to provide the missionary contingent, and had consequently to arrange for their reception and training. We must, however, distinguish between two types of mission seminaries: first, the mission seminaries proper (e. g., those in France and Italy), which belong to the secular clergy and recruit their students from the home diocese after they have more or less completed their studies there; and secondly the mission houses or in-

<sup>2</sup> *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, I, III, pp. 103 sqq. He proposes the institution of a special university for the missionary candidates of all the Orders, with from thirty to forty teachers (two or three from each society), for the training both of the future teachers of mission theory for the Order schools and for the practical missionaries; and the future territories and tasks of the latter should be carefully considered.

<sup>3</sup> *Tractatus de missionibus* (1624), pars III (*De modo habendi operarios*). For linguistic training, he recommends practice in recreation hours.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kilger, *Eine alte Hochschule missionarischer Fachbildung in ZM.*, V (1915), 207 sqq. There was a two-years' mission course, devoted particularly to languages and controversial studies.

stitutes of religious societies, which usually receive their candidates at an earlier age and undertake their entire training. This latter type is known as an "Apostolic School," and is the only one found in Germany. In seminaries of the first type, a large—and indeed the larger—part of the training coincides with the curriculum for the home clergy, and a distinction is drawn and a special preparation of the missionary candidates begun only towards the end of the course.<sup>5</sup> In the mission house, on the other hand, the students pursue a completely exclusive and special course of training in what are quasi-monastic residential institutes; but here again attention is paid, not so much to the missionary vocation which is to be cultivated as to the preparation of the candidates for the regular life. Consequently, the general regulations for the studies of the regular clergy are applicable to the latter class. Among the missionary societies we can indeed also distinguish between those which see in the mission only one of their objects (e. g., the older Orders, such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins), and the special missionary congregations which were founded and destined specifically for the work of the pagan missions. The former give their missionary aspirants the training common to all members of the Order, and at most add in the last years some specific elements. In the case of the latter, also, the curriculum usually corresponds with that followed generally by religious, since a proportionate number of their members are employed at home; but towards the end of the course, the Superiors decide more exactly what is the best disposition to make of each candidate.<sup>6</sup> The Propaganda College (*Collegium Urbanum*), which was founded in 1627, takes to a certain extent an exceptional position. It receives candidates not only for the missions but also for countries which have no special colleges in Rome. Its undergraduates are admitted on the recommendation of their bishops: obedience and holiness especially are demanded of them, but, as regards their preparatory studies in the humanities, there were originally no other requirements than a certain preliminary foundation in Latin.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Such is the case at least in principle. Actually, most of the missions for Secular Priests, including the Paris Seminary, have now established Apostolic Schools, which are intended to insure sufficient recruits to compensate for the decline of the home theological contingent. The hoped-for increase of the candidates has not been obtained in this way, and the level has been lowered.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Arens, loc. cit., 173.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the *Prospectus Collegii* (*Collectanea*, 1st ed., p. 134): "*Conditiones (et quaesita) pro Candidatis ad Collegium Urbanum: 1. Ut candidati ad statum ecclesiasticum vocationis signa praebeant, ac quid apostolicum ministerium importet sciant. 2. Ut decimum quintum aetatis suae annum attigerint. 3. Ut sani sint, lingua expediti, ac firma bonaque corporis constitutione, medici testimonio S. Cong. exhibendo post diligentem candidati physicam inspectionem comprobata, gaudeant. 4. Ut linguae latinae rudimenta calleant, ac aptitudinem ad studia ostendant. 5. Ne uxorem duxerint vel sponsalia contraxerint. 6. Ut tantum pecuniae apud Collegii Praesidem de-*

In drawing a theoretical distinction between the categories mentioned above, it will be advisable to distinguish between general and specifically vocational training in scholarship. For both the secular priests of the missionary seminaries and the regular missionaries, the general training is subdivided into a humanistic and a philosophico-theological curriculum, which corresponds to our academic course. The collegiate course in the humanities is in exceptional cases (e. g., in the case of the Benedictines of St. Ottilien and the White Fathers) pursued in state colleges and concluded with a state examination; as a rule, however, it is given in special institutes, and usually covers seven or eight years.<sup>8</sup> This period is sufficient, because most of the students are of the prescribed age at the time of their admission (12 years on the average), and consequently have completed the greater part of the elementary course and have a correspondingly riper understanding. It is sufficient also because much of the unnecessary ballast, which burdens the state high schools, is discarded, and the entire attention of the students is concentrated on the practical requirements; and it is sufficient, finally, because, thanks to the communal organization of the societies, the teaching staffs are more carefully selected according to their special talents, whereas frequently the free competition outside these institutes offers no such guarantee.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the quality and scope of the instruction vary greatly and are not always satisfactory, because the teachers sometimes do not possess sufficient professional qualifications and training, and also because of the frequent changes of the staff from teaching to practical duties or from faculty to faculty. It is, therefore, an urgent desideratum that the teaching staff of these institutes should be permanently assigned to this occupation (as in the state and ecclesiastical high schools and colleges), and, in preparation for this work, should attend a fundamental course in philosophy and history, or in mathematics and natural science, in some university. The Decree of 1909 designates not only the courses regularly required, but also stipulates that the course

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*ponant, quantum illis sufficiat pro reditu. 7. Ut documenta de receptis Baptismi ac Confirmationis Sacramentis adhibeant.*

<sup>8</sup> For the sake of simplification and to spare more auxiliaries for the missions, Pieper proposes a concentration of the institutes, and attendance at the state colleges (*MKK.*, 109). We shall not inquire here into the perplexing question concerning the opportunities for taking the final state examinations (graduating), upon which opinions vary; but undoubtedly the standard of studies and choice of vocations is increased through accepting them, although the danger of an abuse of the bursaries is heightened. Recent years, however, have seen an improvement in the latter respect.

<sup>9</sup> "The independent missionary institute . . . possesses this advantage, that its education, especially its moral and religious training, can be made a much more practical preparation for the future calling of its students. No one would describe the spirit that prevails even in the best of our state high schools as particularly favorable to the ideal which the missionary candidate entertains

in the humanities shall not be confined to Latin but must embrace all the other subjects taught in corresponding state institutions. A prominent and permanent place in their curriculums—as in those of the state colleges—is stipulated for the languages. Latin, which, as the ecclesiastical language, is as indispensable for the missionary as for the home clergy and may, besides, prove of practical value in his intercourse with the ecclesiastical authorities and missionaries of other lands, takes first place. Greek and Hebrew also merit special attention, as the languages in which the Scriptures were written. Of the living languages, French and English are of special value, as the two *universal* languages. Finally, a knowledge of the exact sciences (history, geography, mathematics, and natural sciences) is said to prove very useful for the missionary in later years. According to the decisions of the Holy See in 1910, members of religious orders should frequently review their humanistic studies, and should during their novitiate which follows their collegiate course and is otherwise intended as a period of ascetical and religious introspection and of preparation for a religious career,<sup>10</sup> seek to impress them more deeply on their memories.

The higher studies, properly so called, were regulated by the Decrees of Leo XIII of 1892 and Pius X of 1909. The former prescribes a theological course of at least three years, while the latter extends this minimum to four years, which, according to an Ordinance of 1910, must be devoted to study without other abridgment than the last vacation. This theological course is preceded by philosophical studies, to which two years are usually devoted: that this philosophical training, with its appendages, can also be of service to the missionaries—not only as a formal intellectual exercise, but also as an actual aid in the defense and explanation of the chief truths of Christianity—need scarcely be said. The theological course includes all the departments of divinity: dogmatics, a branch, which even Warneck admits to be doubly necessary for the preacher of the faith; apologetics, which the missionary needs for the justification and defense of Christianity; exegesis or biblical science, which is the key to the understanding and explanation of the books of both Testaments; church history, which tells the missionary of the spreading and development of the teaching institute of salvation that he is to represent; canon law, which the missionary must know if he is to understand correctly and observe the legally ordained ecclesiastical life; morals, a knowledge of which is necessary for the missionary as

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... Furthermore, it is no disadvantage that the independent missionary institute is spared the endless regulations and experimentation to which the curriculums of our high schools have been subjected during the last decades, to the detriment of a purposeful training" (Pietsch *Die Vorbildung der katholischen Missionare*, ZM., II (1912), 130.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pietsch in ZM., II (1912), 131. CIC., can. 565, § 2, omits all reference to the decree of 1910, and, it would seem, indirectly abrogates it.

a teacher and regulator of Christian morality;<sup>11</sup> finally, the practical branches (catechetics, homiletics, liturgics, and pastoral theology), which are helpful to the missionary in his religious instructions, sermons, divine services, and care of souls. In the philosophical and theological seminaries also we have often to witness the phenomena of teaching staffs which are being constantly changed, and whose members have not had a special training in their subjects. It would in any case be a matter for congratulation if the professors of theology in the missionary societies were initiated into scholarly methods by a few years of training in some university.<sup>12</sup> Very similar to the order-studies is the program in the mission seminaries for the secular priests (diocesan or ecclesiastical seminaries).<sup>13</sup>

We thus see that, in so far as its scope is concerned, the general curriculum of missionary candidates is more or less completely identical with that of the other home seminaries and regular institutes. It is based for the most part on the curriculum of the French and Italian seminaries, although in exceptional cases some special consideration may be paid to the missionary vocation by the introduction of particular features. This is a very regrettable condition, inasmuch as it is not to the interest of the missions that the intellectual training of the future pagan missionaries should be exactly along the purely traditional lines, and to a large extent given in the same form and method as that of the secular or regular clergy who are later to work at home. Certain outlines must indeed be preserved unaltered in both categories,

<sup>11</sup> This branch, however, can never replace dogmatics and exegesis, as Warneck thinks.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Pietsch in *ZM.*, II, 131 sqq.; Arens, *Handbuch der kathol. Missionen*, 173 sqq.; Müller, *Die wissenschaftliche Vorbildung der Missionare (Jahrbuch, 1918)*, 17 sqq. The new *Codex iuris canonici*, which changes none of the above definitions, prescribes on the subject of the order-studies that no liberal studies (*dedita opera*) shall be undertaken during the novitiate (can. 565, § 3), and that the religious, already sufficiently instructed in the lower disciplines, should study philosophy for at least two years, and theology according to the teaching of St. Thomas for four years (can. 589, § 1). Concerning the houses of study, teachers, privileges, etc., of the regular orders, cf. can. 587—591.

<sup>13</sup> The Propaganda College in Rome may be regarded as fairly typical, although not actually standard. This has a six-years' course: *Duo priores anni philosophicis disciplinis excolendis, Logicae videlicet, Metaphysicae, Ethicae, Matheseos, ac Physicae impenduntur, quatuor vero insequentibus, Theologiae ac Dogmaticae ac Morali, tum Scripturae Sacrae, Historiae Ecclesiasticae ac Iuri canonico addiscendis impenduntur*"; also Gregorian Chant and spiritual eloquence, and Greek, Syrian, Armenian, Arabic, or other languages according to their appointed territory (*Collectanea*, 1st ed., p. 134). Liturgics, archaeology, methodology, and mission science have been added in the present curriculum (*Missiones Catholicae*, p. xlv). We should, however, not forget that the *Collegium Urbanum* is intended for the training less of missionaries than of the priests from lands which have no national college in Rome.

since the dogma which the missionary preaches to the pagan is the same as that which the home clergy preach to the Christian people. But, even the subjects which are necessary for both classes should be thoroughly revised and adapted to the conditions and needs of the missions. On the one hand, much that is of little or no use to the missionary may be reduced or entirely omitted.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the missions should receive greater prominence in all the disciplines, especially since they have certain points of contact with all. These points of contact have already been indicated in our analysis of mission science. In dogmatics, special emphasis should be laid on the specific, essential, central, and fundamental truths of Christianity, such as those of the Unity of God and the Redemption, which are so closely related to the missions; in apologetics, on the *demonstratio christiana* (and *catholica*, if there is also a Protestant mission), especially on the science of comparative religions, and the knowledge of the non-Christian cults which the missionary will have to combat; in exegesis, on the texts of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Pauline Epistles; in church history, on its extension and completion from the standpoint of the mission-historian, and on the same with relation to ecclesiastigraphy by missiography in canon law, on mission law which is so important for the missionary and is nevertheless little cultivated; in morals, on the application of the ecclesiastical moral teaching to missionary conditions and in mission casuistical questions; finally in practical theology, on mission methodology.

However, this general theological training is at best only a poor makeshift, even if special treatment of the missions is included within its scope. It must be supplemented by a special vocational and professional training, along both practical and theoretical lines.<sup>15</sup> Despite their many points of agreement and uniformity with the other branches of theology, mission science, on the one hand, and mission practice, on the other, are distinct topics which deserve to be treated separately at least for missionary aspirants. Mission theory cannot be combined with the other theological disciplines without damage to its constituent elements; and the missionary calling demands a special schooling which must be essentially distinct from the training for other vocations. The chief and central part of this scientific vocational training will consist of mission science proper, with its various branches: first, mission history and missiography, with mission statistics and geography; secondly, mission theory both fundamental and applied, especially mission law and mission methodics. It is difficult to understand why, despite the experience of centuries which must have shown the necessity of these subjects for Catholic missionaries, none of these subjects was treated systematically and

<sup>14</sup> E. g., in exegesis, many of the excursi on textual criticism; in church history, a mass of dates and details concerning European ecclesiastical history; in canon law, the earlier legal conditions; in morals, home casuistics; in pastoral theology, the chapters on pastoral care in religious societies and large cities.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. especially what Thomas a Jesu writes on this point.



*ex professo* in their program; and that everything was left more or less to accident and the uncertain groping of the individual missionary, who had, however, been sent out crammed with superfluous or abstract knowledge.<sup>16</sup> As further elements of vocational training, mission science also includes the auxiliary disciplines which under certain circumstances may be as valuable and indispensable for the missionaries as mission science itself. The most important of these is the science of religion—not so much in the sense of a history or comparison of religions as a scientific knowledge of the surviving non-Christian religions (primitive and civilized) which the missionaries encounter, because the value and success of their activities not infrequently depend on the degree of their knowledge in this direction. Another important subject is ethnology, because the knowledge of the specific mission object and of the peculiarities and views of the people is also indispensable for active missionaries.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the linguistic studies of the missionaries should extend to the native languages: to be really fruitful, this instruction should not consist merely of a practical introduction into the spirit and technique of the languages, but should include their scientific examination.<sup>18</sup> In very recent times, an appeal has also been made for the medical training of the missionaries.<sup>19</sup> Certainly no missionary should be sent to a tropical or sub-tropical territory without having first acquired a

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<sup>16</sup> Johann Warneck calls attention to the specific character of preaching to pagans, of the practice with regard to baptism and the sacraments, of the mission schools, of the ethical and political conditions, and of the problems of organization. In recent times, there has been an improvement in this respect, at least in German mission institutes (Steyl, Limburg (Pallottini), St. Ottilien).

<sup>17</sup> The Directory of Cochin-China thus insists on a thorough knowledge of morals, legislation, and religion as the special branches to be cultivated (II, 2, pp. 173 sqq.).

<sup>18</sup> Even the early writers on mission theory insist on linguistic study by the missionaries (Acosta, IV, 6; Thomas a Jesu, IV, 2, 11, etc.). The Propaganda also repeatedly emphasizes the necessity for pagan missionaries of a knowledge of languages, ethnography, and the science of religion (*Collect.*, I, 7, 524, 527, 1602, 1606; *Monita*, I, 5, 84 sq.; cf. Appeltern, *Manuale Missionariorum* 3, and Munerati, *De Iure Missionariorum* 41); similarly, the different, and especially the Chinese, Synods (e. g., the *Directoire de Cochinchine*, II, 1, p. 170 sqq., on the necessity and difficulty of studying the Annamite language). Cf. also Silvestri, *Educazione missionaria*, II, 18 sqq. The Mission Superiors have also warmly recommended this study, for example, in their letters endorsing *Anthropos*. Cf. Schmidlin, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, appendix, and below, under Mission Object; also *ZM.*, IX (1919), 224 sqq.

<sup>19</sup> Mayer, a Benedictine missionary, recommends medical training for all missionaries. Linckens of Hilstrup for one or a few (*ZM.*, I (1911), 293 sqq.; II (1912), 282 sqq.).

knowledge of tropical hygiene which he will find frequent opportunities to use for himself and others.<sup>20</sup>

It is highly important that all these subjects shall be taught to the mission candidates in special courses and by specially qualified teachers, whether the teaching institutes belong to religious congregations or are secular mission seminaries. Opinions are divided as to how, where, and when such instruction should be given; and various alternatives are indeed suggested. With regard to the study of languages, for example, the Edinburgh Congress enumerates a series of reasons (the advantage of the daily practice and surroundings, of native teachers, and so forth) for transferring this study to the mission field, but decides nevertheless in favor of instruction at home where it is easier to secure assistance (e. g., in the study of phonetics) and expert teachers. Richter provides the best solution of this question by suggesting that the fundamental, scientific study of the languages take place at home, and that the practical speaking knowledge shall be acquired on the missions. He recommends the latter course because each mission society has to deal with a special mission territory, and usually with a series of native dialects, which cannot all (as Pietsch rightly emphasizes) be taught at home. It may be said that the missionary vocational studies of a general or rather theoretical value are usually pursued at home, but the purely practical studies—especially those concerning the special mission territory and object—are followed on the mission field. Either of the two following methods would prove effective: before beginning, or during the first stages of his actual missionary work, the neophyte might receive a methodical initiation, of one or two years' duration, into the special activities of the mission, under the guidance of an experienced missionary;<sup>21</sup> or the regular curriculum at home might be followed by a general vocational training, which also would extend over one or two years, would pay special regard to the missionary field assigned, and might be combined with other studies. The time thus added to the general period of training might be saved by the already suggested curtailment of theological and philosophical material of a general

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<sup>20</sup> Besides this medical training, which he suggests should be postponed until the last two terms, Warneck also suggests musical instruction for the missionary,—at least sufficient for private purposes, since he frequently has to teach his wards to sing and to attract them by music. The Edinburgh World Congress also suggested pedagogics as a scholarly requisite for the missionary, since he is also a teacher. Finally, Pietsch recommends a knowledge of art, architecture, painting, photography, botany, mineralogy, cartography, etc. (according to individual and local needs), especially for scientific research work, and also, we might add, for the furtherance of colonial science. Schikora recommends psychology in its various forms (*ZM.*, VII (1917), 183 sqq.). Cf. S. D. Anastasii Hartmann, O. C., episcopi, *Psychologia arti pastorali applicata* (1914).

<sup>21</sup> This plan is followed in most of the missions (e. g., those of the Society of the Divine Word).

character. Pietsch sees three alternatives: (1) the truly ideal solution—but one very difficult to realize—would be to have all or at least the majority of the missionaries take a special course of professional training, possibly by a year's study in a university; (2) an abridged and synoptic review (which, however, is by no means sufficient for every missionary) may be obtained in the vacation courses for the members of the missionary societies (e. g., that at Louvain for the science of religion); (3) the most practicable method is the academic training in their chosen subjects of the future teacher of the missionary institutes, and also of all those missionaries who intend to devote themselves in a literary or scientific way to the same subjects (e. g., by compiling grammars, writing articles, etc.).<sup>22</sup> It is to be hoped that a clear appreciation of the importance of a fundamental vocational study will constantly extend among the missionary authorities with a resulting constant increase in the number of candidates who will pursue the academic and seminarian course established for mission science. For besides the average missionary, for whom a synopsis taught by special teachers in the mission houses will probably suffice, there must always be a select few (also in the mission field) who will go farther in the direction of obtaining a special and expert knowledge of the subjects.

What we have said of the qualifications and preparation of the missionaries in general and especially of the missionary priests, may be applied (*servatis servandis*) to the missionary brothers and sisters. Rosenbach demands of the lay brother health and bodily strength, a love for quiet prayer and for sheltered labor, a deep faith and a pious disposition, thorough manliness and firmness of character, and above all an heroic spirit of sacrifice; and the sisters should have corresponding virtues to a yet higher degree. The training—like that of the missionaries proper—must be suited to the tasks and conditions that shall later confront them. Besides aiding the ascetic development of the character, therefore, it should fit them for the economic and charitable auxiliary works of the missions; and consequently their scientific training (except in the case of future teachers) may be reduced to small dimensions. Actually, their training consists of a systematic course of several years' duration: this course is usually held in mission institutes or lay-brother novitiates which have farm lands or workshops, but sometimes also in special schools for lay brothers (e. g., at Engelpport, for the Oblate Brothers). The universal adoption of this last institution is highly desirable. The novices of the Missionary Sisters are trained similarly in special mission schools.

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<sup>22</sup> *ZM.*, II (1912), 135. The situation is still substantially the same as when Father Pietsch wrote. The creation of an academic center seems the necessary solution, since few of the missionary societies are in a position to provide professional teachers and the auxiliary conveniences for all these missionary and subsidiary disciplines.

On the Protestant side, we encounter two extremes: some (especially in America) would admit to the missionary service only theologians with a full university training; others (like Gossner and the Mission Alliance) favor purely ethical and religious qualifications without supplementary scholarly training, just as the Apostles themselves were unlettered. Warneck rejects both extremes: the purely intellectual, because scholarly training alone will not suffice, and as actually given at the universities too often contradicts the postulates of the missions; and the spiritually purist, because, as a rule, spiritual gifts cannot compensate for a lack of training. As means of missionary training, he suggests private study and individual instruction by private or seminary teachers; but he declares his preference for the latter, if stimulating teachers and well-devised programs of study are available. With regard to the mode of study, he warns against waste of time, absorption in minutiae, and hair-splitting; and recommends the frequent practice in and revision of written composition. He believes that the whole training can be accomplished in seven years after the candidates leave the primary school course (eight years): two years are to be spent in a preparatory school, and four years in a seminary, where colonial, native, and ancient languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), scriptural research and exegesis, apologetics, dogmatics and ethics, church history and practical theology, music and medicine are to be taught in a curriculum averaging thirty hours weekly. The course is to be divided into a lower and an upper grade, and the actual maximum in the Protestant missionary institutes on the Continent is six years. There are in England and America a few Protestant colleges for the special training of future missionaries; but the majority of the missionary candidates receive their general higher education from the regular denominational institutions or from the secular colleges, in which case special missionary training is provided for by preparatory missionary courses of one year or more. It is thus easy to understand why the Edinburgh Conference demands as the absolute minimum the same degree of training as the home clergy receive, while it also energetically recommends a special preparatory training (in languages, missionary science, the science of religion, pedagogics and sociology), and thus the institution of school-boards. In the *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin* of 1921, Dr. Vömel recommends a threefold training on the basis of the "Special Reports" of the "Board of Missionary Preparation": (1) the general preparatory training which candidates must have before entering the mission house; (2) the theological course, which each candidate must take in its entirety; (3) finally, as the climax of the training, a special missionary training extending to two years, the first year to be devoted to the study of the different branches of mission science, and the second to the ethnology, languages, and mission history of the particular field. The young missionary should also spend about three months with some able pastor, learning the working methods and managements of the church services at home.

For Catholic literature, besides the early writers on mission theory and the curricula of the mission houses, cf. the excellent article by Pietsch, *Die Vorbildung der katholischen Missionare* in *ZM.*, II (1912), 128—138 (what he recommends concerning professional training remains unfortunately still for the most part a pious wish). Cf. also the two Promotion Addresses (1915) by Freitag, S.V.D., on the historical side of the training question, *Streiflichter auf die Vorbildung der katholischen Missionare im Laufe der Jahrhunderte* in *KM.*, XLIV (1916), 197 sqq., and by Maurus Galm, O.S.B., on the theoretical and practical side; also Galm in *Kolonialjahrbuch* (1914), and Grösser in *Akadem. Missionsblätter* (1917). Cf. Grösser, *Die Beziehungen der Missionswissenschaft und Missionspraxis zur Völker-, Sprachen- und Religionskunde*, in *ZM.*, III (1913), 29 sqq.; Arens, *Håndbuch*, 171 sqq.; Silvestri, *Educazione missionaria* (1921); Louis, *Der Beruf zur Mission* (1921); Müller, *Priester und Mission*, II (1918), 17 sqq.; Hennemann, *Werden und Wirken eines Afrikamissionars* (1922); Lucio y Bustamente, *Breves instrucciones á los jovenes religiosos Franciscanos destinados á la cura de almas en Filipinas* (Manila, 1886); Bonjean, *Tractatus de dotibus boni missionarii* (Jaffna, 1877); Fernandez, O.F.M., *Missionariorum vocatio, probatio, missio* (Portiunculæ, 1908); also some older Franciscan works cited by Streit, *BM.*, I (*Exhortacion pastoral* by Truxillo, 1786; *Rules of the Franciscan College of the Propaganda*, 1841; *El jóven serafico instruido*, by Aresco, 1862; *Vorschriften des Kollegs*, von Tarija (1876). The *Directoire de Madagascar* demands especially the study of the native languages and customs (13 ss., I c., 3 a., 2). Protestant writers: Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 168 sqq. (*Die Ausbildung der Missionare*); *Verhandlungen der 11. kontinent. Miss.-Konf.* (Berlin, 1905), 63 sqq.; *Edinburgh World Missionary Conference*, V (Part I, The Actual Conditions: Part II, The Theoretical Standpoint). Monographs: Haller, *Die Vorbildung unserer Missionare*, in *Basler Missionsstudien* (1904); Meinhof, *Die sprachliche Vorbereitung des Missionars*, *ibid.* (1901); Joh. Warneck, *Die missionarische Berufsvorbildung, Gedanken und Wünsche* in *AMZ.*, XXXV (1908), 261 sqq.; Meinhof, *Die sprachliche Ausbildung des Missionars*, *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1911), 44 sqq.; Schreiber, *Zur Ausbildung der Missionsarbeiter*, *ibid.*, 385 sqq.; Jul. Richter, *Die Vorbildung der Missionare im Anschluss an die Edinburger Beschlüsse*, *ibid.*, 413 sqq.; also *Evangel. Missionsmagazin*, LIV (1910), 505—516; Vömel, *Zur Frage der Vorbereitung unserer Missionare* in *EMM.*, LXV (1921), 163—168; *Special Reports* issued by the "Board of Missionary Preparation" (New York, 1911—).

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### III. The Mission Object

From the mission subject, we are led naturally and logically to the mission object.<sup>1</sup> In the spatial or wider sense, the mission object is the country or territory in which the mission is engaged; in the personal or strict sense, it is the persons towards whom the missionary efforts are directed, these being, on the one hand, individuals, and on the other, peoples, who are not yet Christian and have still to be made so.<sup>2</sup> In the broadest sense of all, the mission object embraces the whole world and all humanity, since Christianity and thus the world mission were assigned a universal scope by the Divine Founder of our religion, when He exhorted His Apostles: "*Euntes docete omnes gentes.*" However, a distinction may rightly be drawn between individuals and peoples who are already Christians and who consequently no longer need the missions to bring them into the fold, and individuals and peoples who are still outside the Christian religion and church and among whom this religion and this church have still to be established by the missions. Only the latter or non-Christian category (pagans, Mohammedans and Jews) constitutes the mission object proper, in which the former category (Chris-

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<sup>1</sup> Not the "sending [transmitting] object," as Warneck assumes, since this (as we have shown, p. 181) corresponds to the "sent" missionary agents or personnel, who are thus also part of the mission subject.

<sup>2</sup> In the terminology of canon law, which we shall not discuss in detail here, the purely local distinction here between *terrae missionis* and *provinciae ecclesiasticae* signifies only that the former are subject to the Propaganda, and the latter to the regular hierarchy. It does not necessarily imply that the former (or Propaganda) territories are missionary fields, or that the latter (or ecclesiastical provinces) are without missions. The formal object of the preaching, and the content of the message delivered to the pagans, may also be regarded as the mission object.

<sup>3</sup> *Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, all peoples, including pagans (i. e., non-Jews).

tendom) is not included according to the stricter conception of the term "mission".<sup>4</sup>

The Church has indeed the right and duty to establish missions also for those who, as Christians, are already within the fold, and who can thus claim from her a much more intensive care than is given to outsiders. This right and duty extends to those who, while separated from her external organization by schism or heresy, are nevertheless still to a certain degree bound to her by their faith in Christ and the reception of baptism. As a matter of fact, the Propaganda and the whole Roman usage include the missions to schismatics and heretics in the Catholic mission object, but, in doing so, they do not ignore all distinction "between non-Roman Christianity and the non-Christian world," or imperil the dogma of the validity of heretical baptism.<sup>5</sup> [Scientific mission theory, however, must exclude from its scope both the so-called home missions for the renewal and animation of faith in Christian communities and the missions to non-Catholic Christians. An exception is made in the case of the Oriental Mission: because of its close connection with the Mohammedan missions in general, and by virtue of a certain concession, this is included in the missions proper.]<sup>6</sup>

Very closely related to the pagan missions, in the matter of its object, is the pastoral care of the Catholic colonists in pagan or missionary lands. In such territories, the Catholic missionaries usually are or may be entrusted with the spiritual care of the white Catholics, whereas among Protestants the pastoral care of the Westerners is usually separated from the pagan missions and entrusted

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, under The Definition of "Mission," 32 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> As asserted by Warneck. According to his own admission, Protestant denominations also at times undertake as "missions" proselytizing activities in the territory of other Protestant bodies.

<sup>6</sup> While we must positively maintain that the Catholic Church has a right to pursue the work of converting these fallen away and estranged members of her community, we must agree with Warneck that this propaganda might be more fitly named catholicization or re-catholicization (not, however, romanizing!). Conversely, while proclaiming the full right of Protestantism to invite non-Evangelical Christians to join its communion, Warneck believes such activity should be designated, not as a mission, but as evangelization.

to a special clergyman.<sup>7</sup> While this spiritual care of the Catholic settlers may not be confused with the work of conversion among the pagans, it is not entirely unrelated to the latter. Bad, non-practicing, and neglected Catholics, whose moral and religious lives are a contradiction of Christianity, exercise a hurtful effect on the missionary work by their evil example and hostile influence, and may even render it entirely unfruitful; on the other hand, fervent and sincere Catholic settlers are the most effective supporters and allies of the missionary. In the interest of his mission therefore, the missionary will devote the fullest attention possible to these scattered members of his race and faith, and minister to them with all the pastoral means at his disposal.<sup>8</sup> To the mission community also belong the neophytes, at least as long as these are still in the first stage of their Christian life or in the stage of transition, and as long as the mission itself remains in the missionary stage, since the spiritual instruction and care of the newly converted lay a peremptory duty on the missions, and an integral part of missionary activity. On account of the rudimentary character of this young Christendom, it continues to bear the missionary stamp. It is not sufficient to convert and baptize the pagans: after their reception, an intensive work of education and confirmation is necessary. It is only when Christianity has become rooted in several successive generations, only when the convert—no longer as an isolated individual but as a social member—has become Christian in all his national characteristics, that he is gradually withdrawn from the narrow limits of the mission object proper, and becomes a regular member of the Church.

In the narrower or stricter sense, therefore, the mission object embraces primarily the non-Christian population. In its relation to this local and personal object, mission practice is governed by certain objective laws—

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<sup>7</sup> Occasionally also in the Catholic missions (e. g., in India, the Philippines, South and North America).

<sup>8</sup> At least to the same extent as at home (associations, libraries, visitations, performing if necessary the duties of a military chaplain, etc.).



on the one hand, those governing the rational choice of territory, and on the other, those dealing with questions of adaptation and management.

### A. Choice of Territory

In principle, the Catholic missionary field embraces the whole non-Christian world without exception or limitation. This is a field of enormous extent, since almost two thirds of the inhabitants of the globe are still buried in paganism. The universal character of the world mission finds its theoretical sanction in the universality of Christianity as a world religion, of the Redemption as embracing the world, and of the Church as a universal church; it finds its positive sanction in the universality of the mission command and the mission authority given by Our Saviour; it finds its objective sanction in the calling of all men to salvation. The missions, therefore, may never forsake any land or people, no matter how small or unimportant it may appear, or what difficulties or obstacles there may be, in favor of a non-Christian or a non-Catholic religion. On the contrary, the Catholic missions must strain every effort to advance and spread in every possible direction. Neither in the subject (the religion and church which maintains the missions) nor in the object (the land and people to be converted), may any opposing attitude whatever be allowed to justify any exclusion or restriction of the work; on the contrary, everything is to be turned to the spreading and reception of truth and holiness.<sup>1</sup>

But neither are the individual missionaries nor the missionary societies, nor even the Church as a whole, in a position to cope at once with the whole missionary territory in all its subdivisions. The subjective and objective

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 94 sqq., under Rationale of the Missions. Also Pieper on St. Paul, in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 85 sqq.

inadequacy of their means and personnel and also the vast extent and the physical inaccessibility of many localities and peoples render it impossible to extend missionary work simultaneously and equivalently to the whole earth and all mankind. Consequently, the extent and distribution of missionary work are necessarily conditioned by questions of time and space. The erection of the missions in the various territories will be partly contemporaneous and partly successive, and only by the combination of these various parts will the powerful structure of the world mission be fitted together.

From the standpoint of the consideration paid to this law of successive and contemporaneous mission development, we meet, in both Catholic and Protestant camps, two extremes in mission theory: one, enthusiastic and universal, which, without regard for the natural conditions involved and the physical presumptions to be considered, is ready to embrace at once all territories without distinction and is, in the actual selection of a mission field, guided only by blind caprice and supposed inspiration;<sup>2</sup> and another, particularistic and naturalistic, which is swayed by excessive human caution and timidity, and will interest itself only in lands and peoples that present least difficulties and practically *offer* themselves for conversion. However opposed the latter view may be to that high-souled idealism and heroism of the Christian missions, which is so deeply rooted in supernatural motives, the other extreme must be also rejected and condemned as in no way less contradictory of the true missionary spirit and no less damaging to the progress of the missions. An attempt to Christianize all peoples at once would entail an entirely unfruitful dissipation of the missionary forces—a waste that would frequently produce more evil than good, and would be in a certain sense a tempting of God. While, therefore, we would

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<sup>2</sup> In Protestantism, this tendency is shown in the movement which has taken as its motto "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation," and is characterized by an almost fanatical zeal to send out the greatest possible number of evangelists to the greatest possible number of pagans in the quickest possible time. On the Catholic side, the same tendency is shown by many missionaries of the monastic orders, who, filled with idealistic and preternatural enthusiasm, can conceive nothing but miracles and martyrdoms.

not go so far in this connection as to countenance the Protestant point of view which makes everything dependent on extraordinary divine "door openings," and excuses unpardonable missionary apathy (e. g., that of the first "Reformers") by the absence of these signs, Catholic mission theory nevertheless maintains that, just as grace in general is to a certain extent conditioned by the nature which receives it, the missions are likewise dependent on and regulated by natural conditions: that, consequently, their always limited forces should be wisely distributed according to the importance of the object; that the divine and human factors should receive full scope and co-operate harmoniously; that the divine teaching and rational strategy alike recommend a gradual development and a slow amalgamation of the different missionary fragments into an organic whole; that, in other words, the Christianization of the huge pagan world should be divided into periods, with a corresponding division of the pagan territories. With regard to the missionary territory, therefore, Catholics also are confronted with the question of selection,<sup>3</sup> even though this question does not play the same rôle with Catholics as with Protestants. For the individual station and missionary this choice of territory is necessary and important in its relation to the pagan individuals; for the chief station, in its relation to the individual subsidiary stations; for the missionary territory, in its relation to the various chief stations; and for the whole Church, and in a lesser degree for the missionary societies, in relation to the larger pagan areas. This question involves, moreover, a decision not only as to the territory itself, but also as to the methods and extent of the work to be undertaken—that is, as to the degree of intensity and the complement of personnel and other means to be employed in the new field. Furthermore, the question must not be confined to considerations of a purely local character, but must appraise also the qualitative, personal

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<sup>3</sup> This is analogous to the question of vocation in the case of the mission subject. This latter is also for the missionaries a choice in accordance with objective norms.

and social factors. For example, the missionary or mission Superior must ask himself: What individuals, families, or races will be encountered, in the beginning or prevaillingly? To what categories, classes, and ranks do they belong? What is their political position: are they rulers or subjects? What is their present religious state, are they believers, agnostics, or unbelievers? What is their social station: rich or poor, upper or lower class? Are they educated or uneducated, adults or children, men or women?

For the study of this question, mission history and missiography will serve as a good school. The actual experiences of the past and present missions will reveal the bad and the good, the false and the true. We can ask mission history and missiography what position the Church and the missions adopted on these points, and what position they adopt today. Did the Christian missionaries of the past go forth blindly to all peoples and places, guided solely by chance or caprice, or did they select definite territories and races? Assuming that they selected definite fields, was this selection made in an orderly, methodical, systematic and strategic way, and consciously or unconsciously? If the selection was made consciously and with a definite purpose, what principles and considerations underlay the choice? Did the selection achieve its goal, and was it judicious?

The missions of the Apostles thus early yield us much information on this question. While the history of the missionary activities of most of the Apostles is overgrown and almost buried with legends, the very tradition that they divided the earth amongst them (despite the exaggerated notions of their actual sphere of activity)<sup>4</sup> implies that the first Christian mission had a definite method and purpose in its selection of territory. For, even though the apocryphal histories of the Apostles attribute this selection in individual cases to a sudden and irresistible impulse of the Holy Ghost, this very apocalyptic feature frequently betrays the fictional character of the work. The actual choice, however, was based on much more natural and sober grounds and considerations. The Apostle of the pagans *per excellentiam* furnishes us with an especially clear and classical example of a well-conceived choice of missionary fields. His Epistles and The Acts of the Apostles give us the facts without their later legendary accretions. It is indeed true that St. Paul allows himself to be guided interiorly by the Holy Spirit, and is distinguished especially for the irresistible urge which drove him to advance as quickly as possible and to fill the whole pagan world with the glad tidings. But the fact that he sought to accomplish this aim by the most direct methods possible; the fact that he limited the "pagan world" to the easily accessible Roman Empire which bordered the Mediterranean Sea and was homoge-

<sup>4</sup> E. g., the tenacious supposition that they had preached the Gospel throughout the whole world.

neous in culture and speech; the fact that he established as his special goal the large cities, which were the centers of international intercourse and thus the centers of paganism and the best points of departure (or bases) for Christianity; the fact that he also availed himself of the preparatory work of the Jewish diaspora, and in general took advantage of every opportunity and favorable opening—all these facts show us that his procedure followed closely a deliberate plan.<sup>5</sup> We have less information on the strategy of the later missions of the primitive Christian era, inasmuch as their agents and motives are overshadowed by the general phenomenon and the Christian community as a whole: however, the entire progress and accomplishments of these missions and their successive development prove the existence of definite tactics, which, while possibly indeliberate, were based on those of the Apostles because of the similar objective conditions. These missions were also for the most part confined to the Mediterranean basin and the Roman Empire, wherein the soil was already prepared by the Hellenistic philosophy. In point of both time and territory, their progress was marked by definite stages of advance. They also attached special importance to the larger cities, particularly the Hellenistic centers of Asia Minor, and paid definite attention to the different stations and classes—the educated, high officials, soldiers, and women. That this choice was highly successful is shown by the manner in which Christianity gradually permeated the ancient world until it won its final victory in the Edict of Constantine (cf. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, II, especially the summary of results given at the end, pp. 276 sqq.).

In their choice of the time and place, the much decried medieval missions also followed a definite and pragmatic system, even though this system was not always exactly defined and understood by the individual missionary organizations. Evidence of this may be found both in their chief point of departure (the Roman central authorities) and in their goal (gradual results). It is in fact a striking characteristic of these missions that they always progressed slowly and in gradually widening circles, that they allowed themselves to be guided especially by the contacts established in the general course of events, and that they always limited their scope to one land and one people—that land and people which had been just then brought closest to Christendom by natural historical development. From the geographical standpoint, their chief object was Europe; ethnographically, the Germano-Slav element, because the center of gravity had been distributed and these tribes brought within the horizon by the migration of the nations. Culturally, barbaric peoples were given the preference on this occasion, because Christianity was to be the medium also of advancing them along the road of civilization. Socially, the princes

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Freitag, *Die Missionsmethode des Weltapostels Paulus auf seinen Reisen* in *ZM.*, II (1912), 144 sqq.; Pieper, *Zur Missionsanschauung des Völkerapostels* in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 8 sqq. On the Protestant side, especially J. Warneck, *Paulus im Lichte der Heidenmission*.

and leaders received special attention, since their conversion would decide that of their vassals. In accordance with the preponderating importance of the social-collective over the individual element, these medieval missions sought as a rule a quick and direct conversion of the whole tribe, and, as elsewhere, strove to adapt themselves as nearly as possible to the particular mentality and even the pagan religious peculiarities of their object by a comprehensive accommodation. Lau and Konen show how the individual apostles to the Germanic tribes (St. Boniface in particular, cf. Flaskamp) were guided consciously or otherwise by the principles and tendencies of mission strategy and tactics. They show that these apostles did not engage in territories where the soil was unfavorable but progressed rapidly where a favorable field had been chosen, and that the real missionary campaign was usually preceded by journeys of investigation through the territory under consideration.\* Whatever the other internal shortcomings of the medieval missions may have been, the almost complete Christianization of Europe in the thirteenth century shows that their procedure in this respect at least was justified by its success. The missions of the Later Middle Ages passed beyond the narrow limits of the earlier missionary horizon, by extending their activities to peoples and countries outside Europe and beyond the ocean (Islam and even China) and no longer confining themselves to objects in the territories bordering on Christendom. This momentous extension of the missionary fields also corresponded to the objective broadening of the horizon. Advantage was taken of every favorable occasion or bridge afforded by the contemporaneous world situation—for example, of the Crusades and current philosophical trends, to approach Islam and of the Tartar invasions and European embassies, to gain admission to China.

The missions extended their scope still further when, at the beginning of the modern epoch, the colonial discoveries and undertakings opened and prepared new approaches to the pagan world. Once more they took judicious advantage of these stimulations in the missionary object, and accordingly, wisely confined themselves within definite territorial limits by concentrating for the most part on the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. It is indeed true that the Jesuits under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier, impelled by an unmatched, all-embracing impetus, transcended these frontiers, and penetrated into China and Japan: but in this enterprise also they made constant use of the European colonial power as their basis of operation and their shield. That they also displayed pedagogic wisdom in taking advantage of the specific nature of their field and object, is immediately revealed by a comparison of the Chinese cultural mission with the reductions among the primitive peoples of South America. They eagerly <sup>took</sup> themselves of every favorable circumstance, and directed their main efforts towards the decisive elements of the population (e. g., in China, towards the Imperial Court and the scholars interested in the sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy). Inspired by natur-

\* Cf. the present writer's article on the missionary methods of the Early Middle Ages in *ZM.*, VII (1917), 177 sqq.

al and supernatural considerations, this program produced, as we know, the most glorious and promising results; and even though their great successes were later dissipated, and were followed in the eighteenth century by catastrophe after catastrophe, the disaster is to be attributed not least to the fact that factions opposed to accommodation thought they could disregard the national peculiarities of the object and impose their Europeanism even in matters of purely human or natural import.

But the modern and present missions have grappled most universally with the missionary object. These missions also were assisted or made possible by the disappearance or crumbling of the barriers which had previously sequestered their object. (Geographical, climatic, linguistic, political, cultural, social, religious, etc.). In this most recent phase, also, we meet missionary groups (such as the White Fathers and the African missionaries) inspired by admirably heroic impulses and who allow no obstacle to balk their advance. Even these, however, are guided by strategic considerations, such as are offered by the Instructions of Lavigerie; and when they transgress these dictates of prudence, heavy losses teach them sooner or later their mistake. At present, the whole inhabited world is distributed (at least juridically, and for the most part actually) among the dioceses and societies as a single enormous ecclesiastical territory. If we examine these divisions more closely and compare especially their gradual development, we discover extraordinarily great differences in the dates of their formation and also in the spatial groupings—differences which are attempted adjustments to the individual characteristics of the object and the purpose in view. The modern Catholic missions possess (as even Warneck admits) a great advantage in the fact that their uniform management—especially the Propaganda—makes possible an orderly and strategic distribution of forces and selection of territories. On the other hand, however, we must unfortunately admit that this advantage has not been sufficiently capitalized and that the selection of territories has not been always in every respect fortunate and skilful,—indeed, at times not nearly so skilful as that of the Protestant missions which by a more rational procedure and a more individual development of strength have on not a few occasions anticipated us in good missionary fields. This is explained to a certain extent by the fact that the missionary authorities and societies have been occupied too much with the mechanical control of the whole and the adjustment of the parts, and too little with plans and strategy in the selection and distribution of territories.<sup>7</sup> The fact that many of the Superiors of missionary societies regard it as a highly meritorious plan to treat all missions alike, and to be guided only by their bare exigencies, is not particularly favorable evidence of their strategic outlook and talent, since today more than ever, entirely different questions should be taken into consideration — for example, as to the importance and range of the different fields, the actual progress already made, and

<sup>7</sup> For example, this question is not even once referred to in the *Collectanea*, either by the Propaganda or the missionaries.

so forth. Our procedure also should be constantly more tactical and rational. Instances might be cited where unimportant and most unpromising territories have been cultivated tenaciously and with an entirely disproportionate employment of means, and where a most excellent personnel has been allowed to succumb under the oppression of brutal force, or to pine away in helpless self-consumption.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, highly important missionary fields (for example China) are much too weakly occupied at the very moment that will decide their religious fate. We need only compare Oceania and Eastern Asia—first, with regard to the means employed, and secondly, with regard to their importance and the success already won—to be convinced of this glaring incongruity. This incongruity frequently arises from the fact that societies or nations, which cannot provide sufficient missionary forces for their territory, are obstinately opposed to surrendering it, while others, with more than abundant forces are as firmly opposed to an extension of their missionary field. The intervention of the Propaganda in such instances has not always been sufficiently energetic.

Consequently, while we assert our unyielding claim and maintain our unceasing efforts to convert the whole non-Christian world in all its parts, we should also display prudence in the selection of territories and in planning for their gradual and progressive Christianization according to objective conditions. From their own history, the Catholic missions may learn that, consciously or unconsciously, the Church has always made a selection of territory, and that this selection is also advisable now and for the future, even though the circumstances of the territories may change, and even though, in consequence, not every missionary period is to be adopted as a model in all its particulars.<sup>9</sup> The further question now confronts us: What are the criteria and standards which should guide the missions in their concrete selections?

Warneck enumerates three criteria, which he sums up under the term "accessibility": penetrability, openness, and susceptibility. There must be a road by which the mission can penetrate to the particular land—a road which has not first to be created by the mission, and which is passable and not too costly to follow. Warneck thus issues a warning against isolated or too remote missions, but recommends waterways and coastlines as Christian bases of operations. The land must also be open: an entrance must be allowed the missionary without the necessity of his forcing the issue, for example, by provoking

<sup>8</sup> We refer especially to Tibet.

<sup>9</sup> For example, the tendency of the Pauline and Early Christian missions to confine themselves to the large cities.

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a persecution or invoking political intervention.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the people should be to some degree susceptible to the truths and precepts of the Gospel. This susceptibility may be based partly on the weakness and dissolution of the prevailing paganism, partly on the social oppression and helplessness of the people, partly on their intellectual desire for learning and civilization. On the other hand, Warneck does not regard the possession of culture as the determining factor: consequently, entirely or partly uncivilized races are to be considered as well as civilized peoples, although the latter have been much too seriously neglected, especially in proportion to their importance. Warneck rightly regards the Christian colonies and colonial administrations as furnishing particularly useful entrances to the missionary territories, but he opposes the view that only missionaries of the same nationality should be engaged in the colonies of the Christian powers, because the missions (like Christianity itself) have an international character. Catholics, of course, also accept this in principle, although in practice missionaries of the same nationality are naturally to be preferred: on the other hand, we condemn the restriction of the missionary field to colonial missions. With regard to the subdivision of the mission territory, Warneck, after careful investigation, cites on the authority of Somerville the following as guiding indications: healthy location, facility of communication, density and receptivity of the population (aside from the great centers—that is, the coastal cities), equal respect for boundary divisions between the various societies.

The Edinburgh World Congress partly confirmed and partly supplemented these criteria by the following tests: (1) approachability, integrity, readiness (Africa); (2) eligibility, (Corea); (3) density of population (China and India); (4) earlier neglect (Sudan); (5) gross ignorance, social misery, and spiritual need (Oceania and the Pariahs); (6) special difficulty (Mohammedan lands); (7) influence on other peoples (Japan); (8) immediate urgency and threatening character (Equatorial Africa).<sup>11</sup> According to the finding of the First Commission, these principles, when applied to the present missionary problem, present a challenge for all Christendom, especially as to China, Equatorial Africa, India and the Mohammedan lands for all Christianity; also to Corea, Japan, the Dutch East Indies, Melanesia, and Africa at least in part. The Edinburgh Congress, however, proclaims the necessity and duty of the church to keep the whole non-Christian world and all peoples in mind. "A regulated, steady advance along the whole line is necessary—an advance in which all forces must be utilized and multiplied, until they are sufficient for the needs of the whole world." Dealing with the same topic and in agreement with Zwemer (*The Unoccupied Mission Fields of Africa and Asia*), John Mott, the Protestant mission strategist, demands the quickest possible occupation of the still untilled missionary fields and of the still unapproached or neglected peoples in the territories al-

<sup>10</sup> Warneck here refers to the Mohammedan Mission.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *World Missionary Conference*, Vol. I, "Carrying the Gospel."

ready occupied, since all lands and nations must now be opened for Christianity. The world-evangelization plan must be in the first place world-embracing, in the second place well-grounded and practicable, and in the third place strategic, not merely with regard to the strategically important territories, races, and peoples, but also classes (students and merchants, not the rich) and centers (chief cities and commercial towns). The deciding principles for the employment and distribution of the missionary forces are enumerated by Mott as follows: (1) the density of the population to be converted (to insure concentration and diffusion); (2) the temperament, cultural condition, and religion of the people in question; (3) the number and kinds of the native mission auxiliaries and the strength of the native churches; (4) revision of the distribution of forces from time to time. These principles are like those of Warneck, yet obviously more practical and businesslike.

From these shrewd tacticians we also might learn much, especially with regard to the appraisal of all natural factors. There is only one factor which has escaped their notice, and which they have not learned even from us: this factor is the cultivation of the religious courage and zeal that moves mountains—especially its cultivation to the degree in which this faith is possessed by our Catholic missionaries. Inaccessibility and persecution form no absolute barrier for this faith. Where neither road nor footpath leads, where land and people alike seem barred from every foreign religion and culture, where the executioner awaits every one who crosses the frontier,—there our missionaries have penetrated with an intrepid scorn for death, and preached the doctrine of the Crucified. They have thus lent heroic testimony to the truth and strength of their faith. Contrary to every human calculation, success has frequently justified their course, because the world mission is the work not of man but of God. God, and He alone, is the great mission strategist, who by His providential guidance of the missions often shames the strong through the weak, and cancels merely human considerations. If the Apostles and the early Christians had given any heed to such considerations, or been intimidated by the interdicts and bans of the state, Christianity would never have gained admission into the Roman Empire nor won eventually the glorious victory expressed in the Tolerance Edict of Milan. If the Jesuits had halted on the frontiers of

China and Japan until the gates were thrown open to receive them, the world would never have seen that magnificent and fruitful intellectual awakening for which their courageous penetration of the Far East prepared the way. If the French missionaries had quailed before the guillotine and the edicts which excluded them from Farther India and sanctified this land with rivers of martyrs' blood, those hundreds of thousands of souls who maintained an unshakable fidelity in the face of the most terrible sufferings and persecutions would never have been won to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. How often has the saying of Tertullian been similarly confirmed: *Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum!*

Man's ways are verily not the ways of God. Man proposes, but God disposes—that is the lesson which we learn from mission history. It is not natural difficulties, nor obstacles that furnish a cheap excuse for inactivity (like the convenient Protestant principle of divine "door openings"), that hamper the progress of the Gospel; and it is not state decrees in matters in which the secular powers have no authority, as when they even restrict the universal freedom of the missions by an edict of peace. Such obstacles, on the contrary, may merely serve as a touchstone for missionary zeal, and fructify the apparently unattainable territory. Again, the fewness or unimportance of the race does not justify neglect by the missionaries, since every human soul, ransomed by the Blood of Christ, is of inestimable value and has thus a definite claim on the missions.<sup>12</sup> What may halt the advance of the missionaries temporarily, and divert them elsewhere, according with Our Saviour's instructions to His Apostles to shake the dust from their feet if a city would not receive them, is the clear perception of the complete unsusceptibility of one people and the impossibility of success among them while a more grateful and susceptible field invites cultivation and needs the labor which would be otherwise wasted. But even such a momentarily unpropitious outlook is no absolutely certain sign that a mission territory is unsuited for selection;

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 28 sqq.

since, with the help of Divine grace, unexpected changes and transformations frequently take place. But while, on their negative side, the Protestant suggestions are frequently faulty, we can adopt many of them in their positive application to the mission object. Equally applicable to the Catholic missions is the advice to concentrate full power and enthusiasm, all available means and strength, at the points where the decisive battle is raging most violently, where the present and the future are mainly at stake, whither the greatest actual successes and prospects beckon, where the existing conditions (the missionary situation and susceptibility to conversion) are most favorable, but also where, on the other hand, the situation is beset with the most acute perils, and success is most questionable. It is true strategic vision to concentrate our whole forces on these points—to advance with every available weapon on these lands, peoples, places, stations, classes, and individuals, before the psychological moment is lost, perhaps for hundreds or thousands of years, or forever. This policy is justified, at least for the moment, even if it entails the neglect of other territories, which are less important and decisive. This truly apostolic wisdom and enlightenment should prevail in Catholic missionary strategy, and should, with the apostolic spirit of sacrifice and courage, bring it to a fully consistent completion.

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III (2nd ed., 1902), chaps. xxvii (*Umfang und Begrenzung des Missionsgebiets* 1—12), and xxx (*Wahl des Missionsgebiets*, 142—173); Mott, *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions* (Cincinnati, 1910); Edinburgh *World Missionary Conference*, Report IV ("The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions"); for a single territory, Cochrane, *Survey of Missionary Occupation in China* (1915). Turning to the Catholic side, the writer has been able to discover neither in the decrees and ordinances nor in the early and modern writers on mission theory any systematic analysis—an extraordinary omission, which can be only partially explained by the definite assignment of the Catholic missionaries and the universal scope of the Catholic missions. Abbot Norbert Weber alone gives a long discussion favoring concentration as against diffusion, in *Euntes in mundum universum*, 5 sqq.

We may sum up this investigation with the following conclusions: Inasmuch as the missionary claims of the Universal Church should be maintained along the whole

line, it does not seem advisable to neglect or relinquish entirely any mission field. An exceptional self-denial and spirit of sacrifice will certainly be necessary on the part of missionaries assigned to certain territories, who will have to stand steadfast in difficult and thankless outposts; but they will console themselves with the conviction that they are sentries for the whole Church and are perhaps the seed that must be buried to transform gradually the soil and prepare it in patience for the later harvest.<sup>13</sup> To their heroic souls it will also be clear that the Church, which is bound to husband its missionary forces and is responsible for their employment, does not uselessly cast too many talents into such an abyss, but distributes them fruitfully among the more important territories for which she displays a preference. And just as certain territories are preferred among the missions as a whole, this same principle should be applied within the individual territories in the assignment of the missionaries preferentially to certain localities and classes. The following considerations influence this preferential treatment: (1) the quantitative extent, as regards geographical area and especially as regards the density of the population with a definite view to the future (i. e., as to whether the races are increasing or decaying); (2) the qualitative value, which governs the position of the races in the international sphere and as a rule assures the nations of a higher cultural standing a certain preponderance over the less civilized races;<sup>14</sup> (3) the propitiousness of conditions for the reception of the Gospel;<sup>15</sup> (4) actual or imminent dangers;<sup>16</sup> and finally (5) the de-

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<sup>13</sup> We refer especially to the White Fathers among the Mohamédans and the Hiltrup Fathers in the Marshall Islands.

<sup>14</sup> This consideration, however, must not be pressed too far.

<sup>15</sup> Accessibility, healthy location, susceptibility, desire for knowledge, longing for salvation, decomposition of the native religions, philosophical or scientific movements, political or cultural revolutions, contact or assimilation with Christian races or civilizations, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Seclusion from the outside world, struggles for independence, successful progress of other foreign creeds, strong activity on the part of the non-Catholic missions, unbelief, decay of morals, etc.

cisive character of the present moment in relation to all these positive and negative factors."

## B. Characteristics and Treatment of the Object (Accommodation)

The question of the choice of territory has shown us that the qualifications of the mission object, and especially the local conditions, should receive serious consideration before missionary work is begun. In the actual missionary activities, particularly in determining their nature and the direction they should take, the characteristics of this object and especially its personal qualities should also be considered. It is these qualities which cause the specific difficulties and condition the variations of missionary methods to be employed in each particular instance. For, while all men without exception are fitted for and called to Christianity, and while, as we have already shown, there can never be in their condition an insuperable barrier for the world mission; while, moreover, natural and racial characteristics everywhere concur, permitting certain general regulations to be applied to all the missions, it is nevertheless evident that the missionary should not treat all peoples and individuals exactly alike, but should, by recognizing their differences, adjust himself to their peculiarities, and become (like the Apostle) a Jew to a Jew, and a Greek to a Greek. The missions find their object already determinate and equipped with specific qualities, which are either of an ethico-religious nature or belong to the natural sphere; and it is the intention and duty of the mission to transform this object, but primarily in the sphere of religion and everything connected therewith. From these two premises a methodic law may be immediately deduced. In the introduction to his classic work on the principles of mission theory, Joseph Acosta, the Jesuit writer, thus

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<sup>17</sup> These same considerations apply to the personal mission object—the stations, sexes, ages, etc., that call for preferential activity. On the whole question, cf. Schmidlin's article on "*Katholische Missionsstrategie*" in *ZM.*, V (1915), 104 sqq., and the literature given there.

early calls the express attention of the mission agents to these peculiarities in the object, and to the great cultural, linguistic, and spatial obstacles which hamper Christianizing work among unbelievers. He does this with a view to save the missionary from all illusions and from later disappointments; but he also adds that the true servant of Christ should not be intimidated by such difficulties but should rather cope energetically with them and overcome them.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the other writers on mission theory and practice of all ages—St. Paul in antiquity, St. Boniface in the Middle Ages, St. Francis Xavier in modern times, and Zaleski and other writers today—call the attention of the missionaries to the special characteristics of the mission object, and recommend that these peculiarities be carefully observed and respected in accordance with the system of accommodation which our Catholic missions have consistently practiced and which they have frequently been accused of carrying to excess. As we cannot here discuss in detail separate factors, difficulties, and differences, we must confine ourselves to those of a more general or collective nature, in so far as they affect the missions.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection also the mission past may serve as our practical guide. Apart from individual lapses into an exaggerated and narrow rigorism, the Christian missions from the earliest times gave devoted and intelligent attention to the individual traits of their objects, and accommodated themselves to these. Following in the footsteps of St. Paul, who became all things to all men, they adjusted themselves to surrounding conditions to such a degree as to lead Harnack to regard their doctrine as pure syncretism. They showed a similar spirit of accommodation in the Middle Ages, when, in accordance with the Instructions of Gregory the Great, they treated with the utmost forbearance all national, political, social, cultural, and even religious peculiarities, and, when these were unusually deep-rooted, even admitted them in a purged or modified form into Christianity. In the modern era, the Jesuits provided admirable models of various forms of accommodation in China and Paraguay. In these three periods, we may notice a steady increase and aggravation of the

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<sup>1</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute* (1596), 116 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> We refer especially to the excellent study of Thaurén, *Die Akkommodation im katholischen Heidenapostolat. Eine missionstheoretische Studie*. Münster, 1927. Cf. also Ohm, *Akkommodation und Assimilation in der Heidenmission nach dem hl. Thomas v. Aquin*, ZM., XVII (1927), 94 sqq.

difficulties and complexities of the missions, and consequently a more imperative necessity and demand for accommodation on the part of the missionaries. For, while in the Graeco-Roman world the Early Christian missions had to deal only with an essentially compact and homogeneous population of the same race and culture, the medieval missions were confronted with tribes of a lower and varying degree of culture—tribes which, even when they occupied the same territory and were racially akin, were independent of one another. Finally, the modern missions, and especially the missions of today, have to deal with peoples which are absolutely distinct from one another in race and culture, are completely separated both geographically and ethnographically, and belong to every grade of culture. Consequently, it is much more necessary for the modern missions, confronted with the pagan world with its innumerable *nuances*, varieties, and distinctions, to study all these differences and reckon with them. And they must practise this accommodation all the more wisely and discreetly today, since they can no longer count on the support of the secular arm and at times have not even the moral prestige of a cultural superiority. Today they are able to approach and influence their object with the weapons of free suggestion, spiritual conviction, and determination only.

The nature of the field—that is, of the spatial or geographical mission object—immediately involves a series of conditions and assumptions which greatly influence missionary procedure. These factors merit all the greater consideration, since they include physical forces and powers against which even the most ardent idealism is impotent and before which the most willing workers must succumb—forces which, when disregarded in the past, have converted the missions into hecatombs. Acosta early reminds the missionaries of certain such *locorum difficultates*: the long and perilous voyages to reach the pagan peoples, the inaccessibility and uninhabitability of their den-like huts, the absence of proper roads, etc. He adds this warning: "*Neque asperitates locorum, neque impedimenta itinerum neque vero habitationis ipsius Indicae ratio praepostera Christi servum ab instituto retardent.*"<sup>1</sup> In fact, by their past and present experiences alike, the Catholic missions prove that natural difficulties never constitute insuperable obstacles for missionary zeal or even for missionary success, and that consequently they do not rank among the factors which

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., 121 sqq., 154 sqq.



justify the surrender or neglect of a mission field. And in particular, whatever sacrifices an unhealthy climate especially may often demand of missionaries, the progress of medicine and hygiene now at least allows a permanent residence in every part of the world.<sup>4</sup> We must, however, insist that the missionary societies take local conditions (especially climate and the nature of the soil) into account, and prepare to meet them by sending out, for instance, only members who can withstand a tropical climate, by building stations in healthful locations and according to hygienic requirements, by providing the mission personnel with proper food, clothing, etc., by giving them hygienic instruction and taking other precautionary measures, and by providing for recuperation-centers and travel. All these measures should be taken because human life, precious in itself and especially precious for the missions, is at stake.

No less serious difficulties and differences are found in the personal mission object—in the individuals, and especially in the races, which we have here primarily in view. That from the ethnographical standpoint there is nothing in the mission object which forms an essential and permanent bar to the entrance of Christianity—nothing which, in the process of conversion, the Christian religion and missions cannot accept, transform, or

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<sup>4</sup> Warneck also refuses to include climatic diseases among the missionary impediments, or to recognize as satisfactory substitutes such suggestions as native missions and epistolary evangelization. "Fundamentally speaking, the missionary service entails everywhere a risk to life, and whoever fails to regard the purpose of the mission as worthy of the possible sacrifice of his life should not enter this service at all . . . . Numbers of merchants enter these perilous localities merely to make money; explorers enter them for the promotion of science . . . . If, therefore, the ideal aims which the missions pursue are to be appraised at a far higher value, is not the risk of human life immediately and absolutely justified? What human holocausts war demands! And, if love of country sanctions this sacrifice, should not the conquering of the world for Christ the King also sanctify the graves dug perforce in the vast mission cemeteries — for example, in Western Africa? 'Missioning' and suffering follow always and everywhere closely connected paths, and, as the universal atonement could not be accomplished by Christ without His death, so also the winning of the world for Christ will not be accomplished without death" (*Evangelische*

eliminate<sup>5</sup>—has been shown by dogmatic and historical researches: this was early emphasized by Acosta and Thomas a Jesu with respect to the barbarian races. These racial peculiarities, however, add greatly to the difficulty of the missionary task, and demand our serious study. It is not so much the Christian and pagan teachings that are in conflict, as the Christian rules of conduct and the deep-rooted, and to a certain degree religiously consecrated, popular customs. When these latter come into conflict, the very existence of the mission is at stake.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the missionary must, on the one hand, contend against and eliminate everything in the popular views and customs that springs from paganism proper and is directly opposed to Christianity, proceeding, of course, with the utmost circumspection and tact and with full consideration for all permissible popular practices. From the very earliest times, the missions have waged this determined fight against paganism proper, and have waged it with success. On the other hand, the missionary must tolerate, and where possible retain in altered form, all that is connected—especially inseparably connected—with the purely racial or national characteristics. This is merely a dictate of missionary prudence, but its neglect may wreck—as it frequently has wrecked—the entire work of the missions. A law which is held in high esteem by all ethnologists declares that no attack may be made on the intimate nationality of a people, and that no alteration of its constitutive elements may be attempted without grave damage. If, however, a metamorphosis be necessary, the task must be approached with the greatest delicacy and respect.<sup>7</sup> It is well, therefore, to distinguish between the sound (or at

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*Missionslehre*, III, 28 sq.). This beautiful passage, so entirely Catholic in spirit, bears a striking analogy to—if it is not borrowed from—what Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote in his "Ecclesiastes" (cf. *ZM.*, IV (1914), 10 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the assimilation of the Graeco-Roman ancients, the medieval barbaric tribes of Europe, the Far Eastern civilized races, and the primitive Indian tribes.

<sup>6</sup> On this point we agree with Warneck (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 31 sq.).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Grösser, *ZM.*, III (1913), 29 sqq.

least harmless) elements and the unsound, to purify and free the genuine national characteristics from their pagan extravagances, to leave everything useful undisturbed (as Gregory the Great impressed on the apostles of England) and even in a certain manner consecrate it through Christianity, and to eradicate only the specifically pagan. How difficult this separation and analysis is, especially in matters which partake at once of a religious and civil character (e. g., the caste system, ancestor worship, veneration of Confucius), is shown by the distressing rite controversy in India and China.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, in their positive work of building up the mission—in the instruction and education of the people—the missionaries must keep the national characteristics always in mind with a view to filling and impregnating them gradually with the Christian spirit, if they wish to avoid fatal mistakes and if Christianity is to be really rooted and planted in the native soil.<sup>9</sup> Consequently the missionary should know and study his object; he should thus possess the general knowledge of ethnology and should also institute ethnographical investigations and researches.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> It is, however, altogether wrong to conclude generally, as Warneck does, from this particular Jesuit practice of accommodation (which indeed was condemned by the Propaganda) that the missions of the "Roman Church" have from the beginning been guilty of a false accommodation inasmuch as they invented a worldly method of adaptation and substitution which have led them almost to the limit of paganizing Christianity. This very rite controversy, and especially its outcome, furnishes striking testimony as to the manner in which the Catholic Church can draw a distinction, and how she refuses to compound with paganism at any price. Protestant missionary practice, on the other hand, at least as it is pursued in the liberal and Anglo-Saxon circles, allows its compromising tendencies to enter widely, even into the religious sphere, and amounts to an actual syncretism (*Paganisierung des Christentums*).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Europeanism of the missionaries; cf. Le Roy in Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*, 305. The reservations (306) in favor of upholding the prestige of Europe may in many cases be taken *cum grano salis*. Cf. also Huonder's brochure (*Der Europäismus im Missionsbetrieb*) and Schütz, on the cultivation of the indigenous nationality (*DMK.*, 168 sqq.)

<sup>10</sup> Ethnology is indebted indeed to this missionary necessity for its most precious discoveries, as is sufficiently shown by the periodical *Anthropos* and its associate undertakings.

With the ethnographic object and study is very closely connected the linguistic, since their language is most intimately related to every people. After the coming of the Holy Ghost on the Feast of Pentecost (the birthday of the missions and the Church), the Apostles spoke in various tongues to the assembled people. This incident tells eloquently of the interior connection between the missions and their linguistic objects.<sup>11</sup> Speech is, and will always be, the human agency by which the missionaries must carry the Gospel to the pagan; and since they no longer possess the supernatural gift of tongues, they must laboriously learn the speech of the people to whom they intend to announce and explain the Christian truths.<sup>12</sup> If Christianity is to become naturalized, it must be preached and heard in the vernacular, first because the whole soul of a people finds its specific expression in its mother tongue and in turn is essentially influenced by it, and secondly, because an attempt to impose the world religion in a foreign speech would be a direct attack on legitimate nationalism and would react unfavorably on the mission. Preaching through interpreters<sup>13</sup> and translations may serve at times as initial makeshifts; in exceptional cases, also, a native common speech (and under certain circumstances even a European) may be selected for this pur-

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<sup>11</sup> "*Quoniam fides ex auditu est, auditus autem per verbum Dei,*" says Acosta (120), "*lingua opus est, ad evangelizandum.*" A model of linguistic accommodation may be seen, for example, in the advocating of Chinese as a liturgical language in the seventeenth century (cf. Huonder, 158 sq., 165 sqq.), the introduction of the Slav Liturgy by SS. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth, the selection of the Oriental Liturgical language (instead of Latin) in the Near East, with the rejection indeed of many native tongues in favor of the Greek. Rühl, *Die missionarische Akkommodation im gottesdienstlichen Volksgesang*, ZM., XVII (1927), 113 sqq. Ohm, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Kirchenbauproblem im fernen Osten*, ZM., XVIII (1928), 57 sqq. (cf. Holl in AMZ., XXXVI (1909), 257 sqq.).

<sup>12</sup> *Ut quod deerat in dono, augetur ad meritum* (Acosta, 153).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Acosta, 121: "*Per interpretem vero rem tantam agere, et cuiusque plebeji ac vulgaris hominis fidei et sermoni committere documenta salutis, tametsi necessitate impellente factitatur, tamen, res ipsa docuit, quam non solum incommodum sit, sed etiam perniciosum interdum, dum alia pro aliis interpretatur, aut quia non assequitur, aut etiam quia sequi docentem piget.*"

pose.<sup>14</sup> But that a mission can never win permanent success anywhere by this method, and that it can bear no lasting fruits, is shown by numerous missionary ventures that neglected the native languages either through lazy indolence or through false enthusiasm.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, past and present missionary experience shows that the missions in principle have always accommodated themselves to the linguistic peculiarities of their objects, and that every language, however crude and strange it may appear at first, is not only learnable but is also adaptable for the transmission of the Christian conceptions and truths. Some of them indeed offer many difficulties, which at first appear insuperable, but these may be overcome eventually by industry and patience.<sup>16</sup> For certain ideas, for example, there may be no expressions, while the words of others differ in significance. Usually, however, Christianity is able to modify, broaden, and deepen the language, at least spiritually, without doing violence to it or having recourse to other languages. This effect on the creation and formation of languages is not the least cultural blessing of the universal religion.<sup>17</sup> Thus, a fundamental knowledge of the native tongue is not merely the foundation and starting-point of

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<sup>14</sup> How far may one go in this direction, and to what extent was this process of assimilation justified (e. g.) in antiquity or in Spanish America?

<sup>15</sup> Acosta, especially, complains of this, pointing out how many persons, impelled by the hope of paltry gain and to acquire money and merchandise, did not shrink from the study of the numberless tongues of Ethiopia, China, and Brazil, even if they could often only stammer in these languages! "*At qui pretiosissimas merces quaerimus animas Dei imagine insignes, qui lucra non incerta aut brevia, sed aeterna in coelis operamus, linguae difficultatem, locorum asperitatem cursumur, ut appareat vere prudentiores esse filios huius saeculi in sua generatione filiis lucis*" (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 155). Erasmus had already written: "*Excusatur linguae imperitia, atqui Principes ob humanas legationes inveniunt, qui varias linguas perdiscant, et Themistocles Atheniensis uno anno sic didicit sermonem Persicum, ut absque interprete cum Rege loqui posset, an idem non studebimus in tam sublimi negotio?*" (cf. *ZM.*, IV (1914), 9).

<sup>16</sup> According to Acosta (loc. cit., 121), there are numberless tongues in which it is difficult to explain the mysteries of the faith, since words for the most important are entirely missing.

<sup>17</sup> We refer especially to the names for God and abstract ideas.

all missionary practice: only a missionary who has mastered the vernacular can approach the natives with complete success. To be intensive and successful, the work of Christianization as a whole—especially the Christianization of an entire people—demands a very special knowledge and an entire mastery of the vernacular and of its spirit, and untiring work on the language itself. For, just as the study of languages can be of great service to the actual missionary, it also needs his co-operation as a pioneer and collector of material both on its determinative and descriptive side and for purposes of psychological research. This study of languages and philological research belongs to the great labors and services of the missionary calling; but we must not forget the eternal reward which Acosta holds out for this pioneer work in the service of the Gospel.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the geographical and ethnographical difficulties and peculiarities, the mission object presents a series of social and cultural obstacles which also need prudent consideration. Such obstacles are found especially in the more physical sphere of the politico-national life. The Universal Church and *a fortiori* the world mission,

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<sup>18</sup> *Etenim ut Christus ad Thomam dixit* “. . . *Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt: ita etiam dicere quispiam queat beatos, eos, qui non acceperunt sermonem, et tamen praedicaverunt . . . Felices quibus Spiritus Sanctus dedit donum linguarum, interpretationem sermonum: at non infelices, qui per charitatem spiritus de suo ponunt in opere Domini, quod non acceperunt*” (loc. cit., 154). The Propaganda declared in 1774: “*SS. Clemens XIV omnibus et singulis, qui pro Christo in terris haereticorum et infidelium legatione funguntur, modis omnibus ac etiam in virtute sanctae obedientiae praecepit, ut cum primum ad stationes illius gentis pervenerint, sedulo studeant vernaculum illius gentis sermonem percipere atque in id nervos omnes contendere*” (Collect., I, 312). Likewise the Synod of Cameroon of 1906 prescribes that no one may be dispensed from this obligation without the written permission of the Vicar Apostolic, and that the latter must assure himself that this study of the languages is being cultivated and must admonish all who neglect it (15 cap. 62 sq.) The Chinese Synodal Statutes and the instructions issued by the Propaganda to the Bishops in 1883, *De studio linguae sinicae* (Collect., II, 188), as well as the various mission manuals, contain similar precepts. Cf. Nekes, *Die Pfllege der Landessprache in Kirche und Schule* (DMK., 46 sqq.). Regarding the actual achievements, cf. Dahlmann, *Die Sprachkunde in den Missionen* (1891). Also ZM., IX (1919), 232 sqq.

from their very position as international institutions, adopt a neutral attitude towards the individual political forms and national conceptions of government. Consequently in this domain above all the missionaries should accommodate themselves as far as possible to their object and beware of all interference and meddling; for the kingdom which they have to preach and spread is "not of this world." On the other hand, the friendly or hostile attitude of the state authorities may affect temporarily the choice of territory: however, this opposition may not permanently and absolutely prevent the missionaries from entering and cultivating this field; for it was not from the secular rulers, but from the Supreme Lord of heaven and earth that they received their mission command and authority, accompanied by the prophecy of violent persecutions. As a matter of fact, the relations of the missions towards the temporal rulers have been very different at various times. In antiquity the state was absolutely hostile towards the missions. In the Middle Ages, and in the case of the colonial missions of the modern epoch, the very opposite policy was adopted, and the missions were brought into an intimate union with the secular authorities which not infrequently exceeded the bounds of the ideal order. Among other Christian and non-Christian states we find the most varied possible combinations ranging from savage persecution to positive toleration and encouragement;<sup>19</sup> but in general, in the most recent times, an attitude of neutrality and tolerance has come to be more and more adopted. However, just as the Catholic missions were always able to utilize a favorable political situation for the promotion of their exalted purposes, the severest interdicts, capital punishment, and disorganized political conditions were unable to prevent them from answering the call of duty. As the child of its age, the earlier mission theory regarded as perfectly proper the intervention of the Christian Powers (with armed forces if necessary) for the protection of the missionaries,

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<sup>19</sup> We refer to Japan, China, and Farther India, and to the Dutch and English possessions.

when these were interfered with in the free exercise of their calling. It must, however, also be said that the missionaries usually declined the direct compulsion of converts as contradictory to the apostolic spirit of Christianity.<sup>20</sup> At the present time Acosta's view of the ideal evangelical mission without any military support whatsoever has been generally adopted in theory. In practice, however, many missionaries (especially the French) unfortunately lean strongly to the mixing of political and national factors with their special task, despite the fact that the fatal effects of such a policy on the development of the missions have been so frequently demonstrated in the past.<sup>21</sup> In the face of these activities, which most seriously compromise the spiritual character of their Christianizing work, it cannot be too emphatically stated that, in political and national questions, the missions should accept and treat their object just as they find it; that, consequently, they should abstain from every employment of force in such matters and from all support of foreign politics, if they do not wish to be guilty of an absolutely sacrilegious abuse of their religious and divinely ordained authority; that, on the contrary, in so far as possible, they should adapt and subordinate themselves to the political and national conditions of their object, so that in colonial possessions they may at once promote the welfare of the state and foster patriotic sentiments. If, however, the messengers of the kingdom of heaven and the preachers of religion stoop to be the blind tools in hostile attempts at subjugation, if they even go so far as to boast that they are the precursors of the political domination of a European power, how can we blame the native rulers for distrusting such an embassy and opposing its agents as a menace to the state? This, however, need not prevent the missionaries

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Francis de Vittoria, Joseph Acosta, Thomas a Jesu, etc.

<sup>21</sup> The documents on both sides are cited by Schwager in *ZM.*, VI (1914), 109 sqq. The darker side of the question is the enslaving and hampering of the missions by the secular power, as happens (for example) in paragraph 438 of the Treaty of Versailles. Cf. Schmidlin, *Die Missionsfrage vor dem Völkerbund*, *ZM.*, XVI (1926), 316 sqq.



under certain circumstances from utilizing or even invoking outside intervention (especially that of their native land) to protect them against palpably unjust attacks and oppressions which are in violation of even the native laws; nor need it prevent them from protecting the natives against evident violation of their rights, from lending them legal assistance (or even undertaking the office of arbitrator or judge), from co-operating in the reorganization of national political affairs (at the request of competent groups) nor from purging them of all their unsound factions. Moreover, it need not prevent them from offering at least passive resistance to the colonial authorities, if these interfere unjustly with the missions or treat their native wards with cruelty; from expressing their opinion and claiming a hearing from the state in which they are working, on mixed questions or questions bordering on the spiritual domain (e. g., schools, mixed marriages); nor even, in their personal capacity and in so far as it does not interfere with their loyalty to other authorities, from performing services for their own native land.<sup>22</sup> All these steps must indeed be taken with the utmost care; for, in the interests of the missions, it is far better for the missionaries to err on the side of moderation than of excess.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Consequently, when in so far as possible the Pope entrusts the colonial missions to missionaries of the nationality of the motherland, this is by no means equivalent to sanctioning the abuse of the missions for political purposes. In theory, the Protestant missions are much more firmly opposed to these concessions to the political mission object, although their home organization usually rests on the principle of a state church. In practice, however, they frequently show themselves more accommodating and at least as much so as the Catholic missions. Cf. the statement by the German Secretary of State, in the Reichstag, on the rôle of the English missions in colonial politics.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. especially the views expressed by Schwager on various occasions, particularly his article on "Catholic Missionary Activity and National Propaganda" in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 109 sqq. In 1649, the Propaganda warned missionaries against all Europeanizing and political activities (even with regard to the international position of the papacy and the Church) and all intermixing with the temporal powers, because as foreigners, the missionaries were already exposed to mistrust, and because the object of Christianity and the mis-

Very closely connected with the political life of a nation is its social life. The social relations merit all the more attention on the part of the missions inasmuch as among the pagan races the individual is usually much more deeply imbedded in and much more dependent on the collective social body than among Christian peoples. It is thus almost impossible for Christianity to approach individual pagans, and especially to bind them to itself enduringly, unless it establishes relation with the whole people and the social milieu. Consequently, the missionary must first become acquainted with this social edifice of his object, with its distinctions of ranks and classes, ages and sex, and must pay the most careful consideration possible to this object in both its favorable elements and its obstructive. Here, also, it is necessary to purify the object of all anti-Christian elements, yet likewise to condone liberally whatever may be in some manner combined with Christianity. Much that the missionary finds repellent in the object is merely the result of specifically national traits, and is not necessarily in contradiction to the Christian spirit. It would thus be a wanton attack upon both the legitimate national characteristics of the object and the universality of the missions if we attempted to put an end to all those elements which are in themselves good or harmless. On the contrary, the missions should do their utmost to adapt these elements to Christianity, and to accommodate

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sions is the purely religious uniting of the human race in the world religion. It ordered the missionaries to desist absolutely from all national activities in the colonies of other lands, but allowed greater freedom of action in the politically dependent lands where, without interfering with the interests of the missions, one might work for the establishment of the home language. This activity, however, should be pursued in moderation, and should not be made an object of the missions. In the colonies of his own country, the missionary should show himself steady and reliable; and he may train the natives to be loyal subjects, and never deny his nationality. These views are supplemented on the positive side by Weber in the concluding chapter of his work on Corea, and by Schmidlin in his article on Colonial Missions in *ZM.*, II (1912), 25 sqq. Cf. also Weber's address on the *Düsseldorfer Missionskursus* of 1919 ("*Mission und Politik*," 142 sqq.). (Of the most recent literature, cf. Grösser, *Die Neutralität der katholischen Heidenmission* (1920), 93 sqq.; also the sharp condemnation in Pope Benedict's Encyclical of 1919).

themselves to them. The missions have, as a matter of fact, usually followed this policy. For example, in the Far Eastern missionary field during the Middle Ages, the *Jesuits* became Brahmans to Brahmans, and Pariahs to the Pariahs. While the very rite controversy connected with this practice of accommodation is an instructive example of the possibility of going too far in our concessions to social views and peculiarities, it also shows that if we allow harsh and unsympathetic undercurrents that would ignore and trample under foot all social peculiarities to gain headway in the missionary movement, we court our own destruction.

The cultural qualities of the object are also of great importance for the missions. From the first, these have largely conditioned and influenced the methods and results of the missions. They constitute the chief difference between the Early Christian missions which had to cope with civilized peoples, and the medieval missions which had to cope with uncivilized. They also constitute the distinction between the main categories of the modern missions.<sup>24</sup> However, as already pointed out, the lack of culture cannot in itself form a necessary or permanent bar to the work of Christianization, because even uncivilized peoples are capable of receiving Christianity, and moreover, cultural and racial inferiority is never so radical or intrinsic that it cannot be partly overcome and raised at least relatively and advanced to a higher grade of civilization.<sup>25</sup> This also is certain, and is confirmed by

<sup>24</sup> As is known, a distinction is drawn today between civilized and uncivilized races, the latter term being applied to peoples who live in the state of nature. The terms naturally are not to be strictly interpreted in the sense that the latter races possess no culture whatever—for there are no absolutely uncultured races, but only races in a very low stage of culture—or that all the civilized races so called possess culture in the full sense, or finally, that there are no intermediate or transitory stages between the two classes. We shall not here discuss the question of the origin of cultural degradation—whether it represents the state of primitive man, or (as is nearer the Christian viewpoint) it is to be referred to a gradual decline into savagery from a higher primitive state.

<sup>25</sup> "*Quod gentes Indorum quantumvis barbarae auxilio tamen gratiae ad salutem destitutae non sint; barbarorum ineptitudinem non tam a natura quam ab educatione et consuetudine proficisci*" (Acosta, loc. cit., I, 5).

both past and present experience: culture can serve as an entrance-door for Christianity, and an actual lack of civilization may prove the missionary's greatest obstacle. The question thus arises whether or how far the missions may and should disregard the possessions or lack of culture—in other words, whether the missions may admit the primitive peoples as they are, culturally speaking, to Christianity, or whether they must first or simultaneously civilize them and by this civilizing influence prepare them for Christianity. Christianity may indeed be combined with even a low grade of culture;<sup>20</sup> but it lies in the very nature of things, and the facts and experiences of history prove, that the civilizing work may and also should be at once a victorious precursor and a pedagogic companion of the Catholic missions; that, as such a promoter and ally, it prepares the way and creates in the minds and hearts of barbaric peoples the preliminary conditions for the reception of the Gospel. If the missionary is to attain his full aim, he must combine with his glad tidings of redemption a cultural elevation of the people in economic, charitable, social, intellectual, and ethical domains, because culture combined with religion is necessarily rich in blessings, though necessarily destructive when divorced from it, and because, moreover, there exists between true Christianity and true culture an intimate bond and a harmoni-

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<sup>20</sup> We agree with Warneck that a low degree of civilization is no absolute obstacle to the Gospel; that not rarely people of this culture are apt to receive the Gospel with greater fervor and sincerity than the representatives of a *blasé* civilization; that in the abstract, lack of culture is not inconsistent with the penitential spirit (recognition of sin, contrition, and the earnest determination to improve) or the childlike faith which Our Lord demands as a condition for entering the kingdom of heaven; that the Christian teaching is so simple and Christian morality so natural that even the savage who possesses a sound common sense and an unspoiled conscience can grasp them; that men of a lower cultural level frequently show themselves more receptive than the highly civilized; that the usual means of civilization (schools, work, and penal laws) do not necessarily make men better and more inclined to the religion of Christ; that these means have rather the contrary effect, and even rob the natives of their last support if they are used exclusively and are not combined with religious training—that is, with the strengthening and ennobling of the will and character.

ous synthesis. The missionary must, however, also beware of the other extreme of introducing too much—especially too much foreign—culture to his mission object, since he will thereby necessarily injure both the racial characteristics of his object and his own missionary work. Here also in his civilizing and missionary activities he will adjust himself intelligently to the cultural stage of his object, whether this stage be low or highly developed.”

The single spheres into which this cultural domain is divided are very distinct, and each might be treated separately (the economic sphere, etc.). But here we shall briefly consider only two which are of special importance for the missions, one for its educational effects and the other for its formative and elevating influence: these two spheres are the intellectual and the ethical. When the missionary has to deal with individuals or races who are eager for knowledge, talented, sagacious, skilled in rhetoric, cultured and gifted with imagination and memory, his task is altogether different from that which confronts him in the case of an ignorant, stupid, dull, and indocile people who are incapable of thinking. For, while it is certain that no grade of intelligence and culture, however low, excludes one from the Gospel, Christianization can be effected more easily and quickly in the case of the higher grades. The missionary, therefore, should labor zealously for the intellectual improvement of his wards, and should conscientiously adapt himself to their educational capacity and cultural level in deciding on the extent and form of his instructions, especially those concerning the Christian faith. Still more important and decisive for missionary possibilities and activity is the moral level of the object and his ethical predisposition towards Christianity. A man who is hampered with sinful dispositions and vices—a race which is sunken in ethically defective views and practices—will never be so accessible a mission object as

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” Just as, for example, the Jesuits adopted different methods among the Chinese and the Indians.

individuals or peoples of a purer outlook and life.<sup>28</sup> Here, precisely, must some pioneer work of preparation and purgation be done by the missionary if his preaching of the faith is to be fruitful. Despite all his efforts, many ears will remain closed and deaf to his appeal, especially among adults in whom the sinful practices of a lifetime have become part of their being, and among certain races who seem to have made immoral practices an inseparable and ineradicable element of their nationality. The missions must not on any account whatever compromise with these weaklings when they actually repudiate the Christian law. If they cannot avoid a conflict, they must rather oppose these degenerates with all their power and energy, although even here they should proceed with the greatest possible tact and moderation, and be careful to prevent any change of harmless popular customs for others morally depraving.<sup>29</sup>

The same advice, finally, may be given with respect to the religious condition of the mission object, which concerns the missions most intimately as the *immediate* object of their activity and strivings. The missionary must take up a very decided position towards it, which will be friendly or hostile according to its tendencies. One basically positive and universal factor in question is that religion is disseminated throughout the human race (including non-Christians), and that there is no people, however primitive, which does not know and venerate a Supreme Being, which does not believe in God and the soul, which is not convinced of an after-life, which does not believe in a connection and mutual reaction between this and the other world, which does not aspire to God or seek intercourse with Him through prayer, sacrifice, and ceremonies.<sup>30</sup> According to the findings of the Edinburgh Conference, religion is everywhere

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<sup>28</sup> We refer to the Confucianist ethics and the childlike piety which is so deeply rooted in the Chinese peoples; cf. Stenz, *Zur Missionsmethode und -lage in China*, *ZM.*, XV (1925), 196 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the fundamentally important article by Mausbach on the Sixth Commandment in the mission field (*ZM.*, IV (1914), 189 sqq.).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. especially the proofs and comments of Le Roy, Schmidt, Cathrein, etc.

the best that is in a people, and in it is revealed every people's most intimate life."<sup>21</sup> We shall not here inquire whether this universal human phenomenon had its origin in some fundamental yearning in the soul of man or in a primitive revelation, or in both. Nor shall we inquire how the variations in this universal religion arose: for example, whether (as the Evolutionists assert) paganism represents a gradual development from a rudimentary beginning which we still see incorporated in the "nature religions," or whether (as Christianity teaches) the historical development of the positive monotheism of the Old and New Testaments and its doctrine of Redemption was accompanied in other quarters by the progressive degradation of an originally poor religion (though monotheistic and revealed) into fetishism—a degradation that resulted from intellectual errors and moral vices, and especially from the transforming influence of mythological and magical processes. Lastly, we shall not inquire as to how the religions should be distinguished and classified, whether according to their content, founder, source, or propagation—whether into revealed or natural, into local or universal, into coherent or decomposed, into deistic or animodeistic (Le Roy), or into fetishistic, animistic, polytheistic, pantheistic, and monotheistic.<sup>22</sup>

In our treatment of fundamental mission theory we have already seen that the very fact of the universal existence of religion among all peoples constitutes a necessary theoretical hypothesis of the missions. For these missions are justified in their procedure only on the presumption that, on the one hand, religion is to be regarded as the objective common property of mankind and not as the product of subjective ideas, and that, on the other hand, religion is found in its perfect form in Christianity and that none of the other religions can attain this eminence by unaided efforts. This universality

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. *AMZ.*, XXXVII (1910), 524 sq.

<sup>22</sup> Besides Warneck, cf. the Louvain "*Semaine d'éthnologie religieuse*" (1912), and the "Religious Weeks" of the last years. Also Schmidlin, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, 195 sq.

of religious ideas and acts has a practical importance for the missionary inasmuch as it affords him a psychological link and point of connection with Christianity; and it also makes it necessary for him to justify himself before the forum of this universal religious instinct. The idea of God, the belief in the soul and retribution, consciousness of guilt and need for redemption—all these conceptions are at least latent in every mission object and need only the instruction and influence of the missionary to raise them to clear perceptions which will serve as valuable bridges and openings for the Gospel and its truths and benefits. But the special nature of this link and understanding will be individual and different according to the character, value, and content of the religion concerned; and even within the same religion the various constituent elements must be treated differently according to their peculiar disposition and particularly to their attitudes towards Christianity. Consequently, here, also, accommodation is an elementary dictate of mission practice. In missionary activities and methods, therefore, great differences must also be introduced according as they are concerned with natural or civilized forms of religions—with the primitive religious stage of fetishism (or animism) or with the ancient and highly developed religious systems of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, or monotheistic forms of Judaism or Mohammedanism. Furthermore, careful attention must be paid to what variety, shade, grade, or intensity within such group the mission object belongs, considered in his social and individual relations.<sup>22</sup> All that is in agreement with Christian doctrine and morality or can be developed into agreement, must be used as a connecting link and be adjudged favorable; but all that is opposed to Christianity and detracts from it, must be fought, refuted, weakened, removed, or rendered innocuous. Where positive elements are encountered, irenic methods are advisable; where negative, polemic methods and procedure. Generally speaking,

<sup>22</sup> Concerning this understanding with the non-Christian religions, cf. Report IV of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, also Joh. Warneck, *Die Lebenskräfte des Evangeliums* (1911).



both methods must be combined—the irenic, to attract the pagans and by an *argumentatio ad hominem* to develop the good germ into the full possession of religious life; the polemic, to remove misconceptions and demonstrate the inadequacy of paganism, because every non-Christian religion is a mixture of the true and false, good and bad, sound and unsound. Consequently, the missions have to beware of two extremes which in the past and also today have occasionally been found the source of serious dangers and suspicions. They must avoid, on the one hand, an excessively friendly and indulgent masking of positive Christianity and of its opposition to paganism, and also a syncretic amalgamation with the non-Christian systems and practices: this last measure is being attempted by the liberal and American wing of the Protestant mission, especially in Asia; but the many pagan errors and abominations should in themselves deter the missionary from this policy.<sup>24</sup> The missionary, however, must also beware of the opposite mistake which consists in condemning and opposing everything in paganism, seeing nothing in it but nonsense and wickedness, and overlooking completely the good and serviceable. Such conduct is a positive injustice to the opposing religions: none of these is so poor or degraded that it has not preserved many grains of gold or glimpses of light—at least some dim desires or yearnings which the *Logos spermaticos* has placed as seeds in their souls and which it is the duty of His messenger to cultivate. Again, the success of the missions is seriously prejudiced and endangered by such harsh antagonism, which is much more liable to repel the pagans than to win them. Even where polemics is actually justified and paganism is perverse, the missionary should always endeavor to combine the indulgent “*suaviter in modo*” with the “*fortiter in re*,” since the use of rude abuse or biting scorn in referring to institutions which have been heretofore dear to the object will necessarily have a repel-

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<sup>24</sup> According to the Edinburgh World Congress, fear, worldliness, conservatism, formalism, lack of a feeling of responsibility, fatalism without hope, confusion of moral ideas, no comprehension of God (cf. *AMZ.*, XXXVII (1910), 525 sqq.).

ling instead of a persuading and convincing effect.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from individual lapses, the Catholic missions have always kept these principles in mind and faithfully adhered to them in practice, adopting now a happy mean, now blending the two methods, and now cultivating them separately. In approaching the Jews the Apostles at once utilized the Old Testament conceptions, cults, and promises. In approaching pagans they took advantage of the natural belief in God and sin, from the first linking these with Christianity and thus making the minds and hearts of their objects ready for the Gospel. However deep was his interior aversion to pagan idolatry and Jewish Pharisaism, we never hear St. Paul make a satirical or offensive reference to them. In the temples, he refers to the hopes of their ancestors; on the Areopagus, he proclaims the unknown God and the Divine law in every man's heart. Among the early Christian apologists two classes are distinguished—the Irenics and the Polemics—according to the attitude which they adopted towards the pagan world philosophy and idolatry. Thus, while Justin fiercely scourged the errors of pagan philosophy, Tertullian coined the beautiful phrase concerning the "*testimonium animae naturaliter christianae.*" While the Roman Empire was crumbling into decay and also during the Middle Ages, many remnants of paganism were brought into Christianity by the races that in overwhelming numbers were adopting it. Gregory the Great directed his missionaries to tolerate such practices wherever possible, and even to lend them Christian sanction, while avoiding rigidly in their teaching every taint of paganism. The missionary methods of modern times (especially those of the Jesuits) have been frequently accused of excessive accommodation to paganism, and even of substituting it for Christianity, particularly in Eastern Asia. As a matter of fact, the Jesuits did go very far in their accommodation;<sup>36</sup> on the other hand, their opponents and accusers have been guilty of the opposite sin of uncharitable and unintelligent intolerance. The clash of these two opposing tendencies, however, produced eventually

<sup>35</sup> This question is treated exhaustively in Report IV of the Edinburgh World Congress. Referring to the points of connection, the Report warns the active missionary against polemics in dealing with the pagan religion, and also against syncretism and exaggerated accommodation (cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 179). Cf. *Monita ad Missionarios S. Propaganda*: "*Caveat ne his agendo Gentilibus videatur novam inferre doctrinam, sed quasi constaret eos aliqua veritatum illarum notitia tinctos esse.*" The regulations of the Propaganda with regard to the missionary's attitude towards pagan customs are compiled in the *Collect.* (1st ed.), p. III, c. 3 *de superstitione*, 653—739 (art. 1, *de cooperatione ad ritus supersticiosos*, 2, *de ritibus sinicis ab Apost. Sede proscriptis*, 3, *de ritibus malabaricis*). Cf. also various Synodal Decrees and mission manuals.

<sup>36</sup> We refer to the preaching of St. Francis Xavier in Japan, the Confucius and ancestor cults of Ricci in China, the supposed third Veda of Nobili, and the artifices and expedients which, according to Pfothenauer, were employed in the South American Reductions.

a healthful result, which had unfortunately to be purchased by fierce contentions and misunderstandings. Similar complaints against the present Catholic missions may still be heard. Warneck's reference to the "whitewashed paganism" in the Catholic missions, to the "adoration" of Mary, the Saints, and the Pope, to relics, medals, and scapulars as amulets and fetishes, etc., are still repeated in the Protestant camp. However, mission theory and also rational mission practice, in so far as they follow the ecclesiastical intentions and ordinances, endeavor in every possible way to avoid pagan extravagances, while giving the greatest consideration to the religious needs of the immediate object and tolerating extensive accommodation in the matter of external cult. Similarly, all the experiences and suggestions of the Protestant missions given at the Edinburgh World Conference indicate that pagan religions ought to be approached with sympathy and goodwill, that contacts should be established with the innermost needs and modes of thought of pagans, that polemic and aggressive methods should be avoided, and that syncretism or mutual give-and-take, also, *must* be avoided and the absoluteness of the Christian faith be preserved unimpaired (cf. *AMZ.*, XXXVII (1910), 532 sqq.).

Nevertheless, if it is to attain its goal, the whole method of missionary work in all its divisions (in its defense and offense, as well as in its positive development) must take into consideration the religious peculiarity of its object and be guided thereby, since the native religious conceptions and customs are to a large extent rooted in the very nationality of the people, and are indeed only a reflection of this nationality. In mission apologetics and polemics, in public and private debates and religious discussions (in so far as such are practised),<sup>27</sup> in missionary sermons and instructions,<sup>28</sup> in cultural and moral teaching and training (especially in awakening a sense of shame in connection with particular concrete sins), in their literary and cultural activity, the missionaries must accommodate their work specifically and individually to the religion of their immediate object, and must carefully consider what are the specific religious obstacles, difficulties, prejudices, objections, offenses, weaknesses, lines of attack, connecting points, forces of attraction, modes of thought and needs in the objective people or individuals, so that they may introduce and co-

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<sup>27</sup> As, for example, by St. Francis Xavier and by the medieval missionaries.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Catechism and Preaching.

ordinate their work at the right points. The missionaries, therefore, must also possess a sufficient knowledge of the science of religion—both a general knowledge regarding the religious conditions and religio-psychological laws of mankind and a special knowledge of the particular religion with which they have to cope. It will be necessary for them also to study this religion on the spot, and thus in the natural course of events they will themselves become investigators in the service of the science of religion. This has been always one of the special goals of the Catholic missions, as was sometime since emphasized in the Louvain Course on the Science of Religion<sup>39</sup> (Tilburg, 1922).

Accordingly, the attention of the missions must also be directed to the special social and ethical problems of their immediate object. Among the primitive peoples, they must devote special attention to slavery and polygamy; among the civilized pagan races, to the caste system and ancestor worship. In earlier times, the missions usually tolerated the institution of slavery, and sought only to improve the lot of the slaves; but in the more recent era, following the views of modern theologians, they have for the most part declared war on slavery as such.<sup>40</sup> Catholic missions take a much more hostile attitude than do the Protestant towards polygamy: because of the incompatibility of plural marriage with Christianity, and in view of its very pernicious religious and cultural effects, the former exclude all polygamists from baptism and from the church body (cf. Froberger in *Verhandlungen des Berliner Kolonialkongresses von 1910*, 717 sqq.), while the Edinburgh solutions of this problem, from both the theoretical and practical standpoints are widely divergent (Report II; cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 177). On the other hand, the Indian caste system in its civil aspect has been much less harshly judged and treated in the earlier and present Catholic mission practice than in the Protestant. The Catholic missions regard the caste system as a civil and social, rather than as a religious pagan institution, although the decisions of Rome against the accommodation practised by the Jesuits in Malabar exclude its theoretical or absolute acceptance. The situation is similar regarding the ancestor worship of the Chinese: the practical measures taken with regard to this institution have always varied according as it partook of the nature of mere family piety or of idolatry. At present, however, the stricter tendency prevails with respect to Chinese ancestor worship, the Confucius cult, and Japanese Shintoism. Besides the literature on the rite controversy, cf. especially ordinances of the Propaganda and synodal regulations; also Grentrup, *Die*

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also the *Semaine d'éthnologie religieuse* (1912).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Margraf, *Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerikas* (1865), and the anti-slavery writings since 1887.

*kirchenrechtlichen Bestimmungen über die chinesischen Riten* in *ZM.*, XV (1925), 100 sqq.; on the Protestant side, Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. xxxiv (III, 286—355), and the special works there cited.

On the whole question, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 13—141 (chap. xxviii, *Die sprachliche, klimatische, volkliche, politische, kulturelle Verschiedenartigkeit des Missionsgebiets*; chap. xxix, *Die religiöse Beschaffenheit des Missionsgebiets*) and the literature there given; Grösser, *Beziehungen der Mission zur Völker-, Sprachen- und Religionskunde* in *ZM.*, III, 29—53, and the literature cited; *Semaine d'éthnologie religieuse* of Louvain (1912), *Edinburgh World Missionary Conference*, Report IV, containing very instructive inquiries and answers; a detailed analysis of this Report is given by Joh. Warneck, in *AMZ.*, XXXVII, 521—535, *Die missionarische Botschaft in Auseinandersetzung mit den nichtchristlichen Religionen*; Joh. Warneck, *Die Lebenskräfte des Evangeliums* (2nd ed., 1911). Regarding the methodological side, cf. Schmidlin, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft*, Appendix (*Über die Hilfsdisziplinen*). On the last section, cf. Le Roy, *The Religion of the Primitives* (New York, 1922), and the manuals on the science of religion by Orelli, Chantépie de la Saussaye, Huby, and Bricout; also Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster, 1912),<sup>4</sup> and *Die Bedeutung der Ethnologie und Religionskunde für Missionstheorie und Praxis* in *ZM.*, XVIII (1928), 177 sqq.; Schmidlin, *Missions- und Religionswissenschaft*, *ZM.*, XVIII (1928), 1 sqq. Concerning the attitude to be taken by the missionaries toward politics and native customs, cf. the admirable and detailed Instruction of the Propaganda to the first Vicars Apostolic of the Paris Society (1659): *Et quoniam ea pene est hominum natura, ut sua, et maxime ipsas suas nationes, caeteris et existimatione et amore praeferant, nulla odii et alienationis causa potentior existit, quam patriarum consuetudinum immutatio, earum maxime quibus homines ab omni patrum memoria assuevere, praesertim si abrogatarum loco mores tuae nationis substituas et inferas; itaque nunquam usus illarum gentium cum usibus europaeorum conferte, quinimo vos illis magna diligentia assuescite* (*Collect.* I, 42). Cf. also the various Synods in connection with individual points and practices. Important also are the discussions and arguments of the polemical literature about the rite controversy, especially those of the Jesuits in favor of accommodation. Concerning the Early Christian missions and their principles (Paul, Augustine, and Gregory), cf. Knöpfler in *ZM.*, I (1911), 41 sqq. Cf. finally, the brochures of Grösser (*Die Neutralität der kath. Heidenmission*, Aachen, 1920) and Huonder (*Der Europäismus im Missionsbetrieb*, 1921). For the narrow Protestant representation of the Catholic method of accommodation, cf. Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission*, 388 sqq.; Frick, *Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission*, 135 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> A revised edition was published in 1926. Of part second, vol. II was published in 1929. Other volumes will follow.

## IV. The Mission Aim

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We have hitherto been considering the material object of the pagan missions. We now transfer our inquiry to their formal object—to the task and aims of the missions.<sup>1</sup> What has the mission to strive for and accomplish among non-Christian individuals and nations? From what points of view are these latter to be looked upon as the mission object and field of labor? Just what is the task assigned the missions with respect to this object, and how are the aims to be pursued? Thus questioning, we come to see how intimate is the organic relation between the doctrine of the mission object and that of the mission aim. On the mission aim depends the whole tendency of the missions—the relationship between mission subject and object as well as the selection of means. On the other hand, the nature of the mission object substantially determines the missionary aim and methods.

That the Catholic missions have a specific task and a special purpose and that this task and this purpose should be pursued as deliberately and systematically as possible is established by their very nature and sanctions. An institution that is so complicated and expensive and that demands such labor and self-sacrifice has no claim or right to exist unless it serves a distinct, an exalted and important, nay even an indispensable, purpose. As a matter of fact, this interior purpose is revealed and proved by all the centuries of missionary history from Apostolic times to the present day. But here again we may see how rarely their spontaneous accommodation

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<sup>1</sup> Warneck treats the mission task and mission aim in different sections (and volumes), separated by the discussion of Mission Means. His distinction between the mission task and aim is, in our opinion, not very enlightening, and gives rise to great obscurities.

and purposefulness developed into actual consciousness: for example, neither the Propaganda nor the other missionary authorities, nor even the earlier or modern writers on mission theory, have ever attempted a systematic discussion or investigation of this subject.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in the discussion of this question, which is of such fundamental importance for all missionary practice, we must blaze laboriously a new trail, utilizing such actual facts or sources as are available. We cannot of course entirely disregard Protestant mission theory, which has to a certain extent forestalled us in this field.

In so far as special positive norms (besides the general, Divine, and human) are concerned, the will of the Divine Master and Founder is decisive for the Catholic missionary task. It is true that He delivered to His Apostles no highly developed mission technique, but contented Himself with indicating general lines to be followed—great fundamental axioms which His Disciples, following their own judgment and guided by the divine light, were to adapt to different ages and localities, and to individual objects and circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Our Saviour left no doubt as to the essential features and character of this task. In the first place, He taught His Disciples by His example: by coming down on earth to teach and save mankind, by His loving labor to save every individual soul from ignorance and damnation, also combining with this personal religious activity the rescuing of the poor, sick, blind, and lame from corporal misery, and by the founding of a Church as the kingdom of God. As the Father had sent Him, He also sent His Apostles. To the Jews first, these, preaching penance and the forgiveness of sin, were to announce the kingdom of heaven that had come down to earth; and they were to invite them to enter. They were also to heal the sick, cast out devils, and preach the glad tid-

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<sup>2</sup> Except for scattered references in the older and modern writers on the missions, which incline to the practical side. Cf. the introduction to Abbot Norbert Weber's *Euntes in mundum universum*, and Bishop Döring's address in connection with the Cursus at Cologne, *MKK.*, 215 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Warneck also refers to this point.

ings to every creature, "in Judea and Samaria and even to the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts, i, 8). They were to make all nations His disciples, to instruct them as to the keeping of His commandments, and to baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup> That such was the Apostles' conception of their mission, and that they conducted themselves accordingly, is shown, for example, by their declaration that they were appointed, not to serve tables, but to preach the word of God.<sup>5</sup> This was particularly true of St. Paul, who felt that by virtue of a special mission he was called beyond all the other Apostles to carry the name of Jesus to the pagans, to convert them to God and make them sharers in the forgiveness of sins and in the inheritance of the faith, to announce to them the Gospel as a Divine power for all who believe in it, and to lead them through this knowledge to redemption and atonement.<sup>6</sup> From the time of the Apostles and the professed missionaries of Christian antiquity who assumed the title of "apostles" as their specific attribute, the Christian missionaries have remained true to this vocation throughout all the centuries even to the present day.

From the foregoing remarks, we can deduce wherein the chief task and aim of the missions lie. (The task of the missionary is to announce to all men the doctrine of Christ and salvation in Christ; to preach the Gospel everywhere and extend the kingdom of God; to instruct individual souls and peoples and convert them to Christianity; to baptize them and thus make them sharers in the universal redemption and members of the Church of Our Saviour, and also to dispense temporal blessings to fellow-men and to perform in their behalf works of mercy.)<sup>7</sup> It may be well to attempt a logical analysis of

<sup>4</sup> For the texts cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 176 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Acts, vi, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pieper, *Zur Missionsanschauung des Völkerapostels* in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 91 sq.

<sup>7</sup> In scholastic language, the rehabilitation of the glory and knowledge of God may be declared the *finis operantis primarius*, and the salvation and sanctification of men the *secundarius*; the conversion of non-Christians the *finis operis primarius*, and the extension of



this array of tasks and objects, all of which may be included under "Christianization" in the wider sense.

[The Catholic missions and mission theory demonstrate, with exceptional clearness and on the evidence of missionary practice, the fact that, despite all temporary lapses and secularizations, the supreme and most fundamental task for all missions is the religious; that no other activities and aims, especially in the cultural domain, are pursued independently and separately but are subordinated to subserve religion solely; and consequently everything requires elimination that is opposed to the spiritual character of the missions or hampers its cultivation. The Instructions of the popes, the Propaganda, and the Synods, as well as the views of writers on mission theory, furnish a wealth of evidence to demonstrate the fundamentally religious character of the Catholic pagan missions.<sup>8</sup> According to one commentator on the Edinburgh World Congress, the Catholic missions are distinguished from the Protestant (at least from the "liberal" and American Protestant missions) by this—that they preserve their religious, primary, aim unimpaired, and never sacrifice it for cultural considerations, whereas Protestantism in many places devotes itself almost exclusively to cultural activities.<sup>9</sup> It would, however, be well if, with a view to attaining more surely and easily their chief aim,—Christianization,—many of the missionary circles were to display a much

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the Christian religion and Church the *secundarius*. The Directory of West Cochin-China and Cambodia (1904) defines the aim of the apostolate as follows: "The apostolate which we practice has for its aim to teach men to know, love, and serve God as the Supreme Lord of all, and Jesus Christ, His Son; to preach the glad tidings of salvation, to establish the Cross of Our Saviour in the place of pagan superstition, to extend the frontiers of the Catholic Church, and to increase the number of the elect" (P. II, p. 169).

<sup>8</sup> Cf., especially, Pieper, *Die missionsmethodischen Erlasse der Propaganda* in *ZM.*, XII (1922), 33. Thus, the Decree of 1920: *Unde missionarius apostolicus nullum alium finem sibi constituere, nullam aliam proponere metam debet quam hominum ad Deum conversionem, animarumque conversionem* (quoted by Pieper, loc. cit.). Cf. also *Monita ad Missionarios*, c. III, a. 1, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Vöth, in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* (1910). In this connection we may recall the prevailing cultural outlook of American Protestantism, from which most of the Evangelical missions emanate.

less exclusively religious attitude towards intermediate aims<sup>10</sup> and not to neglect certain indispensable secular and cultural agencies which are a help towards the actual conversion of the pagans.<sup>11</sup>

As we have already seen from our discussion of the term "mission," the first and most important task of the missionary is the Christianization of the non-Christian world in the widest sense of the word.<sup>12</sup> But, apart from the fact that (as Weber rightly emphasizes) various means and intermediate aims lead to this main end, and apart from the fact that this objective and with it the whole mission should be understood as an organic link towards still higher and more universal considerations such as homage to God and the welfare of mankind, the objective itself is actually divided into parts and stages requiring to be fitted together as so many separate segments of the mission organism, exercising in the process a fundamental influence on the whole missionary undertaking. Above all, a twofold division and tendency must be distinguished in this work of Christianization, according to the formal object in view—that is, according as it is concerned especially with the individual or the whole people. These two types or tendencies of Christianizing work are the individual and social; and while they must always be blended in a harmonious union, they must nevertheless be clearly distinguished.

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<sup>10</sup> Abbot Norbert Weber has performed a distinct service by referring at the very beginning of his brochure to these intermediate, subsidiary, or preparatory aims as the necessary stages to the final and fixed goal of "*Omnia instaurare in Christo.*"

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Döring, *Grund und Ziel der Missionsarbeit* in the *MKK.*, 216 sq. Cf. also Warneck, *Die Aufgabe der Heidenmission und ihre Trübungen in der Gegenwart*, in *AMZ.*, XVIII (1891), 97 sqq.; Zahn, *Die Verweltlichung, eine neue Missionsgefahr*, in *AMZ.*, XIII (1886), 193 sqq.

<sup>12</sup> The Synod of Allahabad (1890) says of the evangelization of the natives: "*Hoc enim fuit et est vocationis nostrae ad missiones praecipuum objectum et motivum*" (18). Cf. the Chinese Synods: "*Propagatio fidei apud Gentiles est unum e duobus praecipuis apostolici muneris officiis: ad hoc missionarii vocati sunt . . . ut gentes, quae in tenebris sedent ad Evangelii lucem adducant*" (cf. *ZM.*, V (1915), 20, note 3). Similarly, the *Synodus Yunannensis* (1859), 91 sqq.

Whether to work for personal conversions or for a general Christianization: this is the question which is still agitating violently the Protestant missionary movement and dividing it into two sharply distinguished camps, even though to a very large extent there is nothing more involved in their controversies than shibboleths and empty doctrinalism.<sup>13</sup> This question has no acute aspect for the Catholic missions, and may be answered simply by stipulating personal conversions *and* a general Christianization. Both must be striven for and combined, not necessarily simultaneously, but to a certain extent as successive developments. On the one hand, the missions must seek to convert individuals, to form them into communities, and then through these communities to renew whole nations in Christ. Neither of these objects may be neglected or relinquished, neither fostered at the expense of the other, but each must supplement and support the other. The missions must cultivate the personal object, because they are under obligation to lead each individual human soul to God and win it for eternity and because each individual soul has an exalted goal of its own and an inestimable value. The missions must also cultivate the social object, because they have also to build up a mystical body for Christ and to win for Him a spiritual kingdom. Both objects have actually been united in the program of the Catholic missions from the beginning to the present day, although at different times one or the other may have stood out in bolder relief according to the special spiritual tendencies of the subject or the special nature of the object.<sup>14</sup> But, while both tasks are—as they should be—actually combined, as a rule, they must be distinguished in the scientific theory of the missions.

<sup>13</sup> Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, II, 245. For individual conversion, cf. Fabri, *Die Entstehung des Heidentums und die Aufgaben der Heidenmission*; Zahn, in *AMZ.*, XXII (1895), 61 sq.; Buchner, *ibid.*, XXV (1898), 342 sqq. For the Christianization of society as a whole, cf. Grundemann, *Missions-Studien und Kritiken*, I; Warneck in *AMZ.*, I (1874), 137 sqq.; Büttner, *ibid.*, VII (1880), 193, 241.

<sup>14</sup> Whether, for example, this object was inclined towards Christianity as a nation rather than individually; whether the decision rested rather with the individual or with the general attitude and environment (as in the Middle Ages).

### A. The Personal Mission Aim (Personal Conversion)

The first stage of the work of Christianization is undoubtedly the securing and preparation of the stones necessary for the construction of the edifice—the conversion of separate persons. This conversion entails a two-fold act—the internal change and the external joining, with which indeed an internal process must be associated. In its turn, the interior conversion is threefold, both in its psychological foundation and its expression: intellectually, it is rooted in and expressed by faith; morally, by improvement of the will and in the domain of religious feeling, by the turning of the heart to God and to Christ. Accordingly, the missionary task is defined, just as it is disclosed, by the personal elements of the Divine missionary commission. First of all, the apostles have to instruct the pagans and make them disciples of Jesus Christ (*μαθητεύειν*), by preaching and proclaiming the Gospel to them. They have, therefore, a teaching vocation with regard to those who do not yet know Christ and Christian truth—a vocation to initiate these into this knowledge and thus bring them spiritually near to the Saviour. Through this teaching activity the missionary is to make previous non-Christians, both in mind and heart, *μαθηταὶ* of Jesus—His disciples and believers, also adherents and followers ready to subordinate their faith and their life to their Divine Teacher. The substance of this doctrine and preaching is the Gospel—the glad tidings of the Incarnation and the Redemption. These tidings are to be announced to those who still live in the darkness and the shadow of death, who are thus to be informed of the light and salvation which has dawned for all men (including themselves) in the Crucified and Risen Saviour of the World. We must not rest fully content to imitate a certain tendency of the American missions and be satisfied to procure and content ourselves with a maximum number of evangelists to carry the message of the Christian Gospel to all parts of the world and to as many persons as possible: it is also necessary to deliver an *effectual* message to the

pagans, and to impart to them a knowledge and understanding of its import. "And teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you"—in these words Our Saviour sums up the practical and ethical side of conversion. The missions must bring the pagans to observe the Christian law and commandments, not only by instructing them regarding the binding force and content of this Divine will, but also by urging them to render it their obedience. A purely intellectual conception or mere knowledge of the Christian teaching is not enough: it must be supplemented and confirmed by practice, and translated into the heart and daily life by the adoption and observance of the moral law which Christ preached. On these two pillars of faith and morality the real religious work of conversion is finally erected—the *ἐπιστρέφειν* (or turning) from darkness to light and from Satan to God, which, according to the Divine commission given to St. Paul, is to follow the opening of the eyes of the soul (Acts, xxvi, 18). This conversion is composed of a negative and a positive spiritual act—a turning away from the darkness of sin and the service of the devil in pagan idolatry and a turning towards the true God and the Saviour. To accomplish and test this spiritual change, which must also be accompanied by contrition and a resolution of amendment, is the task of missionary activity. Contact with non-Christians is for the most part established by means of the catechumenate, as we shall see later in our discussion of missionary means.

Only when this spiritual transformation has been completed, when catechumens have interiorly become Christians, and when they have been initiated into the Christian truths and morals—only then is the moment come when they may complete exteriorly their conversion by baptism and entry into the fold. Baptism is the exterior or visible step—the keystone, as it were—which at once crowns and completes the interior process of conversion: it is the culminating point of the Christianizing of the individual. We must not, however, regard baptism as so exclusively an exterior conclusion of the interior act of conversion that it calls for no spirit-

ual prerequisites; for while the candidate's intention to receive the sacrament suffices for its validity, its worthy reception demands a proper state of the soul.<sup>15</sup>

Warneck rightly insists that the process of Christianization must not begin with baptism, but that, at least in the case of adults, a condition and prerequisite for its reception is a preliminary preparation and instruction through the *ἐναγγελλίζεσθαι, μαθητεύειν* and *διδάσκειν*—a certain degree of knowledge concerning Christ, and the earnest will to break with paganism on the one hand, and to attach oneself to Christ in faith and life on the other. He thus utters a solemn warning against any modification or diminution of requirements (especially in the ethical domain) for individual candidates, against all striving for a merely numerical instead of a qualitative success, and against a purely formal Christianization which would seek only to bring as many nominal Christians as possible into the Church with the utmost possible speed. To follow this last policy would be in no way different from encouraging weeds—which are of course to a certain extent unavoidable—to overrun a whole field. When he sharply criticizes as reprehensible examples certain individual abuses which resulted from the medieval and American mass conversions without sufficient preparation, we cannot deny the charge. But when he generalizes these abnormal instances and translates them to the present day,—when, referring to Henrion, he goes so far as to say that the Catholic Church and missions tolerate and justify both in theory and principle the baptism *en masse* of unprepared pagans even under the most unworthy accompanying circumstances,—when he declares that the Roman authorities are concerned only with questions of ceremonial and not with the interior but only the exterior preparation of the candidate for baptism,—when he asserts that Rome's magical conception of the sacraments and her secular conception of the Church are responsible for her mechanical practice in connection with baptism and Christianization,—when he maintains that Rome regards it as the sole task of the missions to bring the people into the fold of the Church as quickly and in as great numbers as possible and to leave future developments to take care of themselves,—and when even today Protestant mission writers and reporters and even mission conferences accept all these atrocious slanders as proved facts, we cannot enter too strong and decided a protest.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the manuals of dogmatic theology on sacramental doctrine (e. g., Diekamp, *Katholische Dogmatik*, III, 41 sqq.). We need not here discuss in detail the erroneous substitution of a mechanical or magical conception of the sacrament for the Catholic "ex opere operato." For the interior act according to St. Paul, cf. *ZM.*, IX (1919), 91 sq.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 229 sq.; *Protest. Beleuchtung*, 340 sqq., 454 sqq.; *Der gegenwärtige Romanismus im Lichte der Heidenmission*, II. In this connection cf. Schmidlin in *ZM.*, X (1920), 168. Concerning the Protestant conditions for admission, cf. Edinburgh World Conference, Report II, 39 sqq.

The best refutation of these charges is supplied by the universal Catholic practice regarding the catechumenate (which will be discussed later with reference to Missionary Means) and by the conditions prescribed by the Church for the reception of baptism—both the general conditions and those especially applicable to the missions. Quoting the precept of the *Rituale Romanum* and of the Roman Catechism that consent and faith belong to the necessary dispositions of the recipient of baptism, the Propaganda insisted (in 1779) on sufficient instruction for the Negroes landing in Cayenne (*Collect.*, I, 320). In 1860, the Roman office wrote to Che-kiang: "*Explorata res est tres in adulte requiri dispositiones ad baptismum rite suscipiendum: fidem nempe, poenitentiam et intentionem illum suscipiendi.*" Since the first two of these dispositions (faith and contrition) are necessary for the lawful reception of the sacrament, the missionary may not baptize even a dying person if he doubts the sincerity of his sentiments (I, 655). Since experience has proved, declared the Propaganda to the Chinese bishops in 1883, that "*christianos peiores non inveniri, quam qui simulato et ficto animo ad baptismum accesserunt, vel ante competentem instructionem eundem susceperunt,*" they should remember the regulations which Clement XI and Benedict XIV, as well as the Synod of Szechwan, laid down for a long training and testing of the candidates for baptism in faith and in morals (II, 187). "*Ne ob instructionis defectum,*" declared a Constitution of Alexander VII (1658) intended for Goa, "*qui sacro baptisate initiantur, immaculatam Christi legem profanis aut gentilitis institutis ex ignorantia foedent, aut idoloatriam cum orthodoxa fide confundant, caveant ii qui iisdem instruendis incumbunt, ne in posterum ullus ad baptismum admittatur, qui veterem hominem ac gentilitios mores prorsus exutus Christum plene non induerit et in fide sit sufficienter instructus.*" Wherefore all priests who are laboring for the conversion of the unbelievers are urgently warned that they must not incite the candidates to baptism through force or promises, but through the preaching of the word of God and the example of good works, and must ascertain by what purpose and spirit these candidates are influenced (I, 40). Similar in tenor run all the special decisions. That for China in 1645 stated that catechumens ready for baptism must be taught and instructed openly and specifically by the servants of the Gospel with regard to the inadmissibility of idolatry, even though death and persecution should result (I, 30). That of 1703 for Quebec stated that the missionary must explain the mysteries necessary for salvation (the Trinity and the Incarnation) even to a dying candidate for baptism; that he might not baptize the sick unless they understood the Christian truths, believed explicitly in Christ, and were instructed in the commandments *legis positivae divinae* (in cases of doubt and in danger of death *sub conditione*); that he must explain the Eucharist to the candidates, awaken in them an act of contrition, and impose as a condition the dismissal of all concubines (I, 87 sqq.). That of 1760 for Fokien stated that adults might be admitted to baptism only after they had been well instructed in the Christian duties and had in a long cat-

echumenate given satisfactory signs of faith and constancy, and with the proviso that they were ready to confess their Christianity even at the risk of their lives (I, 280). That of 1770 for Africa declared that the aged and sick, if they could no longer be instructed because at point of death, must at least signify their consent by a sign and, should they happen to recover, must later receive the proper instruction (I, 302). That of 1860 for Gallas stated that candidates for baptism must give up unconditionally the will to continue in sin: "*quoad hoc*" (*scil.*, polygamy) "*fides catholica flecti nescia nemini blanditur, nec unquam lucem cum tenebris Christumque cum Belial coniungui sinat*" (I, 649). Barbarism in itself, provided it is ethically neutral, is not to be regarded as an absolute obstacle to baptism; if, however, it is opposed to morals or religion, it constitutes an impediment, and consequently barbarians may not be baptized until they have at least become accustomed to covering their nakedness (1850), I, 568 sqq., and 1894, II, 799). Baptism is also to be refused to dying Mohammedans, even though they retain their errors *bona fide*, except in cases wherein, because of unconsciousness, they cannot renounce them (1898, II, 365). The same attitude is shown by the detailed instructions issued by the Propaganda in 1747 regarding the baptism of the Jews (I, 197), and in 1777 regarding several *dubia* which had been submitted concerning the administration of baptism under various special circumstances (I, 319). Similar also are its numerous decisions regarding the baptism of children, betrothed couples, aged people, dying persons, etc., from whom the necessary guarantees regarding their environment and the future must be demanded in every case (*Collect.*, 1st ed., 540 sqq., 575, 585, etc.). A special precept regarding the children of pagan parents prescribes that only those who are actually dying or are not subject to the authority of their parents may be baptized; consequently, not even the promise of the parents to inform the children of their baptism, later on, or to allow them to practise the Christian religion, justifies an exception (Instruction of 1777, and *Officium* 1840, I, 506; cf. I, 86 sq.). Compared with these ordinances *de subiecto baptismi*, all the other divisions, which we must withhold for treatment under Missionary Means (*de materia baptismi, de forma baptismi, de ministro baptismi, de caeremoniis baptismi, de dubie baptizatis et de iteratione baptismi*) are far inferior in importance and scope (cf. the Hongkong edition of the *Collectanea* of 1905, pp. 153—225). Similar conditions are required by the Synods—both the older Synods (e. g., Mexico, 1555, instruction in the Catholic faith; 1585, at least a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Decalogue, and contrition for sin), and the more recent, such as that of Cochinchina of 1841 (p. 13), Tokyo of 1895 (31), Peking of 1892 (14 sqq.), Cameroon of 1906 (5 sqq.), Hongkong of 1909 (44), etc. Similar instructions are contained in the mission manuals on baptism or the sacraments in general. The writers on mission theory express themselves similarly. The earliest, under the leadership of Acosta, demand careful preparation and special qualifications for the reception of baptism (VI, 3, *de voluntate baptismi necessaria*, VI, 4, *de fide et poenitentia ad baptismi gratiam necessaria*), and their



example is followed by the modern writers (e. g., Munerati, *De iure missionariorum*, 1905, 58 sqq.; Michel, *Questions pratiques sur le baptême dans les missions*, 1904, 82 sqq.). This fundamental caution, which is to be generally exercised, is not violated when in special and exceptional cases (e. g., in cases of children or of danger of death) a quicker and more summary procedure is tolerated and recommended, even if in practice it is occasionally employed wrongly (cf. Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung*, 361 sqq.), since the ecclesiastical precepts by their limitations and safeguards (cf. the detailed discussion of Michel, loc. cit., 99 sqq.) seek to prevent in every possible way the abuse of such private baptisms.<sup>17</sup> Other exceptions, that are explained by the circumstances but are by no means to be imitated by all missionaries, are the quick baptism of St. Francis Xavier and of the Apostles themselves, whose procedure was by no means exclusively inspired by the "entirely special *gratia praeveniens*" of their age (Warneck, III, 229). This much at least is clear from the above-mentioned decrees of the Propaganda and the Synods—that the Catholic Church and Catholic mission theory also attach great importance to the interior "conditions for baptism" (*ibid.*, 245) and the "susceptibility" (242) of adult candidates for baptism.

Despite this unequivocal insistence in principle on the fundamental preparation and proper dispositions of the candidate for baptism, it must be admitted that a pressing impulse, very intelligible in special circumstances, has occasionally led mission practice to admit insufficiently qualified subjects to baptism. In so far as such abuses are concerned, the most urgent warnings are issued also by Catholicism against all precipitancy; and even when candidates are most eager in their desire for baptism and flock in crowds to receive it, they must be required to pass first through the regular catechumenate. Consequently, the baptismal effect *ex opere operato* is not to be understood in the sense that no previous preparation is required of the individual. Baptism should be a radical departure and turning-point in one's whole life; as the keystone of conversion, it should represent the complete casting off of the old man and the assumption of a new man after the model of Jesus Christ. From the doctrine of the sacraments we at once learn of the importance of baptism, and of its effects—which are equally incisive and epoch-making in mission life. The first result is the indispensable exter-

<sup>17</sup> The Protestant missions also practise, for example, the baptism of children, thereby creating a dilemma for Warneck's dogmatic teaching.

nal sign of conversion—the outward reception and acceptance of Christianity and the free and open confession of Christ, from which no one is dispensed.<sup>18</sup> In baptism the pagan renounces Satan and all his works and pomps, and in childlike faith surrenders himself entirely to God and Our Saviour. But the recipient is also renewed interiorly by the sacramental graces which make him fully a Christian: in fact, these interior effects are the *more* pronounced, according to the Catholic conception as opposed to the Protestant.<sup>19</sup> According to Catholic teaching, baptism effects the forgiveness of sins, and the renewal of the spirit, the removal of spiritual death and the instilling of supernatural life (by union with the Saviour who died and arose again), purification, sanctification, and justification (*I Cor.*, vi, 10 sq.), regeneration and an imparting of the Holy Spirit, liberation from the servitude of Satan and elevation to the sonship of God, the averting of everlasting damnation, inheritance of eternal life, infusion of virtues and spiritual gifts, and especially the application of the fruits of redemption and salvation. Otherwise, the candidate who has heretofore stood outside the Church is now incorporated in the kingdom of God and the Christian community and thus also in the mystical body of Christ, its Divine Head (*I Cor.*, xii, 13). To this extent baptism is also a social institution—a landmark in ecclesiastical develop-

<sup>18</sup> The Propaganda decreed in 1635 that even those unbelievers (Mohammedans) who wished to become secret Christians because of the danger of death, should not be admitted to baptism, but should migrate to some other place, where the Christian religion could be publicly professed (*Collect.*, 2nd ed., I, 84).

<sup>19</sup> Warneck feels obliged as a Protestant to attack the baptismal effect *ex opere operato*, by emphasizing the necessity of the profession of conversion (form of admission), and above all, of faith, both of which are according to the Catholic view also, necessary for the sacrament. But Warneck also is forced to ascribe to baptism (besides a symbolical importance) an actual change to another state and a spiritual transformation by a Divine act. "Baptism also accomplishes what it symbolizes: a cleansing, a divorce from sin by liberation from a state of servitude, a reception of the Spirit, a new beginning of life, and an admission to a new community of life" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 241). Through the objective scope of the *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, the *βαπτίζω* establishes an actual communion between the candidate and the Triune God (loc. cit., IV, 235).

ment. All these effects hold good not only for baptized adults, but also for children to whom the Catholic conception allows the sacrament to be extended.<sup>20</sup>

But while the reception of baptism is so fundamental and conclusive a factor in the work of individual conversion, we must not so overstrain its position in the missionary task as to suppose that the missions should admit to the Church through baptism only perfect Christians or a community of the elect. Because of the special charismatic influences of the time, membership in the communion of saints may in Christian antiquity have been more closely associated with personal holiness than now,<sup>21</sup> although we know from the writings of the New Testament that even the Apostolic Church contained much cockle among its wheat. At any rate, according to the conception of those days, the kingdom of God on earth was a *corpus permixtum* in its external and concrete form. If then the primitive and perfect Christianity contained so many spiritually imperfect and even dead members, how are the present missions, despite the utmost strictness and caution, to prevent some persons of inferior and imperfect qualifications from entering the fold? We must not expect more from the missions than the Church at home has ever succeeded in accomplishing. We must not expect them to produce only converts of the highest Christian grade—hardy plants with such powerful and deep roots as to render them absolutely secure against every storm of temptation. Apart from the fact that only He who searches the heart and the loins possesses an unfailing insight into the interior sentiments of the seekers and recipients of baptism, we must remember that new converts are only tyros in Christian thought and life—that they are still too closely bound up with their past and environment to become completely

<sup>20</sup> Without the necessity of employing the subterfuges of Warneck (loc. cit., IV, 244), such as foundation, recollection, after-effect, etc. Cf. the Catholic dogmatic authors on the effects of the sacraments and especially baptism (e. g., Diekamp, III, 20 sqq., 72 sqq.).

<sup>21</sup> There may be a germ of truth in Harnack's thesis, to the extent that the Primitive Church regarded itself as a community of saints but that later the Church developed rather into an institute of salvation and sanctification.

changed and shed all their imperfections in a single moment. Still children in faith, they must, like the first Christians of Corinth, be nourished with milk, and occasionally chastised with the rod: they are a Christian seed, which must ripen gradually, especially where a low racial or cultural level hampers and retards their conversion as in most missionary lands.<sup>22</sup> Consequently the missionaries must not make excessive demands on their new converts, whether in connection with the external reception of the sacrament or in their interior moral and religious dispositions, nor must they demand a still higher degree of religious life than prevails at home.<sup>23</sup> Except for occasional lapses in modern times, the Catholic missions have avoided this extreme, and have inclined rather to the opposite by demanding too little in the preparation and admission, and leaving too much for later influences and training.<sup>24</sup> But even where this latter error is also avoided and entirely worthy and acceptable baptismal subjects are admitted into the Church, the missions may not neglect their wards after baptism, but must, like a conscientious mother, still accord them their loving care and attention. Even after the seed is sown, it must be watered and cared for: further activities of the missionaries must continue and complete what baptism and preliminary preparation have begun. Like the catechumens, therefore, the neophytes have been from the earliest times the object of special ecclesiastical solicitude. Like all other Christians—even to

<sup>22</sup> The puritanical, pietistic extremists of the early Protestant missions (they play a diminished rôle in the missions of today) ignored the law of slow pedagogic development and tried to develop ideal Christians forthwith. According to Warneck, they paid a bitter penalty for their extravagant views, and were taught the impossibility of their aim in the school of crushing disappointments. At present they are usually content if the Christian communities can, in Christian understanding and moral conduct, attain approximately the average level of the church communities at home (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 226).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the note of warning sounded by Freiherr von Reichenberg, the Catholic ex-Governor of German East Africa, in the Reichstag and at the Aachen Mission Festival.

<sup>24</sup> This was particularly true of the missions during the Middle Ages and the era of the great discoveries up to and including the sixteenth century.

a far greater degree than others—the novice in Christianity must be systematically sustained, encouraged, strengthened, improved, and sanctified even after his conversion. This is accomplished through the various ecclesiastical teaching agencies or means of salvation which the missions offer the convert—the guidance of sermons and instructions, the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals, and the various levers and functions of ecclesiastical discipline which, imposed in the form of censures under certain circumstances, meant to correct and bring back to the right path members who are living an unchristian life. The final goal towards which the individual task of the missions is directed and all other subsidiary objects contribute, is everlasting happiness. Only when the missions have attained this final goal—or at least only when they can say that they have striven their utmost to conduct to their final destination all the souls entrusted to them—may they declare that they have absolutely and completely fulfilled their tasks and obligations towards the new Christians. For, despite all their strivings for general ecclesiastical success and general results, the missions are and must ever remain responsible for, and under obligation to, every individual soul to whom they have applied the Blood of Christ in baptism. This obligation continues unless they resign the care of these souls to some ecclesiastical order: this occurs only rarely, since the Catholic missionary organizations usually combine the spiritual care of the Christians with the task of converting the pagans. In any case, this introduction of converts into Christian life—this theoretical and practical deepening and intensification of Christianity in their souls—is an integral part and in fact the keystone of the Catholic missionary aim. This is also shown by the actual missionary practice of every century.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, Warneck takes issue with the “theory of evangelization” which is so wide-spread especially in Anglo-American student-circles.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the rôle of church discipline in antiquity, the later completion of the works of conversion in the Middle Ages, and the precepts of the modern and recent Synods. Missionary practice is discussed in detail in our appendix entitled “Initiation into the Christian Life.”

Invoking the example of the Apostles and influenced by eschatological ideas regarding the approaching end of the world, this school aims at completing during the present generation the whole subjective missionary task by their so-called "evangelization"—that is, by as rapid as possible a preaching and proclamation of the Gospel through itinerant preachers. As to the mission object, they regard the missionary task as completed by providing for a mere hearing of the glad tidings: no positive conversion is necessary, and no continuation of ecclesiastical activities, the purpose being to allow the mission object to become independent at the earliest possible moment. Warneck himself has shown that it is erroneous to base this story on the Pauline missionary method, because the preliminary qualifications in the culturally uniform mission objects of the Apostolic days were essentially different from those which the modern mission object shows. He also points out that the missions do not collapse with the Second Coming, but that the Gospel must be not only preached to, but must also permeate and come to be understood by, the pagan world before the Last Day; that a merely mechanical estimate is accepted if, without regard to quality but merely by the sudden dispatching of thousands of missionaries, we aim to take the pagan world by storm; that the personal efforts must be consolidated and deepened by the establishment of stations and the formation of communities; that the task is not completed by preaching on the one hand and hearing on the other, since the *μαθητεῖν* must be combined with the *κηρύσσειν*. He emphasizes especially that the preaching of the Gospel is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end. We, also, would lay special stress on this last factor, since here, especially, an actual confusion between the mission aim and the mission agency (*scil.*, mission preaching) occurs. Needless to say, in view of its much stronger social trend, Catholic mission theory must, far more emphatically than the Protestant, condemn and avoid such extravagant aberrations of the modern commercial spirit.

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. 31 (III, 174 sqq.) on the fundamentally religious character of the missionary task; chap. 32 (III, 210—242), on the missionary task as (individual) Christianization; chap. 42 on baptism (IV, 232 sqq.), together with the literature cited there. Cf. also Warneck, *Der Missionsbefehl als Missionsinstruktion* in *AMZ.*, I (1874); Fabri, *Die Entstehung des Heidentums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission* (129). On the Catholic side we do not meet any systematic or scientific investigation of the individual missionary object *ex professo*, but only a number of incidental references and explanations in the Decrees of the Propaganda and the Synods and also in the works of writers on the missions and mission methodics (cf. the periodicals and handbooks).

## B. The Social Mission Object

While it is true that all missionary work must begin by approaching *persons* and that only through such ap-

proach may the whole community be reached, and while Christianity sets a very high value on individual souls and this estimate necessarily finds expression in the process of Christian expansion, it is nevertheless an indispensable part of the Catholic view that the missions may not content themselves with the saving of individuals only, but must extend their activities with a view to the conversion of a social community and the development of an ecclesiastical organization. Here again, as in the case of individual conversion, the missions accommodate themselves to their object, which is always, to a certain extent at least, socially organized. Regarding, however, the problems and tasks under the present heading, we must divide them into their essential parts according to the nature of their object. In so far as the whole people rather than individuals are to be regarded as the social object of the missionary activity, conversion of the nation represents the final formal object (*objectum quo*); and in so far as the interior social result is to crown and complete the missionary activity and act of conversion, the organization of a church becomes the chief problem and object of the missions. Finally, as special symptoms of the work of organization, its progress towards independence and the cooperation of the native constituency in its various forms merits treatment among the final aims of the missions.

### 1. The Christianization of Society

It has been already stated that, according to the Catholic view, we must consider the common as well as the distinctive factors in setting the goal for the missions. We have no desire to strain too far the biblical and historical proofs which the adherents of the "Christianization of Society"\* as a whole have marshaled in favor of

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\* *Volkschristianisierung*: It is difficult to find a precise translation for this term, and until some English substitute for it is definitely established, in a scientific sense, we shall employ such words as *wide-spread, general, social* (or, *of society as a whole*), *popular, etc.*, according to the apparent requirements of the context, to indicate the meaning wherever *Volkschristianisierung* occurs in the original.—  
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their views; and we wish in particular to avoid making any partial appraisals of this evidence at the expense of "individual conversions." Without doubt, however, Holy Writ at least justifies the collective element in mission practice. We shall not attempt to decide here whether the *ἔθνη*, which is declared the object of the *μαθητεύειν* in Our Saviour's mission command (*Matt.*, xxviii, 19), implies the nations in the usual ethnographic and social sense (as Grundemann supposes), or whether by it should be understood only individual pagans or non-Jews (as Fabri and Warneck assert), or whether finally the controversy of "individual conversion" *versus* the "Christianization of Society" comes within the scope of this passage at all (Kähler denies that it does).<sup>1</sup> Even to Warneck this much at least is certain, that the pagan "nations" to be taught by the Apostles represented a humanity organized into wide-spread communities, and the individuals represented then, as they do today, only members of these common organisms and that consequently the missionary activities should not only be accommodated to these more distinctive objectives (as we saw when discussing the mission object) but should also influence and educate the whole common character and life. This fact is also established by the parables in which Jesus describes in a general way the kingdom of heaven. He likens it to a sower whose field is the world; to a net which catches all kinds of fish from the sea; to a field in which cockle grows with the wheat; to a marriage feast to which all in the highways are invited; to the mustard seed from which grows a tree to give shade to the world; to leaven which a woman mixes with the mass until the whole is leavened. In truth, the universal sweep of Christ's horizon (as demonstrated by Meinertz) and of His Church foundation necessarily entails this factor of wide-spread conversion. Such also was the view of the Apostle of the Gentiles, when he contrasted the pagans as nations to Israel and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmissionen*. The controversy evidently hinges upon the translation of the Hebrew *goim*, which even today has the same double meaning.



spoke of a *πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν* (*Rom.*, xi, 25), and when he regarded the Church as a whole and as a holy nation of the elect. This was also the reason why the Fathers, absorbed in the general phenomenon of the Christianizing process as it lay before their eyes, almost completely overlooked the details.<sup>2</sup>

Besides these biblical grounds, there are also theological and dogmatic reasons which render the social task of the missions advisable and even necessary, not only because the missionary aim includes the Christianization of entire social communities and nations (as well as of individuals) and their permeation with the Gospels, but also because of the specifically ecclesiastical character of the Catholic missions and their purpose. In contrast with Protestant subjectivism and individualism, Catholic doctrine recognizes no purely individualized Christianity. Individuals are everywhere fitted into and enrolled in an ecclesiastical organization which, as the medium of doctrine and salvation, is absolutely indispensable for the whole Christian life and for the attainment of the everlasting goal (*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*). Individuals are everywhere united, as the building stones of the great house of God and as members of the one general body whose mystical head is Christ and whose duties are organically distributed among different agents. In virtue of this inseparable union with an ideal and real community, individuals are everywhere bound to the common Supreme Head by the same dogmas, the same cult, and the same hierarchy—not merely in an abstract and invisible manner, like Protestants, but concretely and visibly. This law must be respected and kept steadily in view by the missions throughout all their activities. They must always remember that they were instituted not merely for the saving and gathering of individual souls, not merely for the spreading of abstract Christian dogmas, morals, and religion, not merely for the preparation, baptism, and training of individual Christians; but that they were instituted also for the extension of the Universal Church through the whole world, for the

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the declarations of St. Paul.

building up of the kingdom of God, to foster the growth of the mystical body of Christ in all lands and among all peoples, and finally, for the transmission of the religious doctrines and blessings in specifically ecclesiastical form and for the incorporation of newly-won converts in one great church organization. Nor is it to be assumed that these last-named purposes are to be pursued, simultaneously indeed, but yet as distinct and separate aims: they must be cultivated in harmonious combination, because both are objectively united, because to Catholic ideas the one is unthinkable without the other, and because the one is necessarily incorporated in the other by virtue of divine precept and institution. If, therefore, the Catholic missions aim not only to Christianize pagans individually, but simultaneously to incorporate them in the Church, this is because according to our dogmatic views Christ and His Gospel are in normal cases attained and appropriated only with and through the Church.<sup>3</sup> Even Protestant mission theory feels compelled by theological and missionary consideration to defend the necessity not only of a mass Christianization and ecclesiastical organization, but even of an authoritative connection with the mother church and the church universal. As may be imagined, however, its efforts in this direction become involved in contradictions and inconsistencies.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Thus, not because of any lust of power, as Warneck and other Protestant writers so frequently allege, or because the hierarchy seeks by this method to realize its egotistical pretensions to authority, or because it regards this ecclesiastical dominion or subordination as more important than the Gospel of Christianity.

<sup>4</sup> Warneck expressly opposes the distinction which Zahn attempts to draw between the religious individualism of a Christianized community and the Christian Church. Both, he maintains, are to be regarded as identical; for, while the Christianized community is not precisely the Church, it is a part of the latter—it is not the ideal Church, but the empirical. The question at issue is not the opposition between people and church, but the formation of popular churches and consequently of leading, if not all, as many as possible of the general community into the church (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 257 sq.). When Warneck later protests against the claim that Christianization proceeds from above downward and that the kingdom of heaven must descend from the human heights into the depths, he is emphasizing the social fact that the Apostles did not direct their efforts first of all towards the great ones of the earth (*ibid.*, 260 sq.). From the Catholic standpoint, the ecclesiastical

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But there are also practical considerations, such as the general purpose and interest of the missions themselves, which must induce the missionary to give a social direction to his task and activities. Only by executing his task in the closest possible conformity with the ecclesiastical constitution will the missionary be able to establish and maintain that authority and subordination which are so essential for the foundation and progress of his mission. Only by endeavoring to Christianize and transform the whole people, will he succeed in establishing Christianity on a permanent basis and in making it truly indigenous. Only by the creation of an organization that is as independent and national as possible can he approach the goal of his mission, which is to establish a complete and self-contained church and not a merely temporary or transitional one. In their specifically authoritative and social character (especially in their divine worship and sacraments), the Catholic missions have a factor which promotes their growth and must itself be cultivated. A wide-spread plan of Christianization thus has the inevitable effect of hastening and facilitating individual conversions; and this is an additional reason why the two methods should not be separated in an unnatural dualism but should be linked in accordance with the dictates of sound pedagogic judgment.<sup>5</sup>

authority, and especially the primacy, is not so much the head as the basis of all Catholic institutions, including the missions.

<sup>5</sup> Only through an indigenous church can the favorable stimulus of national character be brought to bear on pagans and newly converted individuals, who are greatly affected by the social influence of their *milieu*. Warneck cites the baptism of children, the celebration of Sunday, and the primary schools as missionary means of Christianizing a people. And these are more effectual, in consequence of the great dependence of the individual on his environment, the general revolution of ethical and religious views taking place and the increasing influence of Christianity on all public and private life; and also because gregarious influences and the force of attraction and spontaneous urge towards expansion of the collective element constitute a great power in this world and exert both a positive and a negative influence in preparing the way for Christianity, being like the salt and the leaven with which Our Lord compared the mission (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 256 sq.). "The point is that the widest circles possible should be brought within the Christian church jurisdiction; that the church in each nation should bear a national imprint, and that the whole life of the people should be influenced by Christi-

All these reasons establish the necessity and urgency of wide-spread Christianization, which in turn leads to a series of practical consequences and precepts. The missions must never confine themselves to the winning and conversion of only some scattered individuals, but must simultaneously extend their activities to the widest possible sections of the whole people and endeavor to impregnate the whole nation with Christianity, because among non-Christian peoples the individual is most intimately bound up in and dependent on his social environment. Consequently, the missionary task carries with it the obligation to practise a comprehensive accommodation to national characteristics, a concentration of stations and avoidance of isolated activities, a development of the vernacular and of primitive communal into family life, and especially the training and enrolling of natives in the ecclesiastical organization.\*

That from the beginning to the present day the Christian missions have had a social or popular trend and have been planned to convert the community is proved by the facts of mission history. The Apostles themselves established churches and communities, which, even though they were only small and to a certain extent socially unimportant congregations of the elect, gradually leavened the whole mission object. Harnack has supplied exhaustive evidence to show how important a factor in the early Christian missions the formation of

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anity. These three things give our idea of national Christianization. We regard the national churches as national training schools converting mankind into disciples of Jesus. The final success which we anticipate for the Christian missions is, not a universal church with nothing but believing members, but such a victory for Christianity that paganism disappears everywhere as a national religion and every nation maintains a Christian atmosphere such as to make it possible to transmit to all its members a knowledge of the truth and the opportunity to embrace salvation (loc. cit., III, 268 sqq.).

\* Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 270 sqq. Among the prerequisites for wide-spread Christianization he there includes the baptism of children ("The growing popular church is the mother of child baptism, and vice versa, child baptism is a mother of the growing church") and Christian schools ("The maturing youth are the recruits of the nation, and as such the seed-bed for the harvest of the future"). In Chapter 33, he discusses the missionary task as Christianization of the whole people, and in Chapter 34 the missionary task in its relation to the most important social-ethical problems—slavery, polygamy, the caste system, and ancestor worship. Cf. Report II of the Edinburgh World Mission Congress.

communities was;<sup>7</sup> how it was aimed especially at the socially influential circles;<sup>8</sup> how, like leaven, it gradually attracted and assimilated the masses; how through various agencies it fashioned the people and, consequently, public opinion; how the propaganda was carried on, not so much by missionaries *ex professo* as by the communities and the faithful as a body; how the overshadowing of the individual by the collective factor was an outstanding characteristic of the Early Christian missions; how this universal penetration of the Roman Empire and people brought about the Edict of Constantine and thereby the victory of Christianity. The Christianization of the Empire in post-Constantinian times was nothing else than general diffusion and mass conversion, characterized by the superficiality and blemishes which are unavoidable in a conversion of the people provoked by the state. The same defects and errors, besides many admirable features, are found in the medieval missions, which also aimed at as quick and complete a general conversion as possible. People, however, are prone to forget that this exaggeration of the social-collective factor was due not so much to the mission practice and the ecclesiastically organized mission subject as to the general tendency of the age and the nature of the mission object. Men forget that, according to the whole social organization of these Germanic and Slavic barbarian tribes, the individual was entirely dependent on his *milieu* and was rooted in his people; and that consequently the missions had to strive first of all for the winning of the whole tribe through the conversion of the head of the state or by a plebiscite. The fact is also overlooked that this decisive general conversion had usually to be preceded by the conversion of individually authoritative personages (especially the kings), and that this latter conversion was effected by individual and usually truly apostolic missionaries and by the use of spiritual means. Finally, it is forgotten that this much must be said in favor of the medieval missions: they immediately assured the permanency of their work by a strictly ecclesiastical organization, assigning to this church the task of supplying the missions and deepening the roots. Although at the initial stage the enrolment of the peoples was to a great extent only external, a glance at the piety and art of the Middle Ages shows with what sincerity and interior conviction these peoples, both as nations and as individuals, subsequently embraced Christianity. So much may be said without ignoring the occasional lapses and shortcomings. Even Warneck, despite his general abhorrence of the medieval mass conversions, has to admit that they were providentially and relatively justified, had most beneficial consequences, and on the whole were a good school for Christianity. He concedes, moreover, that in certain respects they often showed true pedagogic wisdom, and that as they present the history of the national churches of Europe over a period of one thousand years they merit the study of the present missions

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<sup>7</sup> *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, 2nd ed., 415 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, II, 30 sqq.

among primitive peoples.<sup>9</sup> The story of the later missions is not greatly different. The mass conversions in the Spanish and Portuguese colonial possessions followed closely the medieval model, although frequently we may not claim for them so prevailing a religious tendency. Even the Jesuits, who were gradually abandoning the medieval type of external mass conversions, sought to permeate the whole national life and establish true churches of the people in China and Japan, and especially, through a theocratic framework, in the Indian Reductions. And even today all our missionaries go forth with the purpose of gradually penetrating, wherever possible, into the inner recesses of the national soul and transforming the peoples into Christian churches. As examples, we may cite the White Fathers in Uganda, the Lazarists in the islands along the east coast of Africa, the Capuchins in the Marianas Islands, and the Indian Reductions of recent times in America. In their choice of means, these do indeed frequently employ far too exclusively the personal and directly religious method of conversion, and, intent on details, neglect the broader and general factors more than they should. In principle, however, they always recognize the necessity for an organic extension of the leavening process from the individual to the community. Similarly, many Protestant missionaries (e. g., Zinzendorf and the United Brethren), who at first aimed at the winning of individuals and would not hear of a general Christianization, have been brought by actual experience to recognize that the formation of national churches and communities embracing the entire population must become the universal aim and task of the missions, not only where large masses have been or are being Christianized (Greenland, South Sea Islands, South Africa, among the Cols and Bataks) but also where, quantitatively speaking, the Christian congregations form but small fragments of larger communities. Warneck closes his historical review as follows: "Consequently, the evidence supplied by the history of the three missionary periods is overwhelming. Since Christianized communities have always and everywhere been the actual result of the missions, we must conclude that they also are involved in the missionary task. Could the historical development of the missions during the three periods have been an error? A dogmatism with conclusions so far-fetched would inevitably lead to a pessimism which would forfeit all confidence in the Divine guidance of the missions. The mere existence of the fact is of course no proof of its truth; but when we find that one fact runs through the entire history of a work which was instituted by its Divine Founder with the explicit promise of His protection and omnipotent guidance, and when we perceive that this fact represents no incidental feature of the work but is its governing factor, we must then regard as erroneous any theory which stands in contradiction of this fact" (Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 268).

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<sup>9</sup> *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 266 sq. Cf. *ZM.*, VII (1917), 181 sq., 186 sq.

## 2. The Ecclesiastical Organization

But it is not only because of the social nature of the object that the pagan missions have a social duty to perform in addition to the conversion of individuals: it is also because of the ecclesiastical character of the missions themselves. Their Divine Founder not only directed the missions to teach and baptize mankind and the nations severally, but also to keep in view at all times the extension of the Church through personal enrolment. And immediately after the first feast of Pentecost the Apostles set about the realization of this program. They gathered their converts together in communities, always insisting on the necessities of this procedure; and the missions of subsequent times have, both in theory and practice, adhered steadily to the formation of churches. If even the fundamentally individualistic Protestant theorists feel compelled to give ecclesiastical organization the most prominent position among missionary aims, how much greater emphasis must be placed on it by the Catholic Church in which authority and organization play so important a rôle!

The overwhelming weight of biblical and historical facts showing that Christianity is "a religion intended for society" compels even Protestant mission theory and practice to adopt as their goal the creation of an organization and the establishment of an *ecclesia*, so that baptized converts may not be left isolated but may be formed into a community. Furthermore, Warneck declares that all representatives of the missions, whether they are in favor of personal conversion or mass Christianization (with the possible exception of some extreme champions of the so-called "world evangelization theory"), are united in the opinion "that behind the conversion of individuals must proceed the formation of communities" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 1 sq.). "Anyone may indeed become a Christian and be saved while standing quite alone; but such an isolation is 'not good,' because it entails the danger of deterioration, denies the members the blessing of mutual service, and deprives the Christian faith of all human security for its permanence and its full development. Without the creation of communities, the missions do not discharge even half their task" (*ibid.*, 2 sq.). And, since the community is an organism both as an association and as an institute, it demands a well-ordered organization with regular services and offices, with living representatives and agents (*ibid.*, 3).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the resolutions of the Edinburgh World Congress on the organization of churches in pagan lands.

But how shall this organization and this church, which constitute an aim of the missions, be created? In seeking an answer to this question, the Protestant missions again find themselves in a very embarrassing position. Warneck first of all utters a warning against all artificially constructed theories and doctrinarian schemes of organization, and against the servile transplanting into the missionary field of home ecclesiastical conditions that have matured after nineteen centuries of development. Following the example of the Apostles, the missions must rather display a spirit of pedagogic accommodation, and take into account the conditions, needs, and especially the existing organization methods of the mission object, just as the farmer in the Bible plants—not trees, but shoots which are to sink their roots into the soil. Consequently, the establishment of separate communities will not suffice as the final object of the missions: a further step must be taken towards assembling these communities into an alliance—first by creating a communal consciousness and then by establishing an organized communal form—after the example of the Apostles who established an ideal and real bond between the newly formed Christian communities. This ecclesiastical organization must not only bind separate communities together into particular churches, but must also link them with all other churches into one universal church. “And here again we are confronted with the problem”: on the one hand, one must strive for the union of all missionary territories that are homogeneous from the standpoint of the mission object; and on the other, actual conditions in the missionary fields are diametrically opposed to any such uniform church development. In the same territory we find several Evangelical societies and agents, which, differing in their aims and dogmas, strive to impress their particular stamp on the mission church. When confronted with this “riddle which defies solution within a measurable period,” the sage of Protestant mission science, despite his great ingenuity otherwise, is able to suggest no other remedy than to trust to the future, and recommends that meanwhile the way be prepared for native churches by initiating wide-spread Christianization campaigns with the assistance of seasoned native converts. But here again another great difficulty arises: shall these mission churches be autonomous and independent of the “senders” of the missions in the older Christendom? Warneck demands positively that they shall, as the final mission aim: he demands it first through regard for the sending subject, so that, gradually relieved of this burden through the active cooperation of its daughter communities in the mission field, it may divert its forces to still unchristianized places; he demands it also in the interest of the Christianized pagan world itself, which should be gradually set on its own feet, and be trained from the first to develop this independence.<sup>2</sup> “Self-sacrifice, the impulse to bear testimony, personal interest, public spirit, self-responsibility, activity, and initiative are [thus] awakened, and forces are thereby developed which form Christian character and promote ecclesiastical interests in general, while at the same time furnishing non-

<sup>2</sup> He compares it to a child who is learning to walk.



Christians with an actual proof that the Christian faith possesses an independent value for its members and makes them willing and able to render unselfish service to others." The independence for which the mission churches should strive is of a threefold character: financial, administrative, and propagative. In other words, using Venn's formula, they should be "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending." The great aim should be "to build up Christian-convert churches possessing sufficient intrinsic and potential stamina to be able in time to maintain themselves without outside aid and to practise essentially the same internal and external activities as do the churches at home" (16). To prepare the way for this ecclesiastical independence and make its realization possible, Christianity must first of all become naturalized, as it were, while Christianizing the social life of the people,<sup>3</sup> meantime painstakingly avoiding every attempt to Europeanize or Americanize. In the second place, suitable native mission auxiliaries (both teachers and clergy) must be won and trained: the enrolment of mere individuals is not sufficient; but a complete native missionary force must be created, for on it must necessarily depend the religious, moral, spiritual, social, and to some extent the economic uplift of the people. However, we are here again confronted with a series of limitations which even Protestantism cannot evade, and with which it finds difficulty in adjusting itself. In the first place, Warneck demands as an additional immovable foundation of the missionary church a fixed, clearly defined doctrine—and even an exactly formulated creed—founded on Holy Writ. The Ecu-  
menical Creeds cause him no trouble—above all, the Apostles' Creed, which he regards as fundamental for all true Christianity.<sup>4</sup> A more difficult problem is, however, present in the different confessions on which the various mission societies obstinately insist, although they can offer no justification for their dogmatic want of consistency. Here again Warneck has no further suggestion to offer than to recommend a gradual preparation for a higher stage which will rise above such contradictions, and the greatest possible avoidance of points of disagreement. But still more complicated problems await him when he approaches the final question: When are Christian-convert churches to be held ripe for independence? He is compelled to qualify his answers to this question with reservations which to a large extent destroy his main thesis. In his opinion, the political, social and economic disorder, the racial and cultural inferiority, the weakness of character, instability, and indolence, and the degenerating influences of the tropical climate, which are characteristic features of the mission fields, render it advisable to continue the contact with the superior Western

<sup>3</sup> By the Christianization of the national speech, morals, and social bonds, i. e., by the regeneration of the whole natural life of the nation.

<sup>4</sup> Many of the Protestant divines at home reject it, however, and might therefore be justly asked by what title the Protestant missions venture to impose the *Apostolicum*, for example, the progressive Japanese.

church bodies if discipline is to be preserved and disorder avoided. He thus utters an urgent warning against all haste in proclaiming the maturity of missionary churches. "*Gradatim, gradatim,*" he preaches—that is, gradual and relative emancipation in proportion to the interior qualifications of the native bodies, even where mission churches are already self-supporting and few if any non-Christians remain for conversion. These last criteria no longer offer a certain sign of readiness for autonomy, as they did in the Apostolic Age when the restraint of the Jews and the special *gratia praeveniens* afforded a much stronger bulwark against pagan errors and immoralities. But whence, we may ask, does Warneck obtain the right to withhold or defer the emancipation of the mission churches, and to impose on them the yoke of alien tutelage? What theoretical and rational attitude can the Protestant missions adopt towards such agitations for national autonomy as the Suadhesi movement in India or Ethiopianism in Africa? What objections can they offer if, for example, the immature Japanese converts forcibly expel, retire, or subordinate to native clergy their American missionaries who, at present, cannot lay sufficient emphasis on this development of independence? Would not the principle of "evangelical freedom" as it is taught and maintained by Protestants absolutely justify such movements, which seek to shake off foreign guardianship at the earliest possible moment and to set the natives on their own feet?<sup>5</sup>

The Edinburgh solutions of the organization problem betray the same confusion and perplexity, although they are somewhat concealed by skilful formulation and a display of practical sense. At this World Conference, also, the question was asked: Should the convert church be independent of the mission society which founded it and of the home church which sent out the mission? If the answer to this question be in the affirmative, then should the independent communities be completely separated from one another, or formed into general unions under a central management—that is, into national churches which would stand on the selfsame level as the churches at home? According to the different conceptions of the church held by the various denominations, Protestant mission practice shows in the main three distinct tendencies in its attitude towards this problem: (1) the mission church should be subordinate to the home church; (2) it should be conducted by the missionary society which called it into life, that is, either by the home body or by its missionaries in the particular field; (3) it should govern itself through special representatives (such government being either monarchical, through native bishops; or oligarchical, through ecclesiastical corporations), whether the individual communities are united into national bodies or each is left to its own resources. The first solution (subordination to the home authorities) is regarded by some as the transitory stage, and by others as definitive at least for an incalculable period. The second solution (administration by the missionary societies) can never be otherwise than a provisional one. Even in the case of the third solution, the necessity

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 1—41 (chap. xliii).

of a more or less prolonged missionary "superintendence" (the term preferred to management) is emphasized, although the attempt to justify it by the financial dependence of the church on the mission society savors somewhat of materialism. The Conference does not attempt to pass any critical verdict on these various systems: it contents itself with simply comparing them, and thus absolutely declines the solution of the underlying problem. It issues a general exhortation in favor of the union of the mission communities and churches through conferences, synods, and councils. The demand for national churches is especially urgent in the civilized lands of Eastern Asia—Japan, China, and India. Following the formula of Venn, the Conference declared "self-support, self-government, and self-propagation" the symptoms of independence in the missionary churches. However, it also deplored their faulty discipline and the fact that sufficient qualified candidates could not be found to recruit the theologically trained element of the native clergy.<sup>6</sup>

At the end of his involved deductions Warneck adds in a footnote: "For the Catholic missions, questions of this kind do not exist."<sup>7</sup> In their ecclesiastical constitution and authority, our missions actually possess everything that is necessary for the attainment of their aims and the satisfactory solution of the problem under discussion. Consequently, neither the missionary authorities nor mission theory or literature can recognize any special necessity to consider seriously self-evident facts or institute extensive inquiries where none such are required. As we have already seen, in so far as the Catholic missions are concerned, the baptized pagan is forthwith incorporated into the general ecclesiastical body, and also into a special community wherever such is already erected. The formation of individual communities and their progressive assembling into larger bodies are already provided for in the threefold ecclesiastical subordination of the faithful, to the priest, bishop, and pope, —in a world-wide hierarchy and a Universal Church which embraces the entire world. The head of this Universal Church has assigned to the Propaganda the specific task of conducting the missions, and this Congregation in turn has assigned every territory to a specified missionary society. Even between various societies engaged in the same field, and also between the different mission

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Report of the Commission, II, 11 sqq., and Pietsch in *ZM.*, I (1911), 176 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 10, footnote 1.

territories, there exists complete agreement on all essential points which affect organization—dogma, religious worship, and ecclesiastical constitution. Every mission, whether a community or a diocese (however far it may have advanced in its growth from the missionary stage to a fully developed church), always remains a member of the universal ecclesiastical organism under the same primacy. Converts everywhere, if they wish to remain Catholics, must not only confess the same faith, but must be subject to and obey the same hierarchy—a hierarchy which also is linked together by the universal ecclesiastical bond. Thanks to this authoritative subordination, the excrescences and dangers of unbridled strivings for independence are nipped in the bud. For the Catholic Church there is no absolute, unlimited independence—no dissolution of all connection with the universal hierarchy and organization. Such an absolute independence is not even the ultimate goal of the missions. All these postulates of Catholic dogma and canon law have been realized in the mission history of every age.<sup>8</sup>

When Warneck further asserts that the Catholic missions give to their churches the home forms of organization and with the setting up of these forms regard their task as completed, he assumes the process to be too simple and mechanical. That the aim and constitution of the Catholic missions are not identical with those of the home church is immediately shown by the existence of a special supreme governing body for missionary lands—the Propaganda. For even though all the missionary territories are not subject to the Propaganda, and, on the other hand, certain lands which are not strictly pagan missions are subject to it; even though, in canon law and in the spatial sense, the term *terra missionis* (applied to a territory subject to the Propaganda) by no means coincides with the conception of a “missionary land” in mission theory, this theoretical distinction between missionary or Propaganda territory and an eccle-

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\* We may disregard the occasional schismatic contradictions of the Catholic principle which have been usually provoked by national vanity—such as the Indian-Goan schism in the past and the Japanese and Filipino (Aglipayan) schism in our own times.

siastical province is a significant recognition of the peculiar character of the missionary churches.<sup>9</sup> In the individual organizations also the two kinds of constitution differ in essential points, at least according to the regulations now almost universally introduced. During primitive times and the Middle Ages until well into the modern era, the legal conditions were either not uniformly regulated or corresponded generally with those at home. The new canon law declares that the mission districts into which it desires the Vicariates Apostolic to be divided (after the analogy of the home dioceses) are to be regarded as quasi-parishes, that all the parochial regulations should be applied to them, and particularly that a special priest should be assigned to them.<sup>10</sup> Both the individual stations (according to local circumstances) and the whole mission territory are moral persons and the legal subject of the missions with juridical personality and legal competence.<sup>11</sup>

The different stages of the present mission organization may also be regarded as separate steps in the direction of the mission goal, and likewise as indications of their present degree of development, although these indications are not to be regarded as infallible and there are many exceptions to the general rule.<sup>12</sup> In places where

<sup>9</sup> This distinction is also shown in the special privileges of the missionaries, as already shown by Caron in 1653. Cf. *above*, under the Rationale of the Missions and Mission Subject (p. 120).

<sup>10</sup> Can. 216, 1—3. Cf. Friedrich, *Die Quasiparochien in den Missionen nach Kanon*, 216, in *ZM.*, X (1920), 145 sqq. He discusses the canonical erection, the assigning of the local boundaries, and the appointment of the resident missionary (*institutio, jurisdictio, residentia*), the church with cemetery, and the support of the priest, pointing out the points of agreement with and differences from the parishes at home.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Friedrich, *Das Rechtssubjekt in den katholischen Missionen*, in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 95 sqq., with the documents which are quoted mostly from the *Collectanea*. He also discusses the *personae fictitiae* in the missions (ecclesiastically established benefices, ecclesiastical institutes and institutions of a religious and charitable nature, and pious foundations), with their conditions and application to missionary circumstances. Cf. also Braam, *ibid.*, VIII (1918), 233 sqq., on the juridical personality in the Catholic missions and the property rights of the missions according to canon and state law.

<sup>12</sup> The Catholic missions are distinguished from the Protestant (which do not recognize such successive steps in organization) by

missionary work is just being undertaken, a beginning must be made by the winning of individual Christians by individual missionaries. But the mission station—the planning of which is usually associated directly with these initial stages and which is to serve as the source and backbone of all the individual and social activities of the mission—forms an organizing center for a circle of subsidiary stations which will gradually surround it. The formation of the community proceeds from this center, which is essentially different from the parochial churches or curacies at home. Compared with the Protestant, the Catholic stations are, as a rule, more compact and concentric: this is immediately explained by their lesser number and their greater concentration of mission personnel. Whether we regard this system as advantageous or not (it has both advantages and disadvantages), it is in any case closely connected with the more specifically ecclesiastical tendency of the Catholic missions, and affords a much more solid basis for mission organization than the Protestant system of diffusion. As soon as a sufficient number of converts (or even catechumens) are at hand, they are formed into a community, which has its religious—and to some extent its cultural—center in the station, and has its spiritual head in the mission superior." In these individual stations, which always remain missionary centers and integral parts of the whole missionary territory, we can see the first stage of the organization. This stage is to be distinguished only while the station in question is still independent, and

the fact that the former "from their beginning to their conclusion follow a steady ascent, which is always stereotyped in its outlines, is sanctioned by tradition and legal formulas, but is, of course, not always uniform in the interval of the various stages . . . . No general rule can be framed for these different stages, or elevations in rank, since causes of a very manifold nature may delay or hasten the process. On the whole, however, they afford certain criteria and grounds for determining the current condition and progress of the mission" (Schmidlin, *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1913), 34). Cf. Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1910), 10 sq.

"In considering the mission subject (cf. above, 163 and 269 sqq.) we have seen to what extent this missionary is to be regarded as pastor or quasi-pastor, and how his position differs from the secular clergy at home.

has not been assigned to some mission territory already existing.<sup>14</sup> The second stage is reached with the erection of a Prefecture Apostolic, whether this happens simultaneously with the establishment of the first mission, or through the union of a number of communities and stations, or through the division of a larger territory.<sup>15</sup> The merely provisional and transitory nature of this mission organization is usually indicated by the fact that a prefect apostolic—an ordinary priest without episcopal consecration—is entrusted with the administration of the prefecture, and is therefore granted a series of episcopal jurisdictional and administrative faculties. The third stage, that of the Vicariate Apostolic, presents a truly stable organization for a missionary church. The time for this stage is reached when Christianity has been so firmly established in a particular territory that only with difficulty could it be completely eradicated. Prefectures, however, may be advanced to this later stage following different intervals of development—some after a short interval and some only after a long period. We have already seen that the Vicars Apostolic, who stand at the head of the vicariates, possess episcopal jurisdiction but are distinguished from the bishops of the home churches primarily by the fact that they exercise their power as mere delegates of the Holy See (or the Propaganda).<sup>16</sup> Only when the ecclesiastical conditions have been so consolidated that the character of a missionary land has been removed and a hierarchical constitution may be established—only when the church is indigenous and all or almost all the pagans of the territory are converted—do we reach the fourth and final step in the process of organization. This final step is the erection of the vicariate into a regular diocese, which (like the churches at home) will stand under a bishop

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<sup>14</sup> E. g., Ili in China and Hiroshima in Japan.

<sup>15</sup> In Japan, for example, the missions of the Steyl Fathers and of the Franciscans and Dominicans were formed from the dioceses of the Paris Society. The stage is reached when communities already exist—not when there are only catechumens, for this is still the infant stage of the mission.

<sup>16</sup> See *above*, under Mission Subject, 171.

with full official authority and be subject directly to the Holy See. This change is usually accompanied by the erection of the whole missionary land<sup>17</sup> or lands to a church province with sees of various ranks (dioceses, archdioceses, metropolitan sees). The former vicariate is thenceforward affiliated with this province.

At this stage the missionary character of the territory in question, and consequently its subordination to the Propaganda, should logically cease. The territorial jurisdiction of the Propaganda is theoretically limited to territories in which the "missionary status" still prevails and in which no "hierarchy" has been instituted<sup>18</sup> (that is, to *terrae missionis* as distinguished from *provinciae ecclesiasticae*). But the Bull of Reorganization proceeds: "*Verum quia regiones nonnullae, etsi hierarchia constituta, adhuc inchoatum aliquid prae se ferunt, eas Congregationi de Propaganda Fide subiectas esse volumus.*"<sup>19</sup> This exception to the general principle may be declared illogical, for it means that (usually not to the mission's advantage) the rule of raising only firmly rooted and self-contained mission churches to hierarchically complete dioceses and church provinces is disregarded,<sup>20</sup> and this honor is also conveyed on various grounds to lands which "are still in the precarious and provisional condition of the initial stage."<sup>21</sup>

In individual cases, therefore, the criteria may be deceptive: there may be Propaganda territories which still lack a hierarchy in the canonical sense but possess no pagan missions (e. g., the North German Mission); on the other hand, there are truly pagan lands (e. g., India and Japan), which were provided with a complete hierarchy before the regular time. It must, however, be emphasized that the mission hierarchy proper, as it

<sup>17</sup> E. g., The United States of America and Canada.

<sup>18</sup> The Constitution "Sapienti consilio" of 1908 says: "*Sacrae huius Congregationis iurisdictio iis est circumscripta regionibus, ubi sacra hierarchia nondum constituta, status missionis perseverat.*" Cf. *CIC.*, can. 252, § 3.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hilling, in *ZM.*, I (1911), 158.

<sup>20</sup> On account of the importance of the country, for the better naturalization of Christianity, etc.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 148.



has developed in the course of time and especially in connection with the Propaganda, is absolutely suited to mission conditions and is thus by no means superfluous. It would indeed be a serious damage to the missionary work if, instead of remaining for a time in the closest possible connection with and dependent on the great ecclesiastical centers of the Universal Church, the mission churches were, like the churches in earlier Christian times, immediately thrown on their own resources in the manner outlined by the common law (this was usually the case prior to the seventeenth century). From all the regulations mentioned above we can at least recognize that the organization of the missions is specifically different from the general ecclesiastical organization,<sup>22</sup> and that this specific mission organization as a whole does not represent something permanent but only a transitory stage. Consequently, the attainment of a certain independence or autonomy is one of the missionary aims.

Even in the first stage of mission organization, the individual communities should strive for a relative independence of the other communities of the same or another district. Consequently, it is desirable that from the very beginning efforts should be directed towards the organization of a community after the fashion of the parishes at home—a community that shall rest on a firm and exclusively local basis and shall have clearly defined congregational and territorial limits. All baptized Christians—whether they are natives or white people, neophytes or “old Christians,” adults or children, communicants or non-communicants—must be regarded as members of this community; and not only all Catholics who

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<sup>22</sup> The chief mark of distinction is the absence of the hierarchical order and of self-propagation as shown by the fully developed church. According to Schwager, the native participation in the administration of the church is also a sign that the missionary stage is past (*ZM.*, IV (1914), 114). Others regard the conversion of the majority of the inhabitants as the criterion. Cf. 303 sq., and 293 sq., of this work.

<sup>23</sup> As a quasi-parish according to the New Codex. Cf. *above*, pp. 283 sq. and Friedrich in *ZM.*, X (1920), 147 sqq.

have been admitted into it or have settled in the territory, but also in the wider sense the catechumens.<sup>24</sup>

Much more than the Protestant mission communities, which lack adequate authority and sanction for structural organization, the Catholic missions need definite provisions and arrangements. Being far more vital for the Catholic than for the Protestant missions, these can not be left to the free whim of individual missionaries or to uncontrolled subjectivism, and must in so far as possible consider and embrace the native and community groups. Even Warneck understands by this provision, not so much the principles and virtues of Christian ethics which are to be cultivated by hortatory methods nor the task of wide-spread Christianization with respect to the more important socio-ethical problems of slavery, polygamy, the caste system and ancestor worship (which he treats in chapter 34), as the regular administration of services with organized offices and institutional regulations with regard to divine worship, baptism, communion, marriage, burial, discipline, and system of government. While we shall discuss all these institutions later, in a section dealing with personal collaboration, we may emphasize here with respect to the constitution that, according to the Catholic view and the explicit wish of the Propaganda, a native body and the community should as soon as possible be associated in the supervision and direction of the mission with the missionary who, as founder of the mission, is equipped with special powers. This object need not necessarily be attained through a presbytery as in the case of the Protestant missions, but by the enrolment of native mission auxiliaries (from catechists even to bishops) and of elders after the example of the church councils and vestries at home. The members of these last-named bodies must be specially qualified, and should be either appointed by the missionary or elected by the community in cooperation with him. On the Catholic side, also, such bodies should be given the privilege of discussing all the temporal affairs of the church in so far as they concern the financial self-support of the community (provision for church contributions, support of the native priests and catechists, the church buildings, the care of the poor and orphans), and also of watching over the faithful in collaboration with the missionary or as his representatives.<sup>25</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, 47, chap. V (*Die Organisation der Gemeinde*), 179—264.

<sup>24</sup> Catholic mission theory and practice is thus unaffected by the controversy which has divided the Protestant missions into two camps. One side, which includes the Anglo-American Free Churches, is willing to regard only those eligible to communicate as full members; the other, which has Warneck's support, regards baptism as the distinctive factor for the growing community, and thus represents all the baptized without distinction as equally qualified members, because baptism makes the same demand on its recipients as communion and the degrading of persons excluded from communion into Christians of a secondary rank is inadmissible, whereas the pedagogical or pastoral formation of communities is sanctioned.

<sup>25</sup> E. g., in the arrangement for Sunday services, in preserving

If, however, the church organization and thus the social mission object is not to be left suspended in the air and thus threatened with inevitable collapse, the individual communities must be united into a uniform whole—that is, into church unions. Even Warneck, speaking from the Protestant standpoint, demands this as opposed to congregationalism, which would split and divide the mission Christians into independent communities. His ideal and final goal would also be the formation of the individual communities in a church union with the utmost uniformity and independence possible. But when he approaches the question of how to attain this aim, he finds his position greatly embarrassed. In the first place, Protestant theory gives him no means of discovering or establishing a definite form of organization—especially no method of determining the relations with the home church, because he is confronted on all sides with the impulse towards complete independence; secondly, the division of a missionary field among various societies with different outlooks and policies offers almost everywhere a concrete barrier against this creation of a uniform organization. Warneck consequently utters a warning against all attempts to hasten the process unduly, and against all abstract plans for church development which do not provide for contact with the church at home. Instead of an absolute, he recommends a merely relative and slowly increasing, independence: at first, the mission churches should remain under the supreme direction of the mission societies, and later greater powers of administration and government should be gradually assigned by the home authorities to the mission territory. This course should be followed if only for pedagogical reasons—to accustom, as it were, the maturing child to an independent existence. The jurisdiction of the missionary authorities should still extend to important questions and circumstances (mission territories, church regulations, disciplinary right, visitation, etc.), although gradually individual powers of administration should be assigned to missionaries or committees of missionaries into which the native element is to be admitted gradually and in limited numbers. In the adoption of a form of constitution, eclecticism must be exercised. During the first stage, the presbyterial or synodal system will suffice. For larger church bodies (besides the synodal representatives with a merely advisory voice) the episcopal system should preferably be established, because in the missions much depends on individual leadership and initiative.<sup>26</sup> An old and experienced missionary—a native only in exceptional cases and in the later stages of development—should be entrusted with the episcopal office. It will be his task to exercise a general supervision of the whole mission territory, visit the missions, wield disciplinary authority, plan stations, issue mission regulations, preside at synods, control finances, and

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order during divine service, in supervising the young and the catechumens, participating in church discipline, holding of devotions, etc.

<sup>26</sup> Warneck would not even balk at the title "bishop" if it had not been brought into such disrepute by the "dogmatic hierarchical nimbus" with which the Roman Church surrounds it!

act as representative of the whole mission. Most easily attainable is the organization of all the communities or affiliated outposts of one principal station into a parochial or ephoral union for the discussion of all ecclesiastical matters of interest to all the individual communities; and larger territories, if they are homogeneous, are also easily formed into district or provincial unions (which naturally must accept the creed and regulations of the home missionary society) with a synod consisting of missionaries and presbyterial representatives under a synodal board. The difficulty arises when ethnographically distinct churches, or churches conducted by different mission societies, are to be combined: in such case, nothing can be done except to content oneself with the formation of ecclesiastical groups of kindred members in so far as "social egoism" may allow. Because of the backwardness even today of a large proportion of the pagan races, the question of emancipating the "Christian-convert" churches from the sending societies becomes still more difficult. Warneck recognizes a threefold choice: (1) affiliation with the colonial churches, as is partly effected in the English and Dutch colonies; (2) union with the church bodies at home; (3) absolutely independent free churches under native management. The first solution is attended with dangers, and cannot be adopted without grave misgivings, because of the frequent degradation of the colonial clergy and the tendency of the colonial governments to encroach on the rights of the missions. The second solution is advisable only when the church bodies in question are also the sending societies. The third is an abstract ideal which is very difficult to realize because of racial discrepancies. It was attempted with certain "Negro churches" of North America, with results that have not encouraged imitation. For the present at least the prerequisites for such an ideal church body are nowhere to be found in the missions. Consequently, says Warneck, "Deus providebit!" Warneck gives no inkling of how he means to bring about the universal union into the one great *ecclesia* which was the governing idea of Our Saviour in founding His Church, as it was also the declared purpose of the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers. We thus see that Warneck, who so often reproaches our missions with neglecting the question of autonomy, has not progressed one step further than—if even so far as—they in the solution of this problem, since he is unable to adduce any theoretical support for his position and stipulations, especially for his claim that the missionary church should be independent of the church at home.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, the organization and the constitution of the Catholic missions offer a clear and solid basis for both territorial and universal development. The uniting of the communities into a church union is accomplished through the mission districts, which, as we have seen, develop gradually into regular dioceses. These

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, chap. 48 (*Der kirchliche Verband*), pp. 265—293.

districts have their own head (prefect, vicar, or bishop), from which office the natives are not necessarily debarred. According to the precept of the Propaganda, the Vicar Apostolic should appoint a council to assist him with more important problems, especially with those of a temporal character, and should be guided in such matters by the majority vote.<sup>28</sup> He should be also guided by a synod of the missionaries, whose decrees are to be binding for the vicariate after receiving the approval of the Propaganda: all missionaries invited to this synod are to be bound under penalty to attend.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the First Synod of Cameroon of 1906 decreed that the council must meet at least two or three times a year, and the synod at least every five years.<sup>30</sup> The New Codex also commands that a council be formed of at least three of the oldest and most experienced missionaries, whose advice is to be sought at least by letter on all serious and difficult questions, and also that a conference of the more prominent missionaries be held at least annually for the discussion of reforms.<sup>31</sup> The division of the vicariates and prefectures into subordinate districts or "quasi-parishes," with their own rectors, churches, and communities, is recommended on pastoral grounds:<sup>32</sup> we see this exemplified in the subdivision of the Chinese deaneries.<sup>33</sup> Much less satisfactory from the standpoint of cohesive organization, and especially from national and ethnographical outlooks, is the union or grouping of the various mission territories (or dioceses). This defect is not caused by any dogmatic or canonical limitations, as in the Protestant missions: it is the result partly of the particularism of individual missions and missionary societies, which

<sup>28</sup> *Collect.* (1st ed.) nn. 239, 1630, 1637. Cf. Grentrup in *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht.*

<sup>29</sup> *CIC.*, can. 303. Cf. *Collect.* (1st ed.), nn. 91, 100, 108, 311.

<sup>30</sup> Synodal statutes, 3 sq. The Chinese Synod of Ningpo (1868) suggested a council of the members of the community, under the chairmanship of the missionary, for the administration of the revenues (cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 220 sq.).

<sup>31</sup> *CIC.*, can. 302 sq. Cf. Lux, in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 33.

<sup>32</sup> Can. 216, § 2. Cf. Lux, *ibid.*, 30.

<sup>33</sup> Also known as sections or districts. Cf. Ybañez, *De Districtum et Christianitatum instructione* in the *Directorium Missionariorum*, 127 sqq.

do not find it easy to combine and which have an imperfect appreciation of the advantage (nay, the necessity) of such a union; and it arises partly from the timidity of the Roman authorities, who have heretofore rather hampered than fostered this broader mission organization, so that one cannot help thinking that they desire no metropolitan intermediate authority in the missions. Although the Holy See has indeed appointed Apostolic Delegates in India, Japan, South Africa, the Philippines, and the Orient, these cannot be regarded as independent organic members or holders of a higher office in the mission constitution, but only as representatives of the Holy See for the supervision of ecclesiastical conditions.<sup>34</sup> In China, where the first steps towards the creation of a delegature or nunciature failed because of political difficulties, only a regional constitution with regional synods<sup>35</sup> was granted, possibly to obviate completely the possibility of an independent, separatist church.<sup>36</sup> It is easy to see to how great an extent the efficiency and uniformity of the Catholic missions are hampered and the organizing advantages peculiar to Catholicism nullified by this regulation. At present, the only prospect for self-administration lies in the last stage of the missionary organization, when a *provincia ecclesiastica* is created with archdiocese and suffragan sees. According to canon law, this transition from the missionary stage to that of a completely developed church coincides with the creation of the dioceses, although these are first subject to the Propaganda, and finally exempt from its jurisdiction. In reality, the final stage is only fully attained when the whole land and people in question have been Christianized and organized ecclesiastically and are firmly and thoroughly rooted in Christianity and the Church. Finally, the actual and ideal union in the one and only Catholic world or universal Church is expressed

<sup>34</sup> They no longer discharge diplomatic functions: these offices are reserved for nuncios and internuncios. Cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 32, on can. 267, § 2, of the New Codex.

<sup>35</sup> The general assembly of all the vicariates takes place only every fifth synod.

<sup>36</sup> A General Synod for China was convoked in May, 1924.

for all mission and particular churches by the Roman primacy, and for the mission territories especially by their subordination to the Propaganda.

Consequently, relative independence is one of the chief purposes of missionary organization—a social goal to be striven for. From the ascending scale in the forms of mission organization and the necessity of wide-spread Christianization we deduce the highly important and momentous axiom of mission theory that the missions are not an end in themselves but a means to an end. It should be always and everywhere their aim to emerge gradually from the missionary stage and attain to that of a church. This complete and exclusive church, deeply rooted in its native soil, independent of foreign tutelage and as indigenous as possible, is the ultimate goal which the Catholic missions should keep ever in view, subject, of course, to the limitations which pedagogical wisdom and the canonical nature of the missions may impose with respect to the degree and proper moment for granting ecclesiastical autonomy. For, the social mission object and aim, like the individual, must be brought to full Christian maturity, not through any violent and unnatural impetus, but according to a clearly conceived and long prepared plan. Church emancipation and naturalization lie in the personal participation of native converts in the administration of the church: it is the social aim of the Catholic missions to effect this. But no matter whether the organization developed by the missions be represented by a native or foreign hierarchy, this organization should gradually renounce all the artificial aids lent it by alien churches and develop towards ecclesiastical emancipation,—not indeed as separated from the Universal Church and its Supreme Head, which would be fundamentally opposed to its Catholic constitution, but from all its sister-churches which stand on the same legal footing. Only thus can it attain true independence of administration. It is, consequently, proper and fundamentally correct to say with the Paris Society, in defining its aim, that the missions should work, as it were, for their annihilation and “self-destruction,”

for only by accomplishing this do they complete their task. Thus, it is just the very need for an independent native participation in the Church organization that forms the basic ground for even the notion of a *mission*.<sup>37</sup> That mission practice has so often misunderstood or overlooked this its basic precept and aim with all its far-reaching consequences, that, to speak comparatively, the matter has so seldom been made clear or been even recognized, that practice has proceeded now too abruptly and now too slowly in the development of a native church and pursued aims now too extravagant and now too restricted in scope, that it has left us scarcely any definite information as to its methods or any systematic analyses of its aims—all this gives characteristic proof of its indifference for almost two thousand years to theoretical principles of a decisive character; and this was, moreover, one of the chief causes of its serious mistakes in mission methods and even of its occasional disasters. To understand how this came to pass and to investigate the causes of this extraordinary phenomenon, we must again glance back into mission history.

In Christian antiquity the problem was essentially simplified or entirely removed by the fact that all the churches were still mission churches—that, in other words, there were no churches, at the end of their growth and development, which had already completely cast off the missionary stamp and which, consequently, stood out in contrast to the mission organizations and might have effected truly native forms. It was thus only natural that the mission hierarchy and task largely coincided with those of the Church in general. A further consequence of this universal missionary condition of the Church, and also of the cultural homogeneity of all its objects, was that the task of forming Christian communities and combining them into ecclesiastical unions was left at an early date to the individual churches; and thus, despite the missionary character of the latter, they soon attained an independence approximating that of the final stage of church development. This process was naturally aided by the supernatural *charismata*. St. Paul (and, according to Theodore of Mopsuestia, the other Apostles also) reserved to himself a certain supreme control over the churches founded—a control that could be exercised at least on occasions and if conditions demanded it.

<sup>37</sup> Besides the statutes of the Paris Seminary, cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, IV (1914), 114, where he discusses the present writer's work: *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 48 sq. A Protestant parallel may be found in the *Landeskirche* (national church) in the former German East Africa.



The Apostle of the Gentiles, however, did not hesitate to entrust the guidance of communities and church provinces (if we may characterize Ephesus and Crete as such) to native converts (cf. Freitag in *ZM.*, II (1912), 126 sq.). With regard to the later "apostles" (or professed missionaries), we know from the *Didache* that they as well were unaccustomed to set themselves at the head of the mission communities, but left their development and direction to others, and usually to native agents. That this organization of the missions into individual communities, provincial churches, and church unions persisted during the following centuries, has been established by Harnack, although the process at this period started from above instead of from below (as in the case of the modern missions). Harnack also shows that every one of these locally administered organizations was a self-contained whole and, as such, an image of the Church in general,<sup>28</sup> although during the first two generations there may have existed a certain internal tension between the two forms of organization—the mission community created by and subject to the missionary and the self-contained local community which regarded itself as responsible primarily to God and itself (*ibid.*, 386 sq.). This was indeed the dark side of the Early Christian missions: they left every community more or less to its own resources, attached too little importance to the creation of the universal organization, and laid insufficient emphasis on the connection with the Universal Church and its administration. Still greater harm was caused by the exceedingly premature emancipation of the mission object in the post-Constantinian mass conversions of the Roman Empire. Thus, the Second Council of Nicaea (787 A. D.) had to complain that recently converted neophytes, baptized after a brief instruction, were raised immediately to the episcopal and sacerdotal office (Hefele, *Konziliengeschichte*, I, 378).

A complete change set in at the beginning of the Middle Ages when the Graeco-Roman civilized world was succeeded as the mission object by the Germanic and Slavic barbarian peoples. Beside the old and already ecclesiastically organized Christendom, there now arose wholly new and immature communities; and greater care and deliberation were displayed in the emancipation of these mission churches. We find that not only the Greek and Roman, but also the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon, missionaries maintained strict control over the churches which they founded, and at first entrusted them only to members of their own race and mission from the Christian lands. But within a remarkably short period<sup>29</sup> they proclaimed the maturity of the mission object entrusted to them, not by releasing this object from the universal hierarchical subordination and church discipline (for, on the contrary, rigid subordination and organization constituted one of the chief characteristics of the Middle Ages), but by replacing the foreign by the native element in the church administration, often during the first or at least the second generation. This step was to some extent facilitated by the fact that they were dealing with mission objects of

<sup>28</sup> *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, 362 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> We refer especially to SS. Boniface and Ludger in Germany.

kindred races, which were adapted for civilization and emancipation. The same favorable conditions also largely explain why Christianity became so quickly indigenous and developed with the races themselves. On the other hand, however, it cannot be denied that manifold symptoms of moral and religious alienation and inactivity, which for centuries characterized the mission fruits of the Middle Ages,<sup>40</sup> are to be referred partly to the too sudden and immediate emancipation of the mission churches. An especially conspicuous error of medieval mission methodics was its custom of translating immediately in stereotyped and unaltered form the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy and organization of the home to the mission churches, while disdaining the use of all connecting links and intermediate steps in the process.

These faults and weaknesses were also inherited by the more modern missions, at least during the epoch of the great discoveries. On the one hand, these missions erred by transplanting too mechanically the conditions at home to the mission church: dioceses and parishes after the European model were created immediately in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies; and the consequence was that most of these new creations, emancipated before they were mature, devoted themselves exclusively to the pastoral care of the Christians and either entirely neglected or devoted insufficient attention to the conversion of the pagans. On the other hand, these missions were too little concerned with the creation of a local church of native Christians and its gradual emancipation: completely absorbed by the tasks of the moment, for which they could temporarily recruit sufficient forces and resources at home, they scarcely even inquired whether there was any other aim to pursue than the momentary success of the mass conversions and the external conversion of the newly baptized. Even the writers on mission theory during the heyday of these missions, Acosta and Thomas a Jesu, scarcely touched on the problem of the mission aim and church organization; and where they did discuss this subject, they declared themselves entirely opposed to the emancipation of the native communities and their active participation in the administration of the church. Nor did missionary practice modify this theory for the better: even in the Jesuit missions,<sup>41</sup> which showed much wisdom and progressiveness in other matters, ecclesiastical organization was the weakest point,<sup>42</sup> and we consequently find scarcely any traces of an hierarchical order in their Far Eastern missionary fields even as late as the eighteenth century. In the case of peoples of an entirely different race and culture—especially when state aid and cooperation is withheld, as happened in the Empires of Eastern Asia—this lack of organization must evidently have a much more fatal effect than in instances where the missions can take comparatively rapid root among kindred races with the support of the civil power.

<sup>40</sup> Especially the intellectual, moral, and religious shortcomings of the clergy in the early and to some extent in the later Middle Ages.

<sup>41</sup> Except in the theocratic states of Paraguay.

<sup>42</sup> There was practically no episcopate or secular clergy.

But in the seventeenth century a gradual change for the better set in, partly as a result of the experiences of the foreign missions and partly because of improved understanding of the subject reached by the mission circles at home. The Eastern Asiatic field must have contributed especially to this better understanding; for the missions were confronted, on the one hand, with free civilized peoples who called for an organization similar to that of Europe, but who would not endure a state of tutelage such as had been previously imposed by the missionary churches on the mission objects, while, on the other hand, the reaction of the manifold developments and persecutions on the mission churches completely under European tutelage rendered it advisable and necessary to establish these on their own feet and make them completely native. To name only one of the writers on mission theory, even Solarzano,<sup>43</sup> in other matters so uncompromising a lay champion of colonial claims, declares himself especially in favor of the installment of the natives in the ecclesiastical offices and dignities as a guarantee for the stability and emancipation of vigorous indigenous churches. Similarly, in his "*Milicia evangelica*" (1628), Sarmiento de Mendoza<sup>44</sup> justifies his hierarchical system for Japan by the necessity of a self-contained mission organization. In 1622 the Congregation of the Propaganda was created to serve as the supreme governing body of the missions. Its institution of the Vicars Apostolic, who gradually supplanted the purely episcopal mission organization in almost every field, shows that it appreciated and was endeavoring to realize in practice the special type of hierarchical organization suitable to the missions. But it was the Paris Missionary Society (*Société des missions étrangères*), in particular, that adopted as its definite and outspoken aim from its very foundation the organization of mission churches as independent as possible of the home base: even the Society itself was to interfere as little as possible in internal ecclesiastical affairs. The Instruction which the Propaganda issued in 1659 to the first Vicars Apostolic of this Society is a clear acknowledgment of the new tendency to pay the highest possible regard to local conditions and needs and to treat with the utmost possible indulgence the claims of the mission object. Inasmuch as the Paris missionaries gradually took over the majority of the Eastern Asiatic fields where this question was a critical one, and on the suppression of the Society of Jesus succeeded to a large portion of the Jesuit missions, the program which they represented found an ever-increasing application.

It is true that the outcome of the rite controversy, which saw the clash of both extremes,<sup>45</sup> did not mark progress in the direction just mentioned. The Europeanization which was widely pursued in consequence of this decision was indeed a catastrophe for many missions. However, a growing liberation from the leading-strings of the state,

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<sup>43</sup> In his work on jurisprudence published in 1629.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hall in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 12 sqq.

<sup>45</sup> Those who favored excessive accommodation and those in favor of repressing native characteristics.

an increasing national emancipation of the mission object, the development of an anti-clerical attitude in most of the "Christian" states, the crippling effect of this attitude (especially in France) on the program of the missions, the possibility of even greater harm coming to the missions, through wars and other European complications, if they continue too independent on the home base, and especially the withdrawal of a large part of the European forces during the recent war—all these considerations awakened and fostered a desire and demand for national or native churches which should be firmly established and which after passing through a provisional, intermediate, state, should become, as it were, naturalized (cf. Bertrand and Zaleski in Huonder, 13). Though many, opposed to the intention of the supreme ecclesiastical authorities, may be content with the imperfect initial stage of church organization and all too frequently lose sight of the final aim while others contrariwise organize too soon and quickly a mission church with a self-contained hierarchy; and though individual missionary orders, in particular, may have erred through an injudicious and illiberal neglect of the native body and to this extent have been responsible for the great "echec" (as Joly says) of Catholic missionary work during the last four centuries, all writers on mission theory and even active missionaries have now reached substantial agreement in emphasizing as the final aim of the missions an autochthonous and independent church which contains in itself its conditions of existence. And the vigorous replies of Damerval and Huonder, inasmuch as they adopt theoretically the same standpoint as Joly and repel the reproach cast at the Jesuit Order, attest a strong conviction of the necessity of this policy. Like the earlier missions in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, in India, in the Philippines, and in South and Central America, the missions of today are their fairest, earliest, and most lasting fruits to the systematic training of native missionary forces. This is especially true of the civilized lands of Eastern Asia, but also applies to the missions among the primitive peoples and in colonial territories (e. g., Uganda). The fact that the Protestant missions have a still stronger tendency towards ecclesiastical emancipation, and usually realize this aim more rapidly and generally than the Catholic, is not the least factor in their great success in the domain of wide-spread Christianization, and partly offsets the internal difficulties which hamper the Protestant mission organization as such. On the other hand, while this process is not a little facilitated by the democratic constitution of the Protestant Church, a number of drawbacks follow in consequence, such as the introduction of immature native factors into the church. The rapid numerical growth of the Greek-Russian missions in Japan is also to be ascribed primarily to the fact that its founder and leader, Nikolai, kept himself as far as possible in the background and put forward the native mission personnel to whose development he devoted his chief efforts.

### 3. Native Collaboration

The enlistment of native collaboration in the work of the missions is the prerequisite and first stage of the emancipation and naturalization of the mission church. Consequently, the attainment of this goal must be the set purpose of all well-conceived missionary labor. A useful criterion for determining and classifying this native collaboration and establishing its relative emancipation may be found in the threefold Protestant distinction of missionary churches into those which are self-maintaining, self-governing, and self-propagating. While, in the matter of details, Catholic mission theory must elaborate its own course in accordance with its particular characteristics, it also recognizes a threefold possibility or manner of collaboration and emancipation in the mission object. These three ways of cooperation and emancipation, which form either the earlier or remote aims of the missions, are determined by the extent of the native participation in the financial support of the mission, by the mission personnel, and by the mission management.<sup>1</sup>

#### (a) *Financial Collaboration*

The material basis for native collaboration is the establishment of a financially independent mission church. Approaching this problem from the universal standpoint, we can appreciate immediately its importance. However ideal may be our conception of the ecclesiastical and missionary sphere, money and the other material means still play in it, as we shall see, an indispensable rôle. Financial independence, however, is also desirable for ethico-religious reasons, since it presupposes and expresses a certain degree of idealism in the church membership. In the actual arrangement of its finances, and in regulating the conditions under which property

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<sup>1</sup> The third or last form, which is virtual autonomy, has been already discussed and justified from the standpoint of church organization. Cooperation in the missionary work (self-propagation) is discussed below under the heading of Personal Collaboration. Cf. Kilger, *Geschichtliches zur Anpassung und Heranziehung der Eingeborenen bei der Missionsarbeit*, ZM., XVII (1927), 14 sqq.

and funds are to be held and administered, the missions must always remember that they have not been established for their own sake but to prepare the way for a self-contained church.<sup>2</sup> They must therefore make it their aim to provide the individual mission communities and the mission territory as a whole with their own well-assured funds; and the mission treasury must be kept separate from that of the Society<sup>3</sup> (that is, the funds sent from home), even where such endowments are not provided.

The growth of the mission organization and the simultaneous broadening of the mission task must be accompanied not only by a corresponding increase of the contributions from home but also by the development in the young church of an ever greater capacity and willing-

<sup>2</sup> In a conversation with the present writer, Father Wernz, the General of the Society of Jesus (now deceased), declared that one of the fundamental faults of the missions was the little attention devoted to the gradual endowment of the church.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Lavigerie also recommended that every effort should be made to render the individual stations self-supporting as soon as possible and to create the necessities of life on the spot (Frey, *Die Gesellschaft der Missionare von Afrika*, 61). The Cameroon Synod of 1906 decreed that the Superiors should strive to advance ever nearer to a position of self-support by obtaining as large a proportion as possible of the missionary means in their own territories (26 sqq.). The Hongkong Synod of 1909 directed that a productive reserve fund should be created for the future needs of the missions and provision thus be made not only for present temporal conditions of the missions but also for future contingencies (54). The Synod of Ningpo (1868) recommended that, as a step towards independent parish foundations and to provide support for the missionary, the chapels should be gradually endowed by donations, legacies, collections, and offerings (especially in the case of new buildings); it declared, however, that the complete surrender of the financial administration to the Christian laity is as wrong and perilous as to deny them any voice (cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 220). Gonnet recommended the investment of all donations in buildings, and this advice has been endorsed by other Jesuits and by members of the Milan and Steyl Societies (*ibid.*, 219). The Constitutions of the Benedictines of St. Ottilien distinguish strictly between mission and order property (23 sq.). Cf. Ybañez, *Directorium Missionariorum*, 135 sqq. A Brief issued by the Propaganda on February 5, 1894, declared: "*Duplex imprimis facienda est distinctio, alia sunt bona missionis, alia sunt bona congregationis; quoad prima tum proprietatis tum administratio Vicario apostolico spectat*" (Vermeersch, *Periodica*, II, 192). The other distinctions and conditions governing the property rights of the missions cannot be discussed in detail here. Cf. Braam in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 206 sqq.; Friedrich, *ibid.*, IX (1919), 98 sqq.

ness to collaborate. At the start, the mission will necessarily be directly or indirectly dependent on the home base for its support. This condition, however, may only be regarded as a *provisorium*: first, because Christendom at home, having to provide for its own needs and for other missions, should not be asked to accept this burden permanently (and indeed in an increasing measure); secondly, because the mission church itself should be trained to contribute to the mission expenditure, just as in the charitable domain the poor should not be allowed to cultivate the set habit of begging and laziness by the receiving of regular alms, but should be urged to work. A certain degree of emancipation can and should be secured by the mission by meeting a part or all of its budget through its own agricultural works and activities. Individual stations and even whole territories<sup>4</sup> have indeed already attained to this degree of independence; but much more energetic and consistent efforts should be made for this financial emancipation of the mission territories and relief of the mother church. The natives themselves—as individuals and especially as communities—should also be trained to defray the expenses of the mission and to contribute to its endowment: this should be done if only for educative reasons, because in the first place it prevents a mean selfishness from obscuring motives for conversion and church membership, and in the second place it trains and accustoms the natives to a practical Christianity in action and sacrifice. Nothing indeed is more adapted to awaken and promote the Christian spirit of self-sacrifice and the Christian spirit of solidarity—nothing is a better physical preparation for gradual emancipation—than the sharing of the ecclesiastical burdens and the active promotion of ecclesiastical life. In the words of the Gospel, to give is more blessed than to receive, and liberality in fostering the aims of the Church calls down blessings beyond all measure and reckoning. Convincing proof of this is supplied

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<sup>4</sup> For example, to a certain degree, the missions of the Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word, in East New Guinea, the Hilstrup Fathers in New Pomerania, and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost in East Africa.

by the experience of the home missionary movement.<sup>5</sup> There are indeed frequently in the mission object physical obstacles in the path of financial emancipation, such as poverty, famine, and sterility of the soil. In such cases, it would, of course, be highly unwise from the pedagogical standpoint and also unjust not to take these obstacles into consideration to save the newly converted from being burdened beyond what they could bear.<sup>6</sup> Even in such cases, however, the indulgence should be only temporary (that is, only as long as the physical impossibility lasts), and the natives should be required to contribute whatever lies within their power.<sup>7</sup>

Here again mission history will yield us much information of both a positive and negative character. It is well known that, far from supplying the mission communities with material means from without, the Apostles required these bodies to support their missionaries, and even to contribute to the mother church in Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> Nor can we find in the post-apostolic era any evidence that the older churches made any systematic provision for the new Christian communities: we learn only that the universal Christian bond of charity embraced all communities and inspired them to mutual support. In this connection, however, we must not forget that, on the one hand, the cost of maintaining the mission was not then so great as now,<sup>9</sup> and, on the other, that the new Christian communities were better able to provide for their own necessities. As a matter of fact, all the communities of this era were more or less in the missionary stage, and there was no *older* Christendom as we understand it today. The situation changed in the Middle Ages: behind the mission church then stood the base of the missionary labors—a home church which had in every instance undertaken the conversion of a specific pagan people and was thus also responsible for the sending out and equipment of the missionaries. We thus read repeatedly in the letters of St. Boniface that he asked and received objects for ecclesiastical and other uses from his English home. Much was also contributed by neighboring or native princes who had instigated the work of Christianization or had taken it under their protection. But, as a general rule, the donations from

<sup>5</sup> Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 145.

<sup>6</sup> This is attempted in many places by the Protestant proponents of "missionary radicalism" (Warneck, V, 155).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. especially the methods and principles of Father Gonnet, S.J., of the Chinese Missions, as described in his biography by Becker.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning St. Paul's example in the training of communities towards independent collaboration in the missionary tasks, cf. Pieper, in *DMK.*, 231 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> For example, sea voyages cost scarcely anything, while the erection of stations, churches, and schools was unnecessary.



home were so limited that the chief burden of the actual ecclesiastical expenses must have rested on the mission communities. Here again the more extensive collaboration of the mission object may be explained from its nature, for the converts were much better adapted for the immediate introduction of the ecclesiastical organization; and moreover, because of the primitive economic conditions, the missionary expenses in the Early Middle Ages must have been very small in comparison with modern times. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that to this financial independence of the medieval and Early Christian missions were in no small degree due the earlier emancipation and the naturalization of the mission church in the life of the people. In the era of the great discoveries it was mainly Spain and Portugal that undertook to make financial provision for the missionaries and thus for the mission churches. In virtue of their patronage, the crown took upon itself the endowment of dioceses and parishes. While not without its advantages, this system had also undesirable consequences, for it not only led to a discreditable subordination of the missions to colonial policy (and consequently to their secularization and alienation from their own ideals), but it caused a very perceptible deterioration in the mission results. Since, however, the mission authorities and theories of the time accepted this system as a prerequisite, it is easy to understand why they devoted but rarely any attention to the problem of financial independence, and then pronounced it unattainable. The Franciscan Raymond Caron (1653) is perhaps an exception to this rule, for he declared that converts were bound under pain of grievous sin to support the missionaries who, in so far as possible, should live "*ex labore vel altari.*" Solorzano declared the king bound to support the mission in his colonial possessions, and entrusted the missions outside the colonial empire to Divine Providence. He thus opposed the levying of offerings and other church taxes (i.e., in connection with the administration of the sacraments and funeral services): on this point he was in agreement with the First Council of Lima (1582), which recommended that otherwise the Indians should be interested in the support of the missionaries, and with the Third Council of Mexico (1583), which decided in favor of voluntary gifts and the collection of alms (ed. 1770, III, 198, 213, 228).

It is only in the most recent period that missionary experience, especially in Eastern Asia, has forced the adoption of new methods and the training of the native Christians to bear a greater share of the financial burdens. In 1869 the Propaganda prescribed for the East Indian missions that the Vicars Apostolic should gradually introduce the custom—or even insist on the obligation—of stole fees, and thus more easily attain assured incomes and means of support; it directed further that church property should be held in the name of the community or the bishop, without prejudice to ecclesiastical freedom (*Collect.*, II, 23 sq.). In the following year, however, it issued a warning against excessive harshness in the collection of the tithes, with special reference to neophytes and the poor (*ibid.*, II, 34). In its Instruction of 1893, it ordered the establishment of a reserve fund and the purchase of real estate as a provision for the financial future of

the mission (*ibid.*, II, 288). In another Instruction of 1883 it recommended the formation of a technical advisory council, which would, under the supervision of the Vicar Apostolic, administer the funds contributed by the natives (*ibid.*, II, 195; cf. Fabrègues *Adiumenta pro regimine missionis*, n. 98). According to Fabrègues (n. 99), these funds might be employed only *in pios usus*—that is, in connection with the Divine worship, for the support of the missionaries, the erection of Christian schools, and (in case of a surplus) to relieve the poor, but not, for example, to win a mandarin's favor by presents. Japanese converts make it an obligation of honor to contribute all they can to meet the cost of Divine worship and to provide the communities with churches and rectories.<sup>10</sup> Even in China, where most of the Catholics are in abject poverty, the older communities make themselves responsible for their own church expenses and for the support of their catechists. The new communities are also admonished to provide their oratories, to contribute to the erection and maintenance of the chapels, to provide board and lodging for the missionary and his escort, and to participate in the collections.<sup>11</sup> With a view to awakening greater interest and fostering the public spirit of the community, the Lazarists have introduced the institution of special community funds to be formed by voluntary contributions.<sup>12</sup> A Franciscan missionary from North Shantung<sup>13</sup> relates how Chinese converts helped to defray mission expenses. On his arrival this community bound itself to provide throughout the year for the entire cost of Divine worship, for the equipment and decoration of the church, for the washing and repairing of the altar linens, to supply the priest with the necessary fuel, to provide him with a second servant, and to support him during his stay at their mission. They undertook, besides, a number of other obligations entirely on their own initiative (such as the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre, the supplying of music on feasts, donations on the four principal feasts of the year, the provision for the school and teacher, Mass stipends, contributions for burial services, the purchase of articles of devotion from the missionary, the institution of a collection box, etc.). At the sub-stations, the Christians (or catechumens) built the oratory and schoolhouses, donated the site, entertained the missionary and his servant during his regular visitation (or mission), and made him offerings on his other visits. The Mission Synods of Che-Kiang (1868) and Peking (1892) recommended that, to provide for the support of the missionary and to prepare the way for independent parishes, every effort should be made to endow the chapels through gifts, legacies, collections, and public contributions, and that a church council of the older members of the community should be formed as a step towards associating the congregation in the administration.<sup>14</sup> And the Regional Synod of Shansi (1885) demanded that

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, I (1911), 251.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, II (1912), 220, 311.

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 221.

<sup>13</sup> Steiner, in *Jahresbericht der Franziskanermissionen* (1911), 8 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, II (1912), 220 sq.

every Christian community should contribute towards the support of its priests at least during the "mission" (regular visitation), and also towards the building, maintenance and decoration of the church and the mission residence.<sup>15</sup> The Synod of Cochin-China (1841) also called for the support of the missionaries during their annual visitations, while that of Hongkong (1909, n. 43) declared that offerings toward the school expenses should be made by the children. The East African Episcopal Conference of 1912 recommended the institution of stole-fees, Mass stipends, offering-boxes and alms-boxes, and also the levying of an annual rent on the mission property with a view to accustoming the natives to ecclesiastical assessments: on the other hand, it strongly discouraged the acceptance of donations in connection with the administration of baptism or the other sacraments and on annual feast days, and discountenanced every attempt to win converts or pupils for the schools by the offering of presents without an equivalent in service, since "converts and pupils won by gifts are of no service to the mission" (Decrees, 5, 11 sq.). Even in dealing with the primitive races the missionaries are gradually adopting a fixed principle to give nothing gratis to the natives, if only for the reason that these attach no value to anything that costs them nothing. Warneck's assertion (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 154) that the Catholic missions make absolutely no claim on the native communities for financial cooperation is thus entirely false. It is indeed true that the Protestant missions, through their Western missionaries and their native pastors, are accustomed to throw a still heavier part of the financial burden on the natives, although in their case, also, the mission budget rests almost exclusively on the shoulders of the home mission organization<sup>16</sup> (*ibid.*, 148 sqq.).

If we compare and analyze the most important of the suggestions above for native cooperation in the expenses of the missions, we shall find that they include the erection and maintenance of the churches (and, to a certain extent, of the schools and other institutes), the support of the missionary during his visitations and especially of the native workers who have sprung up from their midst,<sup>17</sup> and finally the payment of religious dues similar to those prevailing in Christian lands. On the other hand, the mission undertakings proper and the care of the European missionaries are usually supported from the home treasury.

<sup>15</sup> *Acta et Decreta regionalis conventus synodalis Chansinensis*, 19. Cf. Ybañez, *Directorium Missionariorum* (1913), 143 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Report II of the Edinburgh World Congress, which also contains practical instructions for the natives.

<sup>17</sup> It is the desire of the Propaganda that every Christian community should provide for the support of its priest (at least during the period of his ministrations among them), also for the erection,

In concluding his investigation of the manner whereby the independence of the mission church is to be attained, Warneck (V, 157 sqq.) raises certain questions which concern also the Catholic missions, and to which a more or less complete answer may be found in his last few paragraphs. He asks, first of all: Towards what should the mission community contribute? As to the material needs of the mission, they should contribute towards the following: (1) towards the buildings devoted to Divine worship, because these offer an object which the natives most quickly appreciate; (2) towards the school-houses, or at least the community schools, while the higher schools may remain mission institutions;<sup>18</sup> (3) towards Christian literature, if not by its installation, at least by contributing towards its purchase.<sup>19</sup> In so far as the mission personnel is concerned, Warneck desires to draw a distinction: he is in favor of referring the support of the Western missionaries to the home organization, even if their missionary service has already developed into a more or less complete pastoral service, because the pagan converts with their own modest needs could not conceive the reason for the high salaries(!) of the European missionaries. On the other hand, Warneck insists even more emphatically on the obligation of the native community to support numerous native auxiliaries: this support must be in the form of a fixed salary, which, however, may be paid in commodities and supplies, or at least by contributing towards or undertaking to supply a specified assignment. These mission auxiliaries include primarily the teachers and pastors in the service of the community, while the evangelists devoted to the mission service may be regarded as a burden on the mission treasury.<sup>20</sup> Warneck's second question runs: By what means are these needs to be satisfied, and how shall these means be procured? First of all, the liberality of the individual church members is to be increased by the general cultivation of the spiritual life, by instruction as to duty, as to reasons for gratitude, and as to the necessity and meritoriousness of the work. If, however, the sources of income are to be assured and well regulated, some general effort must be made by the community (or church) in the direction of self-taxation, with the native Christians cooperating in the administration (cf. the technical advisory councils of the Catholic missions). If the necessary means are still not assured, Warneck sees three further methods of obtaining them: (1) by creating church funds from donations, collections, percentages of the church tax, and from

maintenance and equipment of the church or chapel (and the priest's residence), and should also supply the objects connected with Divine worship (*Collect.*, II, 508).

<sup>18</sup> School-fees may be levied, as by the Marists in Samoa.

<sup>19</sup> With regard to charitable relief work, the question is controversial. Warneck makes the care of orphans and the sick a charge on the funds of the mission, while the care of the poor devolves on the community. The community is to be also enjoined to discharge all the works of Christian mercy.

<sup>20</sup> Report II of the Edinburgh World Congress makes some useful suggestions on this point.

any surpluses in the mission treasury (not recommended by Warneck); (2) by acquiring land, and leasing it to the natives for cultivation; (3) by industries and trade—that is, profitable mercantile activity, but this, however, must not be pursued exclusively for the object of securing money, nor may profits other than those in excess of the working capital be devoted to the missionary object.<sup>21</sup> Warneck asks finally: Should each community subscribe its own expenses, or should the expenses be pooled and borne by a union of communities—in other words, should local or central treasuries be instituted? Warneck is decidedly in favor of the central treasury, since this strengthens the feeling of solidarity, opens the door for mutual aid, guarantees that the general expenditure will be met, and makes the pastors relatively independent of their communities. Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 141—179 (Chapter 46: *Die finanzielle Selbstunterhaltung der heidenchristlichen Kirche*).

(b) *Personal Collaboration*  
(*Native Clergy and Auxiliaries*)

Much more important than financial contribution to the support of the mission church is the vocational participation of natives in the work of the missions and the Church. This participation is supplied by native missionary forces, and its development is a vital concern for the missions.<sup>22</sup> By enlisting native converts in actual missionary work, they become most closely linked with Christianity and initiated into its actual practice; moreover, the missions save greatly in expenditure and personnel, success is hastened, facilitated, and assured, and the task of building up independent and autochthonous, popular, and communal churches is promoted and realized. Only when mission churches are able to recruit their own forces and to rely on their own strength is the social aim of the missions fulfilled. Artificial restoratives and nourishment, which are always dependent on outside reinforcements, represent only a passing or transitory stage of the missions.

This cooperation is first of all to be general, since every member among the faithful, as a living member of the Church, is bound to cooperate in the ecclesiastical

<sup>21</sup> All directly commercial undertakings by the Catholic missionaries are forbidden.

<sup>22</sup> Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 43. The same opinion is expressed by Fischer and others.

tasks according to his ability."<sup>22</sup> In this sense we also recognize a "universal priesthood and a universal duty of service." Our converts should also exemplify their faith in their lives and make it manifest to the whole world in their words and actions: from immaturity they should come to stand fully on their own feet, they should receive constant and thorough instruction in practical Christian duties; and thus each entire community should come, as a first and most natural body of workers, to share voluntarily in the common service.<sup>23</sup> To this collective and yet individual cooperation of whole communities and of all the separate members the early Christian missions were primarily indebted for their success and their irresistible power of attraction. In the modern missions also, this universal cooperation is by no means to be replaced by the activities of professional missionaries, but should be cultivated more methodically than ever before, for both pedagogical and missionary reasons.<sup>24</sup> This cooperation finds its first expression in the complete or partial support of local missions and churches along lines described above. It finds, however, still more effective and purer expression in a truly Christian behavior which transforms native converts into most useful and convincing allies of the missions in their further campaign against unbelief; and it is expressed by the observance of the evangelical counsels and the commandments, in business, in sorrow, at home and at work, and in one's dealings with fellow-Christians and pagans alike. This same spirit of cooperation is a spontaneous incentive to self-propagation (which is, according to Venn, the third symptom of an independent mission church), since it fills every true disciple of Christ with

<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of his discussion of native collaboration, Warneck rightly utters a threefold warning: (1) against limiting the ranks of the workers to the methodically trained and paid auxiliaries; (2) against beginning immediately with trained and compensated auxiliaries; (3) against the slavish adherence to home standards in the winning and training of these auxiliaries, since one is dealing with an organism that is just coming into being (*Evangelische Missionlehre*, V, 43).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Warneck, loc. cit., V, 45 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the exhortations of Gonnet (in his *Biography* by Becker) and of various Synodal Statutes.

the apostolic spirit and impels him to give testimony to his faith. The cultivation of this missionary impulse in converts has also been the special aim of discerning missionaries of modern times. Thus, in accordance with the instructions of their founder, the White Fathers seek to educate and accustom their communities of Negroes (as soon as the home conversion is fairly well confirmed) to cooperate in actual missionary work.<sup>26</sup> Among the civilized races of Eastern Asia, still greater efforts, naturally, are made in this direction.<sup>27</sup>

The native body must participate, however, not only in this general Christian service, but also in the special vocational service of the missions. This special participation is secured most quickly and easily in the form of native auxiliaries. These auxiliaries, for example, include: (1) the "elders," who hold an honorary office of moral and religious administrators of the smaller localities—an office analogous to Apostolic and Protestant practice and recommended by the East African Episcopal Conference of 1912 (Decrees, 8); (2) the acolytes or clerics in minor orders (four minor orders), who were allowed even by the old South American missions to assist the priest during Mass and the administration of the sacraments, to take charge of the church, sacred vessels, etc.; (3) and especially, the male and female catechists.<sup>28</sup> These official auxiliaries, recruited from the na-

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. the present writer's work, *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Kolonien*, 138. Also Hallfell, in *DMK.*, 190 sq. The same policy is also adopted elsewhere—e. g., in Cameroon, where the Christians allow scarcely any one to die without private baptism.

<sup>27</sup> In Japan, for example, many of the Christians have bound themselves, as members of the Xaverian Society, to lead at least one pagan annually to baptism or to pay a fine; others belong to an association for the dissemination of religious writings, which are either sold or donated (cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 251). Similar conditions prevail in many of the Chinese missions. According to Fabrègues, the missionaries should inspire the Christians with a special zeal for the conversion of pagans (*Adiumenta Missionariorum*, 104; First Synod of Peking, c. 1). Regarding the Protestant viewpoint, cf. Mott, *The Decisive Hour of the World Missions*, chapter 6; Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 41 (chapter 44).

<sup>28</sup> For America, cf. Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus*, 21.

tive population, are very helpful and in fact indispensable to a mission, not only because they lighten the burden of the missionary and thereby multiply his efficiency while lessening his expenses, but also because they serve as connecting links between priest and community; for they very naturally have easier and better access to their people than the foreign missionary who, moreover, is usually shut off from the natives by a social barrier.<sup>29</sup> While no fixed and uniform practice in this respect was followed by the Early Christian and medieval missions, the employment of catechists has gradually become an accepted institution in the modern era, especially as the preliminary step towards the development of a native clergy.<sup>30</sup> It has today become an almost universal practice to appoint as soon as possible (and usually with salaries) qualified and specially trained natives as catechists. These give religious instructions, and hence derive their name; and they conduct schools in remote places which are classified as auxiliary- or sub-stations

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Monita ad Missionarios* (*ibid.*, 1893), 135: "*Quum ad missionum fructum et progressum non parum conferat bona et absoluta catechistarum institutio.*" Also the Synod of the Congo (1907), 5 sq.: "*Parmi les obligations qui incombent au missionnaire, il n'en est peut-être pas de plus importante que celle de former de bons catéchistes. Un bon catéchiste en effet sera toujours le bras droit du missionnaire, il remplacera celui-ci en bien des circonstances et lui rendra en tout temps les services les plus précieux. Toute dépense en vue de préparer de bons catéchistes doit être considérée comme un capital placé à gros intérêt.*"

<sup>30</sup> This "catechist period" (or stage) may be noted in reference to Japan during the sixteenth century, when both educated and uneducated Japanese placed themselves at the service of the missionaries as catechists, preachers, translators, etc. In Farther India also, in the seventeenth century, Father de Rhodes, the first Jesuit missionary, very successfully surrounded himself with native, unmarried catechists. Father de Rhodes established and lent his full support to a school for these catechists, who consecrated themselves by oath to the lifelong service of the Church. In 1670 the Synod of Tonking issued statutes for these catechists, and a special religious association of Annamite catechists was formed (the "*Casas di Dios*"<sup>31</sup>), with novices, scholastics, and *magisters* under chief catechists, for the purpose of preparing the soil in every direction for the missionaries (cf. Huonder, 129 sq.). St. Francis Xavier also made use of catechists or "elders" to conduct instructions, to take care of churches, and to baptize children (*ibid.*, 58). The Mexican Council of 1583 ordered that "*Indi quorum fides spectata*" should be appointed catechists (ed. 1770, p. 169).



because of the catechist's residence there. They also conduct the children and the faithful to Divine worship, represent the absent missionary in functions not strictly sacerdotal, conduct devotions, administer private baptism, hold burial services, settle disputes, and exercise a general supervision over the community—all under the constant or periodic direction of the missionary. In many mission territories these auxiliaries are individually chosen and enrolled by the natives, and in most of the better developed districts there are special catechist schools or teachers' seminaries for their methodical training. In China, three classes of auxiliaries are distinguished: the *pedissequi* (servants of the missionary), *excurrentes* (teachers and evangelizers) and *administratores* (community heads).<sup>21</sup> In Farther India the catechists are divided into three grades, promotion depending upon an examination and the vocational record.<sup>22</sup>

A Constitution of Clement IX of 1669 decreed that the catechists should be subject to the Vicars Apostolic and missionaries, and that consequently the regular orders should not withdraw them under vow or obedience, from the episcopal jurisdiction (*Collect.*, I, 62, 492). The Propaganda prescribes that the catechists must make the *professio fidei* (*ibid.*, I, 391, 468), and also that only men conspicuous for their faith, piety, and purity of morals shall be entrusted with this office (*ibid.*, I, 484, 544). In its Instruction of 1883 to the Chinese bishops, it emphasizes how important and necessary it is to appoint catechists, and especially virtuous ones: consequently, to strengthen and perfect this institution, colleges or schools for catechists should be established under the direction of a missionary, and only candidates with a satisfactory store of learning and virtue should be admitted to the office (after a year of training). In their own locality catechists may be allowed to earn their living in lay pursuits; but if they are sent elsewhere to prepare the way for the missionary among unbelievers, the mission must support them. They should never remain long alone, but should live under the vigilant supervision of the missionary or

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, 521 sqq. *Ambulents* and *excurrentes* are already used in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, IV (1827), 10 sqq., and still earlier in the *Nouvelles Lettres édifiantes*. The Second Regional Synod of Peking (1886) also distinguishes between *catechistae christianitatum, praedicatorum* and *pedissequae* (32 sqq., c. 10). Cf. the Synod of Shansi (1880), S. II, c. 3, *De Pedissequis Sacerdotum*, and c. 4, *De Prioribus Christianitatum*. Similarly Ybañez, *Directorium Missionariorum* (1913), 120 sqq. For India also, Döring distinguishes between itinerant and stationary catechists.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *KM.*, XXI (1893), 114, and *ZM.*, III (1913), 219, note 6.

with another catechist; wherever possible, they should be formed into an association (*ibid.*, II, 192 sq.). The Propaganda (1893) also joins the Indian bishops to train able catechists from their childhood up through the medium of colleges, emphasizing their importance as follows: "*Sacerdotibus indigenis, quorum tanta est necessitas, proxime utilitate succedunt ex ipso laicorum indigenarum coetu selecti catechistae. Quanto emolumento futurum sit in Missionibus huiusmodi genus hominum, plurium locorum ac temporum experientia demonstrat. At vero adiutrix eorum opera praesertim missionarios europaeos iuverit, qui ad ethnicorum conversionem incumbant. Indigenae enim homines, cum faciliorem ad populares suos aditum habeant, viam communient sacerdoti, qui opportune iam comparatos animos proclivioresque minus aegre ad evangelicae doctrinae veritatem deducat. Huiusmodi autem catechistas probatis omnino moribus esse oportet idoneaque christianorum mysteriorum scientia praeditos; ea vero gravitate simul atque humanitate, ut et conciliare sibi animos possint eosque cum doctrina tum exemplo promovere*" (*ibid.*, II, 289).

Besides the above ordinances, the Statutes of the Synod of Cameroon (1906) prescribed that only persons who possessed a sufficient religious knowledge and had proved their fidelity in the performance of their religious duties may be appointed as catechists; that, before his entrance into office, every catechist must take an examination, and later must be examined twice annually on Christian doctrine and the administration of his office, by the mission superior or an experienced missionary; that he must be paid by the mission, although he might also earn his support (by manual labor if possible), provided his work as a teacher was not prejudiced thereby; that the missionaries should visit their catechists frequently, watch over them, encourage them, and afford them frequent opportunities to receive the sacraments; that the missionaries must not make extravagant demands on the catechists, or demand absolute perfection, but should be patient with little faults and deficiencies as long as they showed good-will; that every catechist must keep a register of the baptisms, deaths, and families in his district; that the missionary should prescribe in writing for the catechist the tasks to be done daily in the school, and should examine the children therein (50 sqq., chapter 10). The regulations for the catechist school, adopted by this Synod, imposed the following conditions for reception: good health, sufficient spiritual gifts, graduation from the mission school, a knowledge of German, the talents and characteristics necessary for their later activity (*ibid.*, 49). Similar regulations were adopted by the Synods of Libreville (52 sq., n. 10) and the Congo (35 sq.). According to the Synod of the Congo (1907), the position of the catechist should be regarded as a highly honorable one and be well paid; the isolation of catechists should be avoided (c. 2, pp., 5 sq.). The last Regional Synod of Che-kiang also decreed the erection of a seminary for catechists and teachers in every mission territory (cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 217). The Nagasaki Synod of 1890, after declaring the catechists highly useful and indeed necessary for the propagation of the faith, decreed as follows: (1) With regard to their selection, that candidates should not be neophytes or under 26

years of age, should as a rule be married, should be of good morals and repute, should not be absorbed in any extraneous occupation, should be healthy and without physical deformities, should be ready in speech and sufficiently educated; (2) with regard to their training, there should be a school for the catechists, where they should study catechetical exegesis, apologetics, controversial questions, church history, Holy Writ, and the profane sciences, and should practice spiritual discipline; (3) with regard to their direction, they should have a manual, should make a monthly report, and make the annual Exercises (Tit. III, 59 sqq.). The Shansi Synod of 1880 prescribed that every priest must have a good companion well versed in the things of religion, and that the administrators of communities might *provide for prayers, the sacraments, burials, etc.* (19 sqq.). The Shansi Synod of 1885 urged the missionaries, in the interest of the propagation of the faith among the pagans, to devote great care to the training of zealous and pious catechists suitable for carrying the message of the Gospel, and to exhort these frequently to persevere faithfully in their calling (33). The Synod of Peking (1880), Tit. VII, n. V, prescribed the training of "*ferventes ac instructos catechistas*" as a missionary means. The Synod of Hongkong declared the office of catechist to be most important, and that consequently only talented, learned and virtuous young men over 25 years old should be selected for this office; that catechists should instruct both Christians and unbelievers, should be friendly to all but a burden to none, should observe the rules, cultivate the spiritual life, form a confraternity, be circumspect in their intercourse with women, and go every month to the sacraments and make the Exercises annually (cf. *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong*, 58 sqq., p. I, c. 5). Similar ordinances were enacted for the female catechists and "virgins," who are appointed primarily for the instruction of girls. Some of these live according to the Rule (but without vows) in institutions conducted by European Sisters, while others live in their own homes or families but are obliged to maintain a residence and are guided by a Directory (*ibid.*, 43 sqq., p. I, c. 3, art. 5). The Second Shensi Synod of Chi-fu (1909) and the Second Synod of Peking (1886) also recommended the "Institute of Virgins" as highly salutary both for the promotion of piety among the Christians and for the spreading of religion among the unbelievers, whether the members reside under supervision with their own family, or, as is preferable, form an association with definite regulations after the manner of a religious institute (Tit. IX, p. 7). A similar attitude was adopted by the Synods of Bombay (1890, 137 sqq.), Lahore (39), and Cochin-China (1841, 34). Cf. also the *Directorium Missionis Taikou*, 57 sqq., and the *Directorium pro Birmania*, 54 sq.

Concerning the importance, conduct, and task of the catechists, cf. *Instructiones ad munera apostolica rite obeunda* (1669), 223 sqq., c. 10 (*De catechistarum institutione eorumque ad ordines sacros promotione*); *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, 74 sqq., c. VII (*De virginitate*); Marnas, *Note sur le rôle important des catéchistes pour*

*l'évangélisation* (Lyon, 1891); Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine* (1911), 518 sqq.; *Le missioni cattoliche* (1918); *Annalen zur Verbreitung des Glaubens* (1918), 41 sqq.; Frey, *Weisse Väter*, 67 sqq.; Vogt, *Echo aus den Missionen* (1918), 168 sqq.; Döring in *KM.*, XLVI (1918), 171 sqq.; Arens, *Handbuch*, 213 sq., and the literature given there. For the Protestant viewpoint, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 81 sqq. (chapter 45); *Edinburgh World Congress*, Report II, 171 sqq. (Training and Employment of Workers).

In a number of the mission territories these mission auxiliaries are affiliated partly with European and partly with native Congregations. Thus, in Eastern Asia (Japan, China, and India), in Africa and Oceania, and naturally also in the Philippines and Latin America, there are a large number<sup>33</sup> of native Congregations of Sisters and Brothers, from whose ranks are drawn most capable and self-sacrificing male and female catechists—catechists who in zeal and virtue merit comparison with the European Sisters and Brothers. Among the native converts in Africa also, the White Fathers have, for example, instituted a native Sisterhood, which is still flourishing, while the Marist Fathers have established an Institute of native Brothers in Oceania; there is similarly, a native Sisterhood in New Pomerania. The regular life holds many advantages for the native mission auxiliaries, but has also naturally some drawbacks. As a rule, the experiment succeeds much better in the case of the institutes of women: for the native Brothers on the other hand, because of their lesser capacity for self-government, affiliation with a foreign Congregation and subordination to Western superiors has been proved by experience to be usually preferable. A few of the congregations of mission auxiliaries have established novitiates in the mission fields, and thus enlist their native contingent on the spot (for example, the Little Brothers of Mary and the Vincentine Sisters in Peking). On this subject, consult Arens, *Handbuch*, 147 sqq., and the Synodal Decrees (especially the Chinese).

A still higher and more difficult stage of native collaboration in the work of the Church and the missions is reached in the establishment of a native clergy. While Protestant mission theory recognizes at most only differences of degree in the native teaching forces, and regards the three groups, of teachers, pastors, and evangelists, as more or less equivalent and their duties as partly overlapping, Catholicism assigns to the priest on the mission as elsewhere, because of his ordination, a position so high and so fundamentally distinct from that of the other mission services that the initiation of the mission

<sup>33</sup> According to Arens, 113, *Handbuch*, 152.

subject into the priesthood constitutes an entirely distinct aim and problem of the pagan missions. According to the Instructions of Benedict XV, the missionaries must not regard their work as complete, the mission church well established and its future assured, until enough native priests are available.<sup>34</sup>

Thanks to recent controversy on this question between Canon Joly and the Jesuits, clearer light has been thrown on its historical as well as its theoretical side. On this definite point, therefore, we can follow along a road already built by past research work—referring especially to Huonder's monograph which is a model of its kind. Huonder has, however, disclosed only half of the historical development of the native clergy, since he has confined his researches to the modern era. Consequently, we shall have to supplement his thesis by a review of the primitive and medieval periods. There are many oversights also in other criticisms of the modern missions, and these must be compensated for. For example, in their impeachment of the missions of the regular orders for having completely neglected during the last four centuries the establishment of a native clergy and episcopate (and thus of native clergy), Joly, Luguët, Bertrand, Cahours, and others have gone much too far in their generalizations and deductions, although it cannot be denied that the regular Orders might have done very much more than was done in this direction.

We have already explained why this problem (the building up of independent native missionary forces) was capable of a much easier and quicker solution in the earlier mission eras. In the Apostolic period, Jewish and pagan Christendom supplied personalities sufficiently qualified for ordination without a long and systematic preparation, and the extraordinary spiritual *charismata* of the age compensated for any defects. We nevertheless find round St. Paul and in constant intercourse with him an "itinerant mission seminary"—future missionaries whom he was training for their calling by his word and example (Freitag in *ZM.*, II (1912), 127; cf. Pözl, *Die Mitarbeiter des Weltapostels Paulus*, 1911). Warneck distinguishes four groups who collaborated in the missionary work of the Apostolic era, and regards this division as the model for all future times: (1) all the faithful, in virtue of the universal obligation of service (this service must be insisted on even today, since it brings more blessings on the missions than the merely professional work of the paid missionary agents); (2) those endowed with the *charismata*, who received an interior and immediate Divine call, such as apostles, prophets, teachers (in the initial stages of Christianity, these took the

<sup>34</sup> Encyclical, *Maximum illud*, of November 30, 1919 (ed. Herder, 16 sq.). Cf. Grösser in *ZM.*, X (1920), 78 sq. The strict precepts of the New Codex (can. 305) confirm this view. For earlier references, cf. especially the Decrees of Alexander VII to the Vicars of Farther India (*Ius pontif.*, I).

place of, prepared the way for, or supplemented, the official community service, and were, without prejudice to spiritual freedom, kept in discipline by wise regulations);<sup>35</sup> (3) the elementary church officials, who were chosen by the Apostles with the consent of the community and were initiated into their service by the laying of hands or ordination (these, who had to show intellectual, ethical, and religious qualifications for their office, were initiated either as deacons, to superintend spiritual affairs, or presbyters (elders), to preach the word, exercise the care of souls and administer church discipline);<sup>36</sup> and finally (4) special auxiliaries in the mission service, such as crowded about St. Paul,<sup>37</sup> to assist the pagan missionary as secretaries, evangelists, organizers, pastors, precursors and messengers<sup>38</sup> (flying squadrons of special evangelists perform an indispensable service for the modern missions by their ministration to the widely scattered mission diaspora (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 44—80)). In any case, it has been established before the forum of history that the Propaganda was right when it declared that "the Apostles and the bishops sent by them into the wide world should ordain everywhere priests and auxiliaries and entrust the strengthening and spreading of the Christian religion to a native clergy" (*Collect.*, 2nd ed., I, 542). We have already seen that the post-apostolic and medieval missions aimed at enrolling as soon as possible recruits for their ranks from the newly-formed church; and this policy was facilitated by the external circumstances and the nature of the mission object, which explain its possibility. In consequence, Christianity took comparatively quick root, but was partly secularized and impaired in the process. Scarcely was a community or a people Christianized before there sprang up from its midst a native and

<sup>35</sup> Early abuses nevertheless set in, and finally the charismatic order came to an end. In the enthusiastic revivals of the modern Protestant missions, because of their morbid features, the disadvantages outweigh the advantages, although on the basis of these abnormal phenomena Warneck concludes that the era of the New Testament prophets has not yet passed. We agree with him, however, in the view that in the selection of their servants today the missions should pay attention to both natural and spiritual gifts and talents, and should awaken and make use of them.

<sup>36</sup> Warneck rejects the view that the reference here was only to the older members of the community. He also recommends, especially in the case of poor and small mission communities, the engagement of auxiliaries who have no special training and no higher education, but who "stand fast in faith, testify by their lives to the power of the Gospel, and enjoy the respect and esteem of their fellow countrymen."

<sup>37</sup> Mark, Silas, Timothy, Luke, Aquila, Erastus, Gaius, Aristarchus, Secundus, Trophimus, Tychicus, Titus, Epaphras, etc.—31 in all.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also Johann Warneck and Pözl.

<sup>39</sup> We refer especially to the early Christian hierarchy, the post-Constantinian mass conversions in the Roman Empire, the Oriental

hierarchically graded clergy, who often engaged without delay in the active Christianization of individuals, communities, and races." What great attention was paid to this matter by Gregory the Great, whose Instructions indeed served as the keynote for all medieval missionary methods, is shown by his attempt to attract Anglo-Saxon youths to Rome prior to dispatching missionaries to England: it was his intention to have these trained to serve as apostles and shepherds of their people.

The whole missionary task, and thus also the problem of forming a native clergy, became much more difficult and complicated on the threshold of the modern period. In consequence of the great discoveries, peoples entirely different in race and on an incomparably lower cultural level were now brought within the horizon of the missions. The fact that all natives were both in theory and practice excluded from the priesthood in the Spanish colonies in South and Central America during the first century of their Christianization (despite the relative haste in which particular churches were established), must be attributed primarily to the racial prejudice of the whites, but also to the racial inferiority of the Indians. The first *Juntas eclesiasticas* and synods (those of Mexico and Lima) expressly forbade the ordination of Indians (cf. also the Third Provincial Council of Mexico of 1585). Even the otherwise highly enlightened and progressive Franciscan, Archbishop Zumarraga of Mexico, who accomplished very much for the spiritual elevation of the red races and the institution of the Indian colleges, expressed himself as rather opposed to than in favor of their admission. The no less broad-minded and accommodating Jesuit Acosta, who strongly opposed any exclusion of the Indians from communion, declared in his great work on mission theory that the Indians might be used as mass-servers, sacristans, choristers, and might even wear a cassock, but should not be ordained to the priesthood, at least not "*hac aetate*" (those of mixed race, born out of wedlock, only in most exceptional cases). Recalling the warning of the Apostles that no neophytes should be appointed superiors, he declared that any breach of this command must be detrimental to the people and a dishonor to the priestly station. The Jesuit Avendaño expressed the same view as late as the seventeenth century. For these reasons the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Jesuit Orders admitted neither full-blooded nor half-breed Indians into their ranks. It was only towards the close of the sixteenth century that a great change of view and practice set in. The First General Provincial Councils of Lima (1582) and Mexico (1585) declared that Creoles (sons of Spanish colonists) and half-breeds (sons of white men and Indian women), and even full-blooded Indians were eligible for holy orders, provided they satis-

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Missions outside this empire, the establishment of churches among the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, etc., in England and Ireland, among the Germanic tribes, the Hungarians, Bohemians, Moravians, Wends, Poles, Russians, Livonians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, etc.

fied the other conditions and guarantees. The number of half-breeds constantly increased among the secular and pastoral clergy of the new communities, and there were frequent complaints against the opposite extreme of excessive carelessness in their admission. The new policy found ecclesiastical sanction in Gregory XIII's Decree of 1576, which allowed the ordination and appointment of Creoles and half-breeds on account of the need of priests conversant with the vernacular: state sanction was lent in a Declaration of 1588 to the Archbishop of New Granada (Solorzano, II, 259, 856). In the eighteenth century, after the ecclesiastical position had been sufficiently consolidated and acclimatized, the native priests of Indian race showed a special increase in numbers, and the last obstacles were removed. The sole exception was the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, which still adhered to the old policy of rigid exclusion, yet were supposed to train "model Christians" (cf. Huonder, *Einheimischer Klerus*, 17—36). Similarly, the Society of Jesus in North America entirely neglected the development of an Indian clergy—an omission that is not sufficiently explained by the obstacles which Huonder finds in the mission object (loc. cit., 39 sqq.). In the Portuguese Indian colonies, the gates of the priesthood were opened more quickly to the native element, presumably because these were not so degraded culturally as the natives on the opposite continent. Convinced that the lack of native priests conversant with the vernacular was one of the greatest obstacles to the spreading of the Faith, Diogo de Borno, a former Franciscan, founded a confraternity and seminary in Goa as early as 1541 for the training of Indian youths.<sup>40</sup> From this college St. Francis Xavier obtained the native priests and deacons who escorted him on his travels. However, while the Japanese and Chinese neophytes proved very plastic, only in a very few exceptional cases did a Brahman join directly the Jesuit Order. Other Orders, especially the Theatines, showed activity in the same direction, and the Oratorians had a native congregation in Goa.<sup>41</sup> The Third and Fourth Provincial Councils of Goa (1585 and 1592) confined admission to the better castes, and ordered a careful selection. However, Alexander VII had to issue his decree of 1658 to rescue the native priests of Goa from neglect (Huonder, *ibidem*, 57—71). In the Congo Mission, which was also sent out from Portugal, the king's son Henry, who was consecrated Bishop of the Congo by Leo X, appears "to have been the first and last black priest of that period" (*ibidem* 214). A native parochial clergy also developed slowly in the Philippines and was, at least in the eighteenth century, strongly represented (*ibid.*, 48). The need of native clergy appeared still more urgent and feasible from the very beginning in the Jesuit mission of Japan: as a matter of fact, the Superior Valignani was especially convinced of the eligibility of the Japanese for the priestly

<sup>40</sup> The Franciscan Vincent of Lagos founded a similar institution in Kranganor.

<sup>41</sup> The Thomas Christians had a priests' seminary devoted to the same purpose.



and even the episcopal office, and accordingly established a special seminary to train native secular and regular clergy for pastoral duty, preaching, and the confessional. During the persecution, however, which should have emphasized particularly the need of Japanese priests, the recruiting of candidates was exceedingly meager: and this, according to Rohrbacher and Joly, contributed in no small measure to the downfall of the Japanese mission (*ibidem*, 101—121). Again, in the early Jesuit missions to China, which must have found the problem no less pressing, we find practically no native secular or regular priests, although the Jesuits based their demand for a Chinese liturgy upon the necessity for an effective native clergy and its professional training (*ibidem*, 157—176). The Paris Missionaries<sup>42</sup> and original Vicars Apostolic were the first to make it their outspoken policy to create as numerous a native clergy as possible, to take over at the earliest possible date an independent direction of missionary churches. From their General Seminary in Siam, which was founded specially for this purpose, they supplied Farther India and China with a succession of able native priests who saved Annamite Christendom from extirpation: the fact that, by a papal privilege, they were not required to understand Latin, was not such a serious defect (*ibidem*, 131—142). Innocent XI is reported to have said to Msgr. Pallu that a single native priest is worth more than 50,000 pagan conversions. By his Instruction of 1845 he gave the Vicars Apostolic the authority to compel their brethren in office by censures to form a native clergy (*ibidem*, 229). What prejudices and rudenesses these native secular priests had to submit to even from many of the Paris missionaries is revealed by the Diary of the Chinese priest, Andrew Ly, the most spiritually distinguished of the native clergy (*ibidem*, 179 sqq.).

The missions of the modern era and the present time have devoted themselves still more intensively to this important task. In Latin America the clergy of every diocese includes a more or less large proportion of half-breed and full-blooded Indians, of whom most have an excellent record (*ibidem*, 36—38). Much less has been accomplished in English-speaking America, where a single full-blooded Indian and two half-breeds were the sole fruit of over a century's missionary work—a failure which the apology of Eberschweiler only partly excuses (*ibidem*, 39 sqq.). In the Philippines the native secular clergy became such a power that its subsequent systematic neglect contributed in no small measure to the dissatisfaction with Spain, and thus to the Spanish catastrophe and also the Aglipayan Schism (*ibidem*, 49 sqq.). In Hindustan, as is known, the schismatic church of Goa fell into the opposite extreme of ordaining excessive numbers of natives too hastily and without the necessary qualifications. The present mission, however, is trying its utmost to increase its clerical recruits despite the many obstacles encountered in the caste system. The quality of its native priests (about 1700 in number) is, as a rule,

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Art. 2 in Huonder, 301 sq., and Launay, III, 552 sq.

highly satisfactory, although attempts to establish independent native congregations have so far usually miscarried: the Papal General Seminary of Kandy, founded in 1894, has had splendid results (*ibidem*, 71—101). Still more gratifying are the results of the Church in Farther India, which can now look back over a history of several centuries, and is thus much better naturalized. From its seminaries (especially the General Seminary of Pinang and the Priests' Seminary of Annam) have issued numbers of excellent pastors, exceeding in number (900) the European missionaries; these have charge of what are now firmly established community parishes (*ibidem*, 144—157). Spurred on by the Propaganda and the National Synods (especially those of Peking and Szechwan, 1880), the Chinese missions have also made good progress in increasing the number and quality of their native priests (*ibidem*, 186—205). The important rôle which the first Corean priest, Kim, played in the missionary history of his land shows how much native priests might accomplish for Corea. But Kim unfortunately found few successors, and the fruits of the present priests' seminary are only slowly ripening (*ibidem*, 205—212). The development of a Japanese clergy appears to encounter still greater difficulties, although the missionaries in Japan are convinced of its necessity and have accomplished much in that direction (*ibidem*, 121—127). As may be imagined, the attainment of this object is most difficult among the primitive races of Africa and Oceania, on account of their very pronounced racial inferiority, and especially because of the vow of celibacy. Successful attempts at the preparation of negro priests have nevertheless been made by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost in Senegal, Gabon, and the Congo; by the White Fathers<sup>43</sup> in Ruanda and Uganda; by the Trappists among the Kaffirs and by the Capuchins in Ethiopia.<sup>44</sup> Among the black tribes of Brazil also are found a large number of priests of superior talents and character, while North America, again, has in this matter largely failed (*ibidem*, 215—250). In Oceania the Marists alone provide their mission with native priests (from their seminary in Wallis: *ibidem*, 251—258). In all lands and times, however, one may discover at least the aspiration for native priests and clerics and thus the recognition of their possibility and value for mission practice. And while the full aim of an indigenous, self-propagating national church may have been realized only in negligibly small portions of the missions (possibly in Goa and the Thomas Church), even the record of "approximately 3600 native priests and 5200 seminarians certainly represents a very noteworthy achievement" (*ibidem*, 281 sq.). That the Protestant and schismatic missions pursue this object more consistently, and, having less difficulties to overcome, obtain a numerically (but not qualitatively) greater success, is well known.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hallfell in *KM.*, XLVI (1918), 199 sqq., 223 sqq.

<sup>44</sup> It is remarkable that similar progress has not been made by the Jesuits among the Hovas of Madagascar who stand high in the order of intelligence.

What is thus revealed as the teaching of the missionary past and present is justly declared by the mission authorities to be also an obligatory and indispensable missionary requirement. The Propaganda, notably, has from its foundation in 1622 worked incessantly for this object, as is proved by its creation and support of the national colleges in Rome and elsewhere, its extraordinary privileges granted to missionary bishops for the promotion of this object, and the numberless Briefs and Decrees in which the Popes and the Propaganda have inculcated this duty. Thus, in 1630, the Propaganda commanded, "*omnino providendum esse*," that qualified Indians should, after careful preparation and testing, be promoted to holy orders, including the priesthood: (1) because this practice was followed everywhere by the Apostles and bishops of the primitive Church; (2) because the natives find more credence among their racial brethren; (3) because they have a better knowledge of the language, customs, and dispositions of their fellow countrymen (*Collect.*, I, n. 62). Similarly in 1663, it issued a general order for the establishment of native colleges for the increasing of "national priests," so that, thanks to their propagation of the Gospel throughout the whole territory and even in the homes, the faith might take firmer roots and not be so easily extirpated by persecution (*Collect.*, I, n. 150). The Constitutions of Alexander VII (1658 and 1659), Clement IX (1669), Clement X (1673), Innocent XI (1680), Clement XI (1703), Clement XII (1736), Benedict XIV (of various dates), and Pius VI (1775) declared that the chief task of the newly created Vicars Apostolic was the provision of native priests and clerics.<sup>45</sup> The Instruction of 1845, addressed to all Vicars Apostolic of Eastern Asia, recommended with special urgency the training and ordination of native clergy. Citing the Constitutions named above, which unfortunately did not produce the desired results, it proceeded: "From the earliest times the Church has utilized two chief means for the execution of the Divine mission command—the appointment of bishops and the development of a native clergy. Despite the many exhortations from Rome, the seed threatens to perish because of the neglect of these means, except in China and adjoining lands, where, thanks to a native clergy, the Catholic faith has taken deep root and has withstood the test of the storm. But now, when many of the obstacles to orderly church development have disappeared or diminished, we must grapple with the problem with all the power at our command, and, by a careful seminary training, qualify natives for the administration of all offices (including the episcopal), since catechists may never be regarded as a compensation for the lack of a native clergy. In promotions to office, we must guard against every slighting of native priests, and look, not to race or descent, but only to merit and length of service (*Collect.*, I, n. 1002). The Instruction of the Propaganda of 1869 again admonished the East Indian bishops to devote all their zeal and efforts to the institution and training of a na-

<sup>45</sup> These Constitutions are enumerated in the Encyclical of 1845, *Collect.* I, p. 543.

tive clergy—not only of regular, but also of secular priests (*ibidem*, II, n. 1346). An Instruction of 1871 regarding the titles to ordination demanded from all who are ordained on the *titulus missionis* a sworn promise not to enter any Order without special permission (*ibid.*, n. 1362). Among 63 questions which an Encyclical of the Propaganda of 1877 referred to all Vicars and Prefects for periodic replies, three (7—9) treat *de clero indigena*—of the qualifications, training, and employment of the native clergy (*ibid.*, n. 1473). A later Instruction of 1883 for China recommends in general the subordination of the native priests under an elderly, experienced priest, but eventually their selection for the administration of whole districts, if they proved themselves qualified for this task (*ibid.*, p. 191). And again (1893) the Propaganda exhorted the East Indian bishops to strive with every means at their disposal for the training and promotion of native priests, who were to be increased in proportion to the number of the Christians, since Western missionaries did not suffice for the needs of the faithful and were required primarily to the conversion of unbelievers, while on the other hand, the spiritual charismata of vocation must, together with Christianity, find an entrance to all races and must be cultivated by careful training (*ibidem*, p. 288 sq.: *tanti momenti ab hac S. C. ducitur ad stabile missionum bonum, quanti nihil fortasse aliud*). The whole question and the premises on which this is based were effectively summarized in the Encyclical (*Ad extremas Orientis plagas*) which Leo XIII issued simultaneously to explain the reason for the institution of the Indian General Seminary. Most recent of all have been Benedict XV's Mission Encyclical of 1919, the Mission Encyclical of Pope Pius XI (*Rerum Ecclesie*, 1926), and Canon 305 of the New Codex, which makes these encyclicals binding on the conscience of mission superiors.

The Provincial and Regional Synods of Eastern Asia have been no less insistent in their demands for native priests—for example, those of Szechwan (1803), Pondicherry (1844), Peking (1880), 1886, and 1892), Colombo-Allahabad-Bangalore (1888), Madras (1889), Nagasaki (1890), Tongyuenfang (1891), Bombay (1893), and Pondicherry-Agra-Verapoli (1894). According to the decrees of the Indian Provincial Councils, the hope of the young Indian church rests primarily in the training of capable priests (Tit. III. *De clero indigena et de clericorum institutione*, Bombay, 106 sqq., Calcutta, 74 sqq., Pondicherry, 59 sqq., Verapoli, 45 sqq., etc. Cf. Hyderabad, t. I, c. 4 a. 2; second synod of Pondicherry, II, 1; Directoire de Pondicherry, 383 sq.). "The testimony of all ages and races," the bishops assembled at Pondicherry declared, "all historical documents of the Church agree in proclaiming the formation of a native clergy a necessary condition if the faith is to take deep root and be firmly established among a people" (cf. Huonder, *Einheimischer Klerus*, 4 sq., where he discusses the published statutes). According to the Statutes of Bombay (p. 177), native priests must be increased in proportion to the number of the faithful. According to the Uganda Synod of Villa Maria (1909), the missionaries should implant in

Christian families the conviction that the production of a priest is an honor for which no sacrifice is too great (*KM.*, XLVI (1918), 202). The Synod of Peking, tit. I, expressed itself similarly (*Decreta V*, syn., 1880, pp. 3 sqq.). The twenty-two decrees of the Synod of Hongkong have been taken over in chronological order into the *Collectanea* (128 sqq.). In urging all missionaries to seek out candidates for the priesthood, the Synod of Cochin-China (1841) declared: "They can do nothing that is more pleasing to the Holy See, nothing more serviceable for the vicariate, nothing better adapted for the propagation of the faith" (*ibid.*, Hongkong; 1893, 33). "The best, surest, and most productive method of spreading the faith," stated the Synod of Yunnan (1859), "and the method which corresponds most closely with the tradition inherited from the apostolic men of all Christian antiquity, is the training of a native clergy" (S II, p. 93, in manuscript). The success of the missions and the depth of the faith among the pagan races increases in proportion to the number of these native priests. The declarations of various mission superiors and active missionaries are also in accord with the views mentioned above.\* Cf. Bizzolati, "*Praxis Missionariorum*" (1851), 17 sqq., c. 4: *De necessitate constituendi ubique clerum indigenam ad conservandam et propagandam fidem inter Gentiles*).

All these testimonies and decisions emphasize fundamental considerations which urge the enrolling in the shortest practicable period of as many recruits as possible for the native priesthood. In the first place, as Huonder explains with a wealth of quotations, the native priest is naturally better adapted to the climate and peculiar conditions of the territory, much more conversant with the language and customs of the people and land, much more intimate with his own people, and much freer in his intercourse with them. The foreign missionary, on the other hand, must acquire all his knowledge of the land and people by study, and must always remain more or less of a stranger whom the natives will, as a rule, approach only with diffidence and misgivings. The native priest is thus much better adapted for missionary work proper " (the conversion of pagans), and

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\* Cf. Huonder, 5—7, for the views of Msgr. Le Roy, Superior General of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Francis M. P. Libermann, founder of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Msgr. Zaleski, Apostolic Delegate for the East Indies, Msgr. Henninghaus, Vicar Apostolic of South Shantung, Zanoli of East Hupe, Lang of Benin, and Crouzet of Abyssinia.

† As opposed to these advantages, we must remember that the native priest often has less authority and is frequently prone to arrogance and self-seeking.

still better for pastoral work. Again, according as the mission work grows, the number of Christians increases and the intensive development of communities begins, it will be increasingly difficult for the Western reinforcements to keep pace with this growth, and the necessity for recruiting these supplementary forces from the missionary church itself will be ever more urgent unless the missionaries are withdrawn from the pagan apostolate proper for exclusive devotion to pastoral duties.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, native auxiliaries are as a rule cheaper to maintain, and so relieve the mission budget: they accommodate themselves more readily to local conditions, and discover local sources of income much more easily than the foreign missionary who in fact has to depend on the home organization for his support.<sup>49</sup> But it is especially in times of persecution and crisis (whether at home or in the mission field) that the value and necessity of a native clergy is proved. A native clergy is able to endure and survive local storms far better than Western missionaries who are at once subject to recognition, have no fixed standing in the community, are threatened in their succession, are cut off from their native land and are yet dependent on its support. Not seldom indeed is the fact of their foreign nationality the cause of the persecution and distrust,<sup>50</sup> as it is also primarily responsible for a faulty naturalization of the Christianity which they represent, which, being offered by aliens, appears as an alien religion. But native clergy springing from the loins of the people render a very special service in promoting and deepening the permanent Christianization of their land, which is the social mission object and which consists precisely in bringing to full membership in the universal ecclesiastical organization a self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-contained church with the greatest independence

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the Synodal Statutes of Bombay, 116.

<sup>49</sup> There is no cost of transportation to the mission field and less training expense to be met in the case of the native clergy, and the generosity of the natives is earlier awakened.

<sup>50</sup> Frequently, however (e. g., in China), the native priests are exposed to more bitter persecution and suspicion.

possible. Msgr. Le Roy is thus right when he writes that the apostolate practiced by aliens must always be regarded as only the first foundation among a still pagan people, and that alien missionaries must be always succeeded eventually by permanent workers drawn from the particular land and people.<sup>51</sup> If the missions really desire to attain their final goal and ultimate success, the moment must sooner or later arrive when the foreign forces engaged in missionary and pastoral work must without exception be relieved by native clergy. Only when the missions have thus been entirely absorbed into the church, and have, as it were, accomplished their own annihilation, will the truly indigenous and independent character of the mission church be established according to the Catholic conception. No people or race may be permanently shut off from anything that belongs to the essence of the world religion and the Universal Church, and consequently none must be permanently denied the priestly crown of this religion and Church. Accordingly, even if we may not deduce (as many zealots have done)<sup>52</sup> any direct command for the formation of a native clergy from the promise of a universal sacrifice (*Mal.*, i, 11) or from the command to teach all nations (*Matt.*, xxviii, 19), this duty is at least implicitly contained in these passages. It is, therefore, a grave offense against the last testament of Christ and the Gospel and also against the natives themselves to withhold the ecclesiastical offices from them.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the tireless efforts of the Protestant missions in this direction and the appreciable success they have attained through their native pastors, may serve as a secondary justification of our own efforts.<sup>54</sup>

We have, however, no desire to conceal the numerous and grave obstacles which beset the realization of this postulate and ideal of the missions, especially among certain peoples and during the first stages of missionary work. These difficulties arise chiefly from the exalt-

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. Huonder, loc. cit., 5 sq.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Huonder, 282, Note 1.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Sarmiento, in 1628 (*ZM.*, VIII (1918), 18 sq.).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Huonder, 8 sqq.

ed requirements and obligations which are associated with the Catholic priesthood as distinguished from the Protestant pastorate. First of all there is the obligation of priestly celibacy, which constitutes an almost insurmountable obstacle not only among the primitive races but also among the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians. Contrary to the practice tolerated in the Oriental Church, for which no such weighty reasons can be assigned, the Church has hitherto insisted on the universal application of this rule to the mission fields. Whether this difficulty can be solved by removing completely from their environment unspoiled youths of the most tender years, enclosing them hermetically in seminaries for "long, long years" (as the Propaganda prescribes),<sup>55</sup> and then sending them back to the *milieu* from which they have grown entirely estranged and which is perhaps rendered thereby more perilous, we may leave the future to decide. A further but not insurmountable handicap is the financial. However inexpensive as compared with Europe may be the maintenance and education of clerics in the mission lands, and however strongly the Propaganda<sup>56</sup> may urge the Vicars Apostolic to devote the major part of their missionary funds to seminaries (after deducting the sums necessary for the support of the missionaries), sufficient sums for this purpose are usually lacking because those received from abroad are needed for other purposes and the native Christians are as a rule too poor to defray the expenses of seminaries. Besides, there are mistakes and blunders, which have been made especially in the modern missions and are repeated even to this day — mistakes arising from the neglect and lack of understanding of many missionaries and, more pointedly of their particular Orders. Through short-sightedness, timidity, indolence, egotism, ambition, or some other reason, these do not desire a native secular clergy, or devote insufficient attention to its training. To saddle the sending church with the responsibility for these undeniable "errors of the system," as Huonder does, is

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Huonder, 287.

<sup>56</sup> As in its Decree of 1883 (*Collect.*, II, p. 190).



just as "monstrous" as the accusation leveled by Joly and Luguët at the Society of Jesus. We gladly concede that other causes have aggravated the problem in modern times, and hampered its solution. Huonder himself admits that "the missionary Orders, including a certain tendency in the Jesuit Order," are not always mindful of the importance of this need and are partly responsible for the slow development, but holds that the newer Orders, comparable to the flying columns of an invading army, are more easily adapted to native recruiting than the old, strictly monastic, societies which, owing to their principle of stability, must aim at recruiting their monasteries from their vicinity. Again, the dependence of certain modern missions on the Hispano-Portuguese and later on the French state authorities, which believed their political purposes better served by a foreign than a native mission personnel, was largely to be blamed for the repression of the natives;<sup>87</sup> and many missionaries, instead of accepting the natives as they were and accommodating themselves to them, demanded the renunciation of their national characteristics, offered them Christianity in an exclusively European form, and thought that they ought to Europeanize or Latinize them in order to overcome them.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, native priests were often systematically neglected by and in favor of Europeans, and the European clergy often claimed a positive superiority over natives and reduced them to the status of an auxiliary clergy because the former received their faculties from Rome and the latter only from the Vicars Apostolic, this claim being indeed strengthened and authorized by different Decrees of the Propaganda and the Synods.<sup>89</sup> But all these difficulties, which are indeed gradually disappearing and have in some cases already ceased to be serious, should be power-

<sup>87</sup> Huonder's assertion that this dependence was not the fault of the missionaries, but the natural consequence of ecclesiastico-political circumstances, is contradicted by innumerable facts in modern mission history.

<sup>88</sup> Huonder at least cites this statement of Le Roy, although later, in his defense of Europeanization in the missions, he questions its validity.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Huonder, 281 sqq.

less to deter us from the determined pursuit of the admittedly necessary aim of the missions or shake our conviction of its necessity.

It is, however, not merely to the subordinate, but also to the governing positions within the clergy that the native element must advance. The older missions indeed always made special efforts to attain this aim, but such attainment has been somewhat hampered by the Propaganda practice of never placing natives over Europeans but rather of appointing them only over mission districts in which native priests alone labor.<sup>60</sup> Even the highest rank of the priesthood and thus the supreme direction of the mission church—the episcopal office—may not be absolutely and permanently denied to the native clergy, as Launay and Huonder explain in harmony with the mission plan of the Vatican Council: “The Propaganda Instruction of 1845 also expressly declared that it had long been the wish of the Apostolic See that the natives “should become qualified for all ecclesiastical offices, even for the government of the missions, and indeed worthy of the episcopal character.” To promote this cause, which is so highly important and so advantageous for religion, the mission authorities must gradually accustom the more capable of the native clergy to this great responsibility by promoting them to the higher offices and delegating to them authority: instead of reducing the native priests “to the mere station of an auxiliary clergy,” they should be guided only by seniority in the distribution of honors, offices, and ecclesiastical rank.<sup>61</sup> In this connection, also, the Early Christian and medieval missions acted much more quickly and unreservedly, the modern missions having only in very rare cases attained this final goal of ecclesiastical emancipation;—yet this has been partly because the institution of the ec-

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Huonder, 309 sqq.

<sup>61</sup> Huonder, 529. Cf. Sarmiento de Mendoza, 1628 (*ZM.*, VIII (1918), 19). In 1634, Luis de Betancurt y Figueroa cites this knowledge of the people as a reason for entrusting the episcopal sees and prelatures to the native clergy (cf. Streit, I, n. 454).

<sup>62</sup> *Collect.*, I, p. 544, nn. 3 sq. Similarly in 1858 and 1869 (Huonder, 263, 308). Cf. *Collect.*, I, 72 (1678).

clesiastical hierarchy and organization continued for a long time in the rudimentary stage. An improvement later set in when the Propaganda began to send out Vicars Apostolic with a declared main purpose of raising natives to the priesthood and even to the episcopate.<sup>43</sup> But the glorious plan which the Vicar Apostolic Pallu submitted to the Holy See in 1677, and which contemplated the immediate appointment of thirteen native bishops (corresponding at first to coadjutor bishops and under European supervision), was reduced to the nomination of Lopez, the only Chinese bishop that mission history has known till recently.<sup>44</sup> The unfortunate experience that arose from the appointment of a few East Indian bishops in the seventeenth century discouraged similar attempts for an extended period, until finally in the nineteenth century Gregory XVI again appointed two native-born Oratorians as Vicars Apostolic of Ceylon. Past and present bishops of native or mixed race have been more numerous in the Philippines and Latin America. That there are weighty reasons for granting this supreme ecclesiastical dignity to natives, Pallu explained in his Memorial of 1677. Describing the institution of native bishops as the greatest benefit that could be conferred on Eastern Asiatic mission lands, he detailed the advantages as follows: They would assist in strengthening the faith of new converts by the regular administration of Confirmation, and by broadening the horizon of the catechists and people. They would spur converts to greater zeal, and thus heighten the authority of the Vicars Apostolic. They would dispel the distrust of the native authorities who suspect the missionaries of furthering European plans of conquest under the mask of

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Launay, *Histoire des Miss. Etrang.*, I, 49.

<sup>44</sup> Huonder, 260 sq. Similarly, in 1651, the Propaganda suggested 1 patriarch, 2—3 archbishops, and 12 bishops for China (*ZM.*, VIII (1918), 26); in 1628, Sarmiento de Mendoza, 1 patriarch and 12 bishops for Japan (*ibid.*, 19 sq.); in 1667, Barreto, 1 patriarch, 2 coadjutors, and more secular clergy for East Africa (*ZM.*, VII (1917), 104). A very characteristic figure in the mission history of this period was the Brahman bishop, Matteo di Castro of Idalcán (cf. *ZM.*, XII (1922), 25 sq.).

religion." Finally, they would be an effective means of silencing opponents of the Vicars Apostolic.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, however, in view of the far higher responsibility and requirements of the episcopal office, there are very specific theoretical and practical limitations and obstacles which hamper the attainment of this object: this much must be admitted, even though we cannot recognize the validity of all Huonder's apologies.<sup>67</sup>

Writers on mission theory and practice as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made valuable contributions to the literature on the native mission clergy. In his *Milicia evangelica para contrastar la idolatria de los gentiles* (Madrid, 1628), Sarmiento de Mendoza establishes on biblical, actual, and practical grounds the possibility, value, and necessity of the native clergy (cf. Hall in *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 17 sqq.), Betancurt y Figueroa took the same stand with regard to bishoprics in his *Memorial y informacion por las Iglesias Metropolitanas y Catedrales de las Indias* (Madrid, 1634); cf. Streit (*BM.* I, n. 454), also Father de Rhodes, S.J., in his petition of about 1650 to the Pope in favor of the training of native priests (in Launay, *Documents historiques relatifs à la Société des Mission Étrangères*, 506 sqq.). In his *Tractatus de missionibus* (1669), Rovenius maintained the same view, contending that the mission in the Congo and Abyssinia fell into decay through lack of a native clergy and episcopate (cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 627). In the *Correspondant* of 1847, Champagny pointed to these defects in modern mission practice (*Le passé et l'avenir des Missions*), and answered Bertrand, the Jesuit missionary from Madura (*De la formation du clergé indigène dans les Missions*) by declaring that medieval missions should not be compared with the present missions, and that the native clergy should not be absolutely repudiated by the missionaries of the regular orders (cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 1263). An anonymous article in the *Catholic World* (New York, 1897) entitled *Native Vocations*, repeated the charge, which was answered by Eberschweiler, S.J. (*An Indian Clergy Impossible*. Cf. Streit, *BM.*, n. 2013.) The attacks on the position taken by the regular orders were formulated most violently by Canon Léon Joly in *Le Christianisme et l'Extrême Orient* (1907), a work which, while containing much truth, is very partial in its views. This work was reviewed by Lesêtre in the *Revue du*

<sup>66</sup> This was one of the chief causes of the downfall of once flourishing missions.

<sup>67</sup> Launay, loc cit., I, 240. Cf. Sarmiento (*ZM.*, VIII (1918), 19 sq.).

<sup>68</sup> For example, that Rome alone, and not the missionaries, was responsible for the procrastination and neglect; that on the mission also the first consideration should be the preservation of the purity of the faith and active connection with the central authorities in Rome (cf. Huonder, 259 sqq.).

*Clergé* ("Problème des Missions"), and attacked by Brou, S.J., in *Études* ("Le péché des Missionnaires"). Joly defended his position in *Le problème des Missions, Tribulations d'un vieux Chanoine* (1908), and was answered again by Brou in *Études*, and by Damerval, S.J., in a special work entitled *La question des Missions, les doléances d'un vieux missionnaire sur les tribulations d'un vieux chanoine* (1909; cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 2032, n. 2053). The most detailed statement of the Jesuit standpoint and the fullest discussion of the questions at issue (importance, historical development, bishops, seminaries, difficulties, and obstacles) are given in Huonder's monograph of 1909 (*Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*), which he recapitulates in his address in the MKK. of 1916 (81 sqq.), *Zur Frage des einheimischen Klerus*. Cf. also his brochure on *Europäismus in den Missionsländern* (Aachen, 1921). Cf. Also Arens in his *Handbuch*, 72 sqq., 193 sqq., and the literature cited there (especially the Letter of the Jesuit Superior General, Ledochowsky, of 1919, to the Mission of Kiangnan on the native clergy). Concerning the question and situation in China, cf. *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 179 sqq., discussing a memorial.

The Protestant position on the problems connected with the native auxiliaries is discussed by Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, chapter 46 (*Der eingeborene Lehrstand*), and by the Edinburgh World Mission Congress, Report II, chapter 5 (*Training and Employment of Workers*).

## Appendix

### The Cultural Subordinate Aims

We have now shown that the principal aim of the Catholic mission is religious, and why it is so: it is, first, the conversion of pagans individually, but also the social Christianization of a people and the organization of a church. And we have also shown that, with this religious task and activity, the missions pursue an aim that is cultural in the widest sense of the word. The intrinsic explanation of this dual aim of the missions lies in the ideal and real connection between culture and religion, especially between culture and Christianity, and above all between culture and Catholicism. For, since the Christian religion is not only an integral part but the culminating point of all civilization, the mission, as the messenger of the Church, representative of religion, and herald and propagator of Christianity, must necessarily be a cultural agent and medium of the first rank.

This inseparable bond between religion and culture may also be demonstrated objectively from the facts of history. Even though His kingdom was not of this world, Our Divine Saviour did not confine His activities to the instruction of the ignorant and the conversion of sinners. He likewise relieved bodily distress by curing the sick and the blind, the dumb, the lame, and the possessed. He also commissioned His Apostles, not only to preach the Gospel of the kingdom of heaven, but in addition to practise works of corporal and spiritual mercy. That the Apostles actually undertook and exe-

cited this cultural missionary program, their miraculous cures and their loving solicitude for the poor prove. It is true that later, as their work grew, they appointed the special institute of the diaconate to discharge this "serving of tables," so that they might devote themselves more freely and unreservedly to the preaching of the Gospel. As an indication of what the Early Christian missions did for the cultural, moral, and special transformation and reform of ancient Graeco-Roman civilization, we need only recall its signal influence on the problems of slavery, woman, and the family, while the attitude of the Irenic apologists towards classical philosophy, literature, and science shows that, even in this period of the sharpest antagonism to pagan intellectual life, the missions were friendly rather than antagonistic to culture. As to the Middle Ages, the missions must receive the chief credit for civilizing the Germano-Slavic barbarian tribes and bringing them the ancient culture. It was also the missionaries who brought along with Christianity the blessings of civilization to the primitive peoples, teaching them to "work" as well as to "pray." The civilizing activities of the modern missions have been demonstrated under most varied conditions and circumstances and among the most dissimilar races and nations—for example, among the civilized Indians and Chinese in the East, to whom the Jesuit missionaries brought the arts and sciences of Europe, partly as a preparation for and partly as a consequence of the Gospel; and among the backward Indians of the American continent, whom the Jesuits trained in their reductions and transformed into well-mannered and moral men. Everywhere in the missions of today this same process of cultural regeneration may be seen as an inevitably accompanying phenomenon, whether of individual conversions or the mass Christianization, of primitive tribes in Africa and Oceania or in the civilized lands of Eastern Asia. For this we have the assurance, not only of the missionaries and the friends of the missions, but even of travelers and writers who are fundamentally opposed to Christianity or to Catholicism.

From this unbroken series of historical facts, we may by the law of induction conclude that it is part of the intrinsic nature and task of the Catholic missions to propagate the earthly benefits and blessings of intellectual and material culture with the bringing of the light and warmth of the faith and the evangelical truths and principles. The very make-up and plan of the missions would necessarily call for the production of these effects and fruits, even if the latter were not included in their aims. Nor is this true merely in the limited sense that the religious culture which the missions bring is an indispensable part of culture as a whole. By completely leavening the society with which they come into contact, the missions advance true culture in *all* its branches, directly or indirectly, and do so, as it were, spontaneously. But the missions also may and should industriously *pursue* these aims and effects as lying within their very essence, since it is their task to win and restore all things in Christ; and, since they must grapple with the whole nation as well

as with individuals, they must devote their attention also to secular and especially social considerations which influence the life and the development of peoples (cf. Weber, *Evntes in mundum univcrsum*, 2 sq.). It is indeed true, as we have already seen, that the lower stages of culture constitute in themselves no fundamental obstacle for the missions—that is, they would not exclude them (or Christianity) *a limine*. Nevertheless, once the Christian religion has won a footing with the mission object, it inevitably helps to advance this object along the path of culture and civilization, and in accomplishing this it obviously employs cultural means. A certain degree of culture is indeed a prerequisite of successful missionary activity since the reception of Christianity demands understanding of intellect and susceptibility of heart; but this very modicum of culture is also an effect and consequence of the missions, because mental horizon and nobility of soul are bound to increase concomitantly with the advance of the Christian teaching and morality. The missions must also include cultural factors in their program as means to ends in view, particularly the Christianization of a whole people. Only by bringing the manifold and varied cultural influences to bear on the spirit of the people in every sphere of life and aspiration, thought and feeling, desire and conduct, can the missions effect and gradually transform the whole nation, as we will see later in discussing the missionary means. This cultural activity, then, must obviously be pursued as a real, though subordinate and intermediate, aim of all the missions. The discussion here of this subsidiary aim is thus both proper and imperative. First of all, we must repel two charges of exaggeration which have been leveled against our missions, although by their mutual contradiction they confute each other. The Catholic missions are accused, on the one hand, of concerning themselves so exclusively with cultural work as to forget or neglect their main religious aim, and on the other, of pursuing selfish religious aims and making no sincere effort to promote the cultural welfare of their wards. The internal harmony which exists, or at least should exist, between these two factors makes it possible for the missions to unite both in an organic combination—to devote their full energy openly and sincerely to raising the cultural level of the people without imperiling their religious aims in either their purity or their extent. We, also, do not wish to “substitute” cultural activity for Christianization, but to “subordinate” it to the latter (Warneck) when we attribute to the mission a general cultural task, direct as well as indirect.

Distinguishing the cultural effects of the missions according to the different spheres of culture, the spiritual condition of the object is most closely related to the mission aim on the intellectual, ethical, and moral sides. In so far as the elevation of the intellectual level of the object is concerned, the educational and training institutes of present and past missions (from universities and seminaries down to primary catechetical schools) furnish ready and convincing proof that Christianity and the Church are a civilizing power of the first

order. In their school program the missions have almost always included, not only religious instruction, which in itself, as shown, partly presupposes and partly produces a certain degree of culture, but also a series of secular subjects, elementary and advanced. The mission schools attach chief importance to the *influences* of education,—the strengthening of the will and the ennobling of the heart,—because their first duty is to prepare their pupils for life and to fulfil their social task (*Euntes in mundum universum*, 63 sqq.): but that they also transmit formal education and material knowledge is universally admitted by informed critics, and is clearly proved by results (examinations, appointments, etc.). Partly in connection with the schools and to some extent independently, the missions also display a scientific and literary activity in promotion of intellectual progress. As examples of this activity, we may cite their researches in geography, geology, botany, zoology, ethnography, sociology, the science of religion, philology, and literary history, and also their creation or enrichment of native literature with the Bible, catechisms, dictionaries, etc., in which work they follow the footsteps of Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Goths. The fact that, in the service of the Gospel, they broaden and to a certain extent Christianize native languages and literature by the introduction of Christian ideas and terms, constitutes an intellectual and cultural revolution and development of wide significance. Even if we grant that this research work is a "voluntary achievement" in the service of science, and not a "vocational missionary task" in the strict sense of the word, a large part of it (e. g., philological and geographical research) is intimately connected with the missionary vocation, and, if not actually necessary, is at least highly useful for the calling. In the aesthetic domain, also, the missions have in every age exercised a refining, educative, and ennobling influence on the minds and character of both pagans and Christians, through their Divine service and through art (painting, sculpture, architecture, and music). How greatly they have elevated the level of private and public morals is universally recognized; and this has also been a natural consequence of vocational missionary work intimately connected with the main task—with the campaign against pagan vices and abuses (cannibalism, polygamy, intemperance, laziness, deceit, etc.) and the introduction of Christian virtues (humility, obedience, chastity, truthfulness, charity, etc.), the inculcation of the moral law and the reform of public morality, the teaching and the fostering of natural humanity in the family and social life.

But besides spiritual culture, the missions should and can also promote material and even economic culture—not only indirectly by fertilizing the economic life from above downwards, but also by direct economic instruction and help. Such was the example set by the medieval missions and those of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and such is still the practice of the missions today. Warneck's imputation that it is only by money payment or force that our missions are able to secure workers in the economic field is absolutely unjustified, and might be much more fitly applied to the "industrial missions" of



Anglo-American Protestantism. However, we gladly agree with Warneck's assertion that the material interests of the world are not the object of the Divine mission command, that economic cultural works are not an obligatory and integral part of the mission task, and that the Christian mission is not a professional teacher of political economy, if only for the reason that the real missionaries frequently lack the necessary knowledge and skill to impart this instruction. But Warneck must in turn admit that not only may individual, properly qualified, missionaries interest themselves in economic progress as an *opus supererogatorium*, but that the actual needs and conditions may impose a moral obligation on them to engage in economic activity,<sup>68</sup> and that in this regard the medieval missionary methods may be accepted as a model. He must admit that, for pedagogic reasons also, an improvement of the economic situation should be sought, because this reacts on the moral and spiritual training of the people; that the training for practical life often may be just as important as, or still more important than, the universally approved and recommended missionary school training; that the very interests of the missions and their desire for independence must lead them to plan large missionary settlements and centers which will be naturally directed towards economic activities; that the financial collaboration of the natives, which is included in the missionary aims, is best secured in the form of economic payments in kind. Consequently, to assure their own existence and to train their pagan converts, the missions are confronted with the necessity of economic activity, not only among primitive races which have still to be civilized (e. g., in Africa and Oceania), but also in such civilized lands as Japan and China. The missions must, of course, guard carefully against any distraction from their duty of seeking first the kingdom of God, and against every attempt at accomplishing a sudden economic transition without regard to the cultural condition of the people. Abbot Weber utters a most urgent warning against too extensive or rapid action. "The task of the mission is to act as the *Παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστὸν*—to train pagans for Christ: but in the case of primitive peoples, as of children, the road to their hearts is very frequently through their stomachs" (*Euntes in mundum universum*, 35). In the first place, agriculture and cattle-raising<sup>69</sup> as the basis and backbone of a sound national prosperity and economic life should be fostered by the missions, both by the example of their own lands and work and also by instructing the natives after the example of the medieval monks.<sup>70</sup> In the second place, the pagans and Christians of a neighborhood should be taught various handicrafts, principally through the trade-schools. Finally, it should be plain that by

<sup>68</sup> For example, if converts in India would be otherwise without food; if slaves liberated in Africa required to be fed and employed in places of sanctuary; if the very existence of a Christianized tribe in Formosa were to be threatened by starvation.

<sup>69</sup> Especially in the case of the primitive races.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Weber, loc. cit., 28—56, for an explanation of this method.

such policy the missions at once create the foundations and prerequisites for a development of trade and industry, since they increase production, purchasing power, frugality, and market and trade possibilities (Weber, 21—28, 55—58). Although the missionaries are forbidden to engage personally in trade, the missions as such are allowed to encourage and promote in every possible way the commercial activities of their localities. By all these means and by their example and influence, the missionaries train and instruct the natives to work. The mere creation of a spirit of industry constitutes in itself an incalculable service to both natives and civilization, as is universally recognized. These manifold influences of the missions necessarily lead to the elevation and reform of the social condition of the people: the improved status of women, children, and slaves gives examples of missionary achievements in this direction (cf. Weber, 91 sqq., on the cultivation of public spirit). The missions thus perform also a special service in preparing the natives under their charge to sustain the impact of a higher and foreign culture which is too often thrust suddenly upon them: the natives are thus enabled to assimilate this culture gradually and without damage to their ethical and religious outlook. For it must be remembered that material culture alone, or even if coupled with intellectual culture, enters into revolutionary and disturbing collision with existing ideas and exercises only a pernicious and corrupting influence on the native soul unless it is balanced and completed by Christian morality and religion. Finally, on their own initiative and in obedience to the inmost principles of their existence, the missions engage in works of charity, as did the Good Samaritan whom their Master left as a model and whom they have faithfully imitated all down the centuries of their activity. While love of neighbor is a universally Christian, and thus *a fortiori* a missionary, duty, and is indeed the specific virtue of the Christian religion which the missionary has to preach, it is also the clearest testimony and the most effective inducement that can be afforded even to uncivilized pagans. Through their corporal and spiritual works of mercy performed with a noble self-renunciation,—through the maternal solicitude for the sick, poor, orphaned, and old which they show in extraordinary emergencies and in their permanent institutes,—the Catholic missions have from the first proved themselves worthy pupils of their ever-merciful Founder and have won warmest sympathy and highest admiration even from non-Catholic and non-Christian circles. The medical mission also belongs to this program, in so far as circumstances permit; and it is entirely wrong to deny it a place by referring to the fundamentally religious character of the missionary task and the priestly character of the mission agents proper.

As a result of all these cultural achievements, the Catholic missions are a civilizing factor of the first rank: they are thus necessarily, and sometimes even unconsciously, a valuable confederate of political and national interests—of colonial powers in their colonial possessions and of the native authorities in autonomous lands. This consideration explains why the colonial powers entered into so close a

bond with the missions in the Middle Ages and the era of the great discoveries, and supported them so strongly. This should also induce the modern states to show gratitude to the missions, and at least to protect them if they cannot lend them positive support. Mistakes of the past in the missions show, it is true, that this connection between state and missions may be exaggerated to a point detrimental to the missions and their intrinsic worth, that the direct interference of the state with physical force in favor of the missions (or the pursuit of political aims by the latter, especially in behalf of a foreign power) is to be condemned as in contradiction to the spiritual character of the kingdom of heaven which is not of this world. But because of these blemishes it is not right for Warneck to attempt to condemn the entire work of the missions. Even though the missions ought never to accede to the demands of selfish individuals among statesmen so as to place themselves solely and exclusively at the service of political and economical interests; and even though the missions and politics are two separate agencies which are fundamentally distinct in their aims and their motives and may never be confused or combined; moreover, even though the Catholic missions represent an international undertaking essentially disinterested as to questions of politico-national status and thus always adaptable to the mission object, they are nevertheless intended and entitled (and in a certain sense intrinsically impelled) to guard and promote within their territory patriotic or colonial interests, indirectly through their cultural work, and also directly by cultivating a national sense and submission to proper authority. As they are thus calculated to "conquer intellectually and assimilate internally" the colonies, statesmen should in their own interest guarantee the missionaries protection and liberty, and even endeavor to lend positive support to their work.

Cf. especially Abbot Weber, *Euntes in mundum universum*, particularly chapters 3 (*Die christliche Kultur*), 4 (*Sozialer Wohlstand*), 5 (*Handel und Gewerbe*), 6 (*Ackerbau und Viehzucht*), 7 (*Entwicklung von Handel und Gewerbe im Volke*), 9 (*Soziale Aufgabe der Schule*), and 12 (*Das soziale Leben*); also the Appendix to his work on Corea (*Im Lande der Morgenstille*, 1915). Cf. also the articles by Fathers Acker and Schwager in the *Deutsches Kolonialjahrbuch*, and the addresses of Catholic mission representatives at the German Colonial Congresses; also the present writer's work (*Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*), especially the introductory chapter on the establishment and activity of the Catholic missions in general and the concluding chapter on the Missions and Colonial Policy (also *ZM.*, II (1912), 38 sqq.); and his article, *Mission und Kultur* (in *ZM.*, XVII (1927) 1 sqq.); finally an address by Father Schütz, S.J., on the cultural importance of the missions, in the *Lehrerinnenkursus* (Münster), 81 sqq. On the Protestant viewpoint, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, III, 180 sqq., chapter 31 (*Der religiöse Grundcharakter der Missionsaufgabe*; n. 2, *Verhältnis der missionarischen Nebenwerke zur religiösen Missionsaufgabe*; n. 3, *Kulturaufgaben der Mission*; n. 4, *kolonialpolitische*

*Missionsaufgabe; n. 5, wissenschaftliche Aufgabe*), and the literature given there—especially the two monographs by Warneck, entitled *Mission und Kultur* and *Mission und Politik*. Concerning the position of the missions towards the politico-national problems, cf. *Report VII* of the *Edinburgh Mission Conference*, and Frick, *Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission* (1917), and the literature cited there.

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## V. Missionary Means

### A. Direct Missionary Means

After considering the mission subject or the human representatives or agents whom God employs to preach His Gospel and spread His kingdom at home and in the mission fields, we proceeded to the material and the formal mission object which the mission subject is destined to influence and win for Christ. The investigation of the formal object led us finally to the missionary aim or the different tasks and purposes which the missionaries must pursue and fulfil,—to the specific task, which is comprised in the conversion and baptism of individuals, to the social task, which is accomplished through wide-spread Christianization, church organization and emancipation, and to the religious and cultural aims in their various branches and phenomena. There still remains the discussion of the means for attaining this mission aim—the methods which the missions employ to carry out their comprehensive program and to accomplish Christianization. We are thus led to the discussion of mission methodics proper or the theory of mission practice, although this branch of mission science is not limited exclusively to the discussion of mission means.<sup>1</sup> Mis-

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<sup>1</sup> For example, questions relating to intensive or extensive missionary methods must be treated below in connection with other missionary means because of the general division of the subject adopted previously. The Edinburgh World Missionary Congress rightly emphasized that every land must have its own mission methods, but that certain phases of missionary activity recur everywhere (such as the preaching of the Gospel, the organization of native churches), while the employment of others must be more or less governed by the circumstances (school work, medical mission, the creation of a Christian literature, the elevation of womanhood, the development of Christian associations, the warfare on vices and evil conditions). Cf. Report of Commission I, as reviewed by Mott.

sionary means may be divided into direct and indirect, natural and supernatural.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Supernatural Means

So stupendous is the missionary aim in its very sublimity, so overwhelming the magnitude of the missionary task in its personal and social aspects, that we must form the highest conception of the missionary means and subject them to the most rigid requirements if they are to bear any true relation to their ends. It is indeed no easy matter or simple task to separate individuals from their pagan environment and whole past and transplant them into an entirely new and Christian atmosphere making very many demands upon their obedience. On the other hand, to effect an ethico-religious and cultural transformation of the whole national life of a people and to elevate this life to a point where a native church can be successfully organized, is a true miracle of grace and the greatest, most difficult, most laborious and marvelous of all works. In view of the gigantic dimensions of this task, proponents of Catholic mission theory might well be seized with a crushing sense of helplessness on considering missionary means. But they should be encouraged and stimulated by the realization that Jesus Christ Himself with His all-powerful providence and omnipotent grace—two factors which, although invisible, are often to be distinguished with striking clearness on the missions, as certainly effecting actual conversions—faithfully supports His messengers at all times in accordance with the promise which He added to His mission command: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." On the Catholic side, this conviction is heightened and strengthened by

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In agreement with this view, Linckens declares that every mission should not follow the same identical methods: nevertheless, the various territories show so much in common as to permit the establishment of universally valid rules for missionary methods applicable to the work of every mission and as a basis for mission direction (i.e., a universal mission science). Cf. *Weltmission Christi*, 95 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> The Directorium of Cochinchina (II, 5, pp. 205 sqq.) and Kervyn (*Methode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*) also distinguish between a direct and an indirect apostolate.

the dogmatically guaranteed certainty of the intimate union of a soul in grace, and especially of a priest, with God, and also of the mystical union between the Church and its Divine Founder. Inasmuch as the world mission is not man's work but God's, Divine providence or grace is also a missionary means and, in fact, the first supreme, most powerful, most efficacious, and most indispensable of all means—necessary for the whole and every separate undertaking, necessary to sustain the mission subject in the natural and supernatural duties of his office, and necessary also to create the proper dispositions in the mission object and to win him by enlightening his understanding, moving his heart, influencing his will, and spurring him to action. It is Jesus, the God-Man, who in the last analysis continues His missionary activity through His messengers and His Church, to the end of time: He is the real and essential, though invisible, mission subject and missionary agent, and all human sending and sent mission subjects are merely His commissioned instruments and representatives. This consideration will always remain an effective consolation for those who go forth in His name to the pagan lands, even when they believe they must succumb under the weight of their heavy burden and the consciousness of their human frailty. It is a consolation which indeed increases in power and efficacy in proportion to the depth and sincerity of the personal faith and religious sentiments of individual missionaries and of all Christianity. For to workers for the missions—for the establishment of the Divine universal kingdom—the words of the Psalmist, "*Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt, qui aedificant eam,*"<sup>1</sup> apply in a special way.

It thus follows immediately that prayer is a fundamental condition of the missions, and also a necessary missionary means. It is necessary, in the first place, for the non-Christian who is to be converted, so that grace may enlighten his understanding, touch his heart, and stir his will. But it is also necessary for the missionary himself, that he may receive from above the required

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxvi, 1.

strength and light to devote himself successfully to the difficult task of pagan conversion. Through prayer the missionary church and its agents remain in constant contact with their strengthening and sanctifying Principle; through prayer they call down on themselves and their work the indispensable support of Divine providence and grace. Like Jesus Himself, the archetype of all missionaries, and like Paul, His Apostle to the Gentiles, the missionaries of all the ages have drawn their miraculous nobility and power from prayer; and behind them has stood a Church faithful in prayer, lifting up its hands to heaven like Moses while the pioneers have contended, labored and suffered in fierce combat with paganism. Today, also, missionaries in fields abroad and Christians at home must lift up their hands in incessant prayer if the missionary work is to be fruitful and blessed. As we have already seen, it is an imperative duty and command for all Catholic Christendom to participate in missionary work through the incense of prayer.\* Stated more specifically according to the subjects, the obligation of prayer on the missions and for the missions binds (1) missionaries, who must therefore lead a life of constant prayer; (2) pagans, who should

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\* To the question by what faculties (*quibus praesidiis*) may the missionary accomplish the salvation of the pagans, Acosta (405 sq.) answers: "*Mihi ad tantam rem efficiendam quinque omnino necessaria videri solent: ut vir Evangelicus oratione Deum sibi conciliet, exemplo homines moveat, beneficentia alliciat, Catechismo instruat, sacramentis sanctificet . . . . Caput orationem esse non dubito . . . . ubi de conversione animarum agitur, multo maxime, quod gratiae res tota sit, quae impetrari precibus potest, meritis praeveniri non potest. Quod si non de quavis conversione res est, sed de prima, de maxima, de difficillima, quando vocatur infidelis ad fidem, quando non affectum solum, sed ipsum quoque sensum iubetur exuere, sese penitus abnegare, ut in obsequium Christi captivo intellectu eat, tam est profecto orationis singulare praesidium, ut qui caetera omnia adhibeat hanc si omittat, nihil acturus sit, in hasta et clypeo veniens, non in Domino fiduciam habens.*" He then cites the examples of other missionaries from Paul to Francis Xavier (quoted verbatim by Thomas a Jesu, 161). The Tonking Regional Synod of 1905 also designates prayer as the first means of spreading the faith (p. 121); that of Peking (1880), the prayer of the faithful and the priests (Tit. III). Similarly the Manuals (e. g., Fabrègues, n. 101).

\* Concerning the piety in prayer and meditation necessary for the missionary, cf. *above*, p. 181 sqq., where the missionary's attributes



pray for the grace of conversion and Christianity; (3) the converted, that they may remain in grace and that their pagan brethren may follow in their footsteps; (4) priests and faithful at home, that the pagans may be converted and the missionary work be blessed; (5) the Universal Church as such, in its liturgical and extra-liturgical functions.<sup>6</sup>

An especially efficacious missionary means, which was a regular phenomenon in Early Christian times but now appears to have almost completely disappeared, is the extraordinary and perceptible interference of God with the laws of nature through miracles. It cannot be denied that the Apostolic and Early Christian missions owed a large portion of their success to miracles, although not nearly so much as the early legends (especially the Apocrypha) supposed; it is certain, too, that such striking and miraculous Divine proofs would today make the preaching of the missionaries among unbelievers

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are discussed. Here it must be again emphasized that his own salvation and sanctification take precedence of his care for other souls, and that the difficulties of the climate, etc., and the ubiquitous and depressing atmosphere of evil felt as a result of uninterrupted intercourse with degraded people should admonish him to prayer. In a letter to the present writer, a veteran missionary expresses himself on this question as follows: "Only when he himself [the missionary] is filled with the spirit of Christianity, will he be able to communicate it to such ignorant and degraded pagans; only when he himself speaks with that holy strength of conviction which he can obtain through prayer alone, will he convince such indifferent hearers; only when he himself is warmed and enlightened interiorly by the glow of grace and the light of the Holy Ghost, will he warm and enlighten such cold pagan hearts, and induce them to desert the path of evil and walk in the path of virtue; only when he sanctifies himself and unites himself with the Divine Missionary by the constant practice of prayer, will he remain untouched by the pestiferous pagan atmosphere, and only thus can he work."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Hilf Seelen retten* (1918), part I, *Antoniusbote* (1918), 195 (1919), 15; also the Mission Encyclicals *Maximum illud* and *Rerum ecclesiae*. We cannot inquire here into the question why this mission prayer is the prelude and not also a missionary means. According to Warneck (who is right if he also means the Divine grace itself), it is, as it were, the great power working behind the scenes, which it remains the royal privilege of the co-operating Jesus to set in motion; but it is not the real instrument of the mission workers—the instrument with which the latter are called to influence the mission objects in such a way that these allow themselves to be induced to become Christians (*Missionslehre*, IV, 5).

much more convincing and decisive. On the other hand, it must be conceded that the present missions offer very striking answers to prayer and evidences of grace, although they show no clearly demonstrable miracles in the strict sense, at least not of the same number and importance as formerly. Despite all the miraculous legends with which Catholic mission writers have surrounded their heroes, critical examination of most of these stories must force one to concede with Warneck that, the more victoriously the Gospel advanced along its conquering road and the more firmly the Church became consolidated, the further into the background miracles receded. What explanation can be offered for this change? Why in our missionary era does this co-witnessing miraculous power of God appear to be withdrawn or to have ceased? Acosta<sup>7</sup> and Thomas a Jesu previously asked this question, and long before their day the Fathers of the Church. Contrary to Warneck, they first of all asserted that even in later periods sufficiently well-attested miracles occurred on the missions.<sup>8</sup> In fact, even though we need not regard all the reported miracles as authentic, the severest critics of historical sources, despite the exercise of a commendable scepticism in approaching these incidents in mission history, are confronted with many facts that are not to be explained by purely natural causes (e. g., in the life of St. Francis Xavier; and moreover, all that the missionaries tell us of the supernatural interventions of Providence in the present missions cannot be mere self-deception. Both the mission theorists mentioned above found deeper reasons than Warneck for change,—(1) in the

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<sup>7</sup> *Verum cur tanta signorum parcitas sit, cum videatur tam esse effusa necessitas, merito cruciat animum (De procuranda Indorum salute, 220).*

<sup>8</sup> Acosta recalls the miracles of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuits in the East and West Indies; Thomas a Jesu cites those of the Franciscans Bertrand, Martin of Valencia, and John of St. Francis. The *Monita ad Missionarios* (1665) also state that the hand of the Lord is not weakened, but the lack is not so much of miracles as of apostolic men, to whom even now such wonders would be granted (ed. 1893, p. 23).

lesser merit, holiness, purity, and confident faith of later missionary agents, which was partly responsible for the decline of miracles; (2) because confirmation by miracles was no longer so necessary as in the primitive era when races ranking high intellectually (the Romans and Greeks) received instruction from unlettered men in mysteries of faith surpassing all human understanding, whereas, later, barbarians of a low stage of culture were converted by culturally superior apostles; (3) because, finally, pure conduct and apostolic example of virtue are more convincing than all miracles.<sup>9</sup> We may also point out that, apart from the workings of grace on the missions (which are miraculous enough),<sup>10</sup> the miracles which have been worked within the bosom of the Church in every century and even today, and are as convincing for the pagan races as for Christian lands, are so great and manifold that the modern pagan apostle can invoke them with convincing power (frequently with pictorial representation) and the non-Christian of goodwill can thus clearly recognize the truth of Christianity. Here, as so frequently elsewhere, we are confronted

<sup>9</sup> This reason does not indeed apply to the present Chinese and Japanese missions. A similar view was stated earlier by Chrysostom ("*Non ergo fides iam statis fundata miraculis novis indiget confirmari, quin potius utilius esse asserit signis nunc carere, quoniam maioris meriti sit*"), who is quoted by Acosta (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 223, discussing Chrysost. Hom. 6 in Cor. I, 2).

<sup>10</sup> "*Unum illud his gentibus huic novo orbi potentissimum et ad Fidem efficacissimum ac pene singulare miraculum necessarium est, mores cum Fide congruentes: Hoc et abunde sufficit et omnibus concessum est, modo velint*" (*ibid.*, 223). Cf. Erasmus as early as 1535: "*Ne miracula quidem defutura sunt, si res postulet, modo adsit sincera fides cum Seraphica caritate. Aut certe pro miraculis erunt animus ab omni rerum humanarum cupiditate liber, perpetua vitae sobrietas, studium gratis bene merendi de omnibus, patientia nullis injuriis labefactabilis, perpetua spiritus alacritas in afflictionibus, modestia comis nihil prae se ferens supercilii. Neque enim Apostoli passim edebant miracula, sed iis quas dixi rebus longe plures pertraxerunt ad ditionem Christi quam miraculis. Haec enim Magiae tribuebantur a multis, illi declarabant Dei Spiritum agere per homines*" (Cf. *ZM.*, IV (1914), 9 sq.).

<sup>11</sup> Warneck also explains the cessation of the wonder-working *charisma* in the Church and the missions by declaring that the miraculous proofs of authority were necessary only for the real agents of the revelation and the creative foundation of the Christian religion, that as a permanent missionary means miracles would indeed

with a riddle or mystery of Providence from which we may not even venture to lift the veil. It must ever remain for Providence to decide when the floodgates of miracles shall be opened; we cannot set either limits or laws for this action or even establish the reasons why miracles are withheld from the missions as a whole. These in any case belong to the Divine means which man employs as a purely passive instrument; and consequently it does not come within the province of mission theory to establish any rules whatever with regard to them.<sup>12</sup>

The Gospel itself is also, fundamentally speaking, a Divine gift from heaven which the missionary has to proclaim to the pagans and which both Catholic and Protestant mission theorists are thus forced to set at the head of all missionary means. But strictly speaking, the Gospel represents rather the purpose or intention and content of the missions—the joyful tidings of the Saviour and of salvation which St. Paul said would be “a power from above for all who believe in it.” The preaching of the whole glad tidings of the Christian missions, with all their deeply impressive truths and lessons (as they are comprised, for example, in the Eight Beatitudes and in Our Saviour’s words concerning His Disciples), has proved from the very first a wonderfully effective means of Christianizing the world, and will continue so to prove till the end of time.

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, Section 3 (*Sendungsmittel*), chap. 35 (*Nur das Wort*): nn. 1 (*Gebet*), 2 (*Wort*), and 5 (*Wunder*), IV, 1—29.

be ineffective and dangerous (!) because they might become a daily affair and temptation for the miracle-workers and their audience, that, moreover, the twenty-century history of Christendom serves as a substitute because of the miraculous preservation of the Church; and that finally, even in the initial stages of Christianity it might not have been possible to convert the obdurate by miracles, and that it was not these but the personal testimony of the Apostles that had the most decisive effects. Despite the relative justification which, as we admit, exists for these explanations, we must confess that they do not entirely satisfy us.

<sup>12</sup> In any case, it is wrong to conclude (as did the early Protestant writers on dogma, e. g., Johann Gerhard) from the absence of the gift of miracles and miraculous signs that the Divine mission command ceased with the death of the Apostles, and to neglect the missions on this account. Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 22; also Zahn, *Zeichen und Wunder in der Mission* (AMZ., XX (1893), 241 sq.). Furthermore, according to Zahn, the modern missions need no miracles, because, in contrast to the Early Christian, they come to the barbarians as a superior culture, and aim first of all at working an interior transformation in the pagans (loc. cit., 250 sqq.). The contrary view (the demoniacal opposition in pagan-

## 2. Example and Sacrifice

As has been shown by the statements of Acosta and Erasmus concerning the miraculous power of example, and as also follows from their discussion of the importance of a missionary life of virtue,<sup>1</sup> the actual conduct of missionaries, as one of the most efficacious means of conversion, stands in closest relation to the supernatural factors of conversion. The incorporation of the Gospel in the daily life of missionaries and Christians represents the most commonplace yet most convincing, most silent yet most eloquent, most simple yet most conspicuous way of preaching and announcing the Word of God and effectively expounding and confirming it. This is the *exemplum vitae*, which Acosta ranked immediately after prayer as the second auxiliary means of saving the Indians. Like Erasmus and Herborn, he frequently showed how necessary for successful preaching is purity of life in a missionary, asserting that there is no surer means of converting than the spotless example of a good shepherd, and nothing more pestilential than evil example.<sup>2</sup> As we have already seen, Thomas a Jesu already demonstrated the absolutely indispensable and overwhelming effect of good example, especially in a preacher of the Gospel.<sup>3</sup> Jesus Himself, the Divine Model for all missionaries, al-

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ism) is very uncritically discussed from the Catholic standpoint by Verdun (*Le Diable dans les Missions*, 2 vols., Paris, undated).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 187 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Agat ergo sedulo minister Christi, ut Christum vita ipsa testetur, ut cognoscant omnes illius discipulum, cuius doctrina gloriatur. Discat a Christo mansuetudinem, discat humilitatem, discat perfectam illam et maximam charitatem, ut vitam etiam pro ovibus prompte expendat. Meminerit operibus bonis ita lucere hominibus, ut videntes glorificent Patrem qui in coelis est. Hoc esse omnium ad persuadendum potentissimum miraculum certo sciat, quod cum ex tot tantisque illius primaevae Ecclesiae relictum sit, indefesso studio conservare debemus* (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 410 sqq., IV, 17). Cf. *Collect.*, I, 135 (1659).

<sup>3</sup> *De Procuranda salute omnium gentium*, 187 sqq. (IV, 29). Thus, in Book IV on the Procedure (*progressu*) of the missionaries and their intercourse (*ratione agendi*) with unbelievers with a view to attracting them to the faith, he devoted the whole second section to the virtues of the evangelist (his love, kindness, wisdom, chastity, renunciation of the world, patience, etc.). Cf. above, p. 187-8, and for fuller treatment, Bonaventure (*Op.*, VIII, 436), *Monita ad Missionarios* (beginning, and 36 sqq.) and the Constitutions of various mis-

ways lived as He taught, and it was primarily this harmony between life and doctrine in His personality that so powerfully affected His own and succeeding generations: in fact, He pointed to His life as proof of the truth of His message.<sup>4</sup> He also demanded this demonstration and personification of His Gospel from the Apostles, who were to be, not only by preaching but also by example, the salt of the earth. As a matter of fact, Peter and Paul especially lent the greatest emphasis to their preaching by their own personal examples, and Paul impressed this same example on his collaborators, Titus and Timothy.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, all later missionaries, in so far as they have taken a truly serious view of their task and crowned their work with success, have associated with their preaching, as a living testimony of faith, a Christian conduct that sometimes attained to heroic levels, and St. Francis Xavier never grew tired of impressing this truth on the souls of his companions.<sup>6</sup>

Today also, as in every other age, the missionary as a servant of the Gospel is neither convinced interiorly nor preaches convincingly unless he proves and supplements evangelical doctrine by his own evangelical life. But by such proof he opens the way to the understanding and heart of the pagans, even while yet unable to speak to them in their own tongue. He thus proves himself an authentic messenger of Heaven before unbelievers come to comprehend his positive divine and ecclesiastical mission. So he impresses, as it were, on his verbal or written message a necessary seal [or authority]—a seal which cannot escape the notice even of those who refuse to accept the other proofs and truths of the

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missionary societies, e. g., the Carmelite: *Cunctas tandem boni pastoris partes fideliter exequantur . . . . praedicantes non tantum verbis sonantibus, sed etiam operibus pronuntiantibus*" (*Instructiones*, 39, n. 6). Also the Capuchin: "*Sciant novi missionarii, ipso magis vitae exemplo quam verbo doctrinae praedicare debent*" (*Statutum* 26, n. 44). Cf. also Ybañez, loc. cit., 34 sqq., and Fabrègues.

<sup>4</sup> "If ye will not believe my words, believe at least my works."

<sup>5</sup> This point had already been discussed in detail by Acosta (loc. cit., 411 sqq.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Thomas a Jesu, loc. cit., 199 sqq. (IV, 2, 12).

announcement. We should never forget that conversion of pagans (especially of primitive races, during the early stages of the work, or even later) is not exclusively a result of teaching, but primarily a matter of confidence and a fruit of personal authority, which in this case is dependent on the mode of life of the missionary agents. This is all the more true inasmuch as these children of nature have a sharp eye for the strong and weak points of the foreign missionary, in accordance with our Saviour's words: "*Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*" Consequently, the Christian missionary must not only be interiorly a virtuous, pure, holy, apostolic, ascetic, and deeply religious man, but he must also in his external life prove himself a true apostle and must carefully avoid anything whatever that might give offense.<sup>7</sup> No less an obligation rests on the native auxiliaries to bear testimony by their lives to the truth of the Gospel. Like priests, Brothers, and Sisters, catechists and teachers should by their whole conduct and personality exercise an educative and exemplary effect on their environment.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, in contrast to the practice partly followed by Protestantism, the Catholic missions urge that only tested Christian auxiliaries with proper moral and religious qualifications should be admitted into the regular and direct service of the missions, and that these should be competent not only in knowledge and capacity, but also eminent in character and behavior.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, mission communities with their individual

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<sup>7</sup> Warneck cites Livingstone as his authority for this view. Acosta quotes a Brother of his Society who told him, on his departure for India, to seek not merely the truth, but also repute and good opinion (*opinio*), and not even to hesitate to play the "hypocrita" at times! The Regional Synod of Tonking (1905) thus declares: "*Necessarium est ergo ut qui Dei instrumenta in hoc opere esse debent, ita se praeparent ut acti ad causae principalis influxus recipiendos idonei sint, nam ex ineptis instrumentis inepta solum opera sperari possunt*" (p. 122, n. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Emphasized by Warneck, 38: "A few native auxiliaries whose Christian lives are ornaments to Christian teaching make a more effective missionary force than great hosts of those who are merely tinkling cymbals . . . The Word and the bearer of the Word, the testimony and the witness, must agree, and on this living agreement the teaching of the Word must be also founded as a missionary means."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Synod of Tonking above, note 7.

members (the faithful and the catechumens) should by their Christian lives *promote* the work and support the vocational task of the missionary. Consequently instruction and example must always go side by side, not merely as to the *embracing* of the truths of the Gospel, but as to the *steady observance* of them.<sup>10</sup> To this missionary means (holiness of life, universal brotherly love, purity and strength of virtue of the first Christians) rather than to the preaching and miracles of their vocational representatives, the Early Christian missions owed their chief power of attraction and their irresistible effect: such is the testimony of friend and foe, of contemporaneous apologists and opponents of the period. The missions of today are also capable of performing similar wonders, and will in fact only attain their goal if their followers confess and confirm by their lives what their preachers teach; and conversely, the most grievous and deplorable barrier to missionary success lies in the contradiction furnished by the unchristian conduct of nominal Christians. Hence, not only the newly converted pagans, but especially the members of the older Christendom (Catholic colonists and travelers scattered throughout the world as well as Catholics at home) must needs become in this sense collaborators and allies of the missions, that by a life of conspicuous virtue they may give full resonance and far-reaching echo to the preaching of the missionaries instead of repelling pagans from the Gospel by their scandals and vices. From this standpoint, the spiritual and ecclesiastical care of these scattered Christians may also be included among the indirect tasks of the missions.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Warneck, 39: "From the missionary standpoint, the testimony of a Christian life is of more value than is public prayer. The chief reason for the relative narrowness of missionary influence, about which there is frequent complaint, lies in the moral shortcomings of Christian-convert communities . . . . Qualitative missionary success is mission strength; the ripened seed will develop into a harvest. Pagans judge the faith of Christians by their lives . . . . At all times and in all places the Gospel has made great conquests by the quiet lives of its faithful."

<sup>11</sup> On the whole question, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 29—41, chap. 36 (*Das veranschaulichte Wort*, n. 1). For



But the corroborative spirit of Christianity is not shown only in Christian life and the works of charity engendered, or only in action and intercourse: it is revealed also in suffering, which, as Christian antiquity proves, is one of the most effective missionary means." By their marvelous patience and constancy during persecution, by their heroic sufferings and death, by the joy and conviction of victory they displayed at the moment of death, the early Christians won thousands and thousands of pagans for the faith, as the Acts of the Martyrs and the accounts of the Fathers" attest in individual cases. "*Sanguis martyrurum semen Christianorum*": this saying of Tertullian has been almost always confirmed in Catholic history, but not to an equal extent in Protestant Religion, and thus also the mission of the Crucified, has always shown its greatness in suffering and endurance, in hardships and oppressions, in persecutions and privations. The fact that mission representatives, following in the footsteps of Christ and the Apostles, have sealed the truth of their preaching and the sincerity of their religious convictions by their sacrifices and afflictions and even by their blood and death, has always lent a very special strength and solemnity to their testimony. Today, also, sacrifice, the cross, heroism, poverty, mortification, and self-denial, constancy and submission to persecution in the name of Christ, when embraced by both missionary agents and converts, accomplishes much and in fact everything for the missions; and these things thus represent absolutely indispensable auxiliary missionary means. To this extent a life of sacrifice and even martyrdom itself belongs to the specifically Catholic means of conversion. How often has the seed, contrary to all human expectation, sprung up gloriously in apparently sterile ground, after the latter has been moistened and fructified by the

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Eastern Asia, *ZM.*, V (1915), 13—20. Cf. General Synod of Tonking of 1890 (p. 123, n. 5) and the Hankow Synod of 1880 (Tit. VII, n. III).

<sup>12</sup> This has been overlooked by Warneck among the missionary means.

<sup>13</sup> E. g., the Apology of St. Justin Martyr and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*.

sweat of the missionaries and the blood of martyrs! And how often (here we follow the beautiful similitude of Our Saviour) has the seed of the kingdom of heaven had to descend into the earth and die in order that life and fruit might develop from it (e. g., in China and Farther India)! And how frequently, even where exertions and human lives seemed to have been squandered in vain, has Divine Providence in a later hour caused the choicest missionary fruits to blossom (e. g., in Japan)! This, however, should not serve to excuse an aimless and random fatalism in the employment of forces (as in Tibet). Missionary activity is thus a constant "way of the cross" and a living sacrifice which demands as its condition and prerequisite a spirit of utter resignation and heroic self-giving.

### 3. Mission Plan and Language

According to John Mott (previously introduced), the first essential requirement for the success of the tremendously difficult missionary task is a "suitable plan," that is, a plan which in its extent, thoroughness, tactics, and methods suits the particular situation (*The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, 80). We thus deal here with the more tactical and technical (as distinguished from the supernatural and personal) missionary means disclosed in mission strategy. Two questions, especially, arise for consideration: (1) How should the mission be planned, and (2) what language should the mission employ?

Both Mott and Linckens declare that the proper distribution of the missionary forces<sup>1</sup> plays the most important part in these discussions of mission technique. In fact, the only question that Linckens proposes is: "Shall extensive or intensive work be employed in this territory? Shall the activity be sporadic or concentric?"<sup>2</sup> Both

<sup>1</sup> "Missionary strategy concerns itself, not only with the country to be entered and the forces which oppose, but also with the forces to be wielded in the campaign and with the resources at their disposal. The experience throughout the mission field suggests certain guiding principles as to how best to utilize the comparatively insufficient yet valuable forces at the disposal of the Church, so as to make Christ known to the largest possible number of people and to build up strong and enduring churches" (Mott, *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> "*Weltmission Christi und Missionspflicht der Katholiken*" (1913), 96. The expression is indeed ambiguous: "It may mean ex-

agree in making the answer and decision dependent primarily on the nature of the mission object.<sup>3</sup> Linckens has pointed out that the missionaries in New Pomerania, under the compulsion of circumstances, worked at first with the help of mass baptisms, but, with a view to perpetuating and consolidating their success, changed later to the intensive missionary method by increasing the chief stations, drawing the parochial districts closer together, and developing the converts into good Christians by tireless attention to details. This is more or less the course of development of every mission and of all mission history. A beginning is made by occupying as many posts as the available forces will possibly permit; later, the work is completed and concentrated. In the Early Christian and medieval missions the extensive or sporadic method was usually preferred, at least during the initial stage; but today an ever more decided preference is being shown for the concentric method by the Catholic missions. Generally speaking, Catholic stations are far less numerous and extend over less territory than Protestant; but for this reason they are all the more strongly manned and the more firmly developed and concentrated: here is a difference to be partly referred to their confessional distinction.<sup>4</sup> Most of the Catholic

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pansion over as much territory as possible, but it may also be interpreted as the wide comprehension of a people after the most necessary preparation by mass baptism. It might be best to regard the distribution of territory and forces as the criterion" (Skolaster in *ZM.*, X (1920), 136).

<sup>3</sup> "Each of these methods has strong reasons in its favor, although each also has its defects and shortcomings: there is indeed no absolute method. The climatic and hygienic conditions, the character of the soil, the roads and means of communication, the density and characteristics of the population, the linguistic and religious conditions, and so forth—all these must be duly considered in reaching a decision for or against a method. The mission superiors must decide on that procedure which assures the greatest success in proportion to the forces and labor expended" (*ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> On the Catholic side, with the priestly and congregational character of the mission personnel and with the ecclesiastical care of souls and liturgy. Schwager criticizes this method as practiced in the station villages of South Africa: "In practice the whole strength of a station easily becomes concentrated at one single point, and the expansive power of the mission is impaired, as the extremely small number of out-stations in South Africa proves" (*Die katholische Heidenmission der Gegenwart*, II, 131).

missions are occupied by at least two missionaries (the Statutes of the White Fathers strictly stipulate three), so as to avoid isolation, assure the stability of the work, and diminish the danger of loneliness and seclusion from the world.<sup>5</sup> Abbot Norbert Weber goes even further, and, in accordance with the Benedictine principle, proposes the formation of regular mission cloisters as centers, after the example of the medieval missions. In the opinion of many experienced missionaries, however, this proposal could not be realized, especially in Africa.<sup>6</sup> Both systems have their advantages and disadvantages, and as to which has most in its favor, it is difficult to say. With the sporadic or extensive method it is easier to multiply and hasten one's success, especially where the decision depends on as rapid an occupation as possible; with the intensive and concentric method, it is easier to complete and deepen the work.<sup>7</sup> The combination of the extensive and intensive methods during all stages of the work, from the beginning to the end, may be usually necessary for the most effective and successful work, since occupation and concentration must go hand in hand in so far

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<sup>5</sup> Also recommended by Mirbt (*Mission und Kolonialpolitik*, 85). Cf. the Capuchin Statute. "*In stationibus remotioribus duo sacerdotes collocent, cum perniciosum sit sacerdotem diu solum manere*" (p. 18, n. 23). Also Skolaster in *ZM.*, X (1920), 134.

<sup>6</sup> The Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Zaleski, also recommends for India evangelization from Christian centers and in connection with already existing Christian communities in preference to sending out individual missionaries to purely pagan centers (*Les missionnaires d'aujourd'hui*, 19, 35). Other experienced missionaries also recommend most warmly the stationing together of several missionaries, not merely to avoid the dangers of isolation (*vae soli!*), but also because this permits a more thorough and steady development of missionary work: they maintain that it is better not to instruct uncivilized pagans in the Christian law at all than to instruct them and afterwards deny them pastoral care.

<sup>7</sup> The choice is to a large extent decided by the very nature of the object. Where the population is sparse, as in Africa, Mott recommends the distribution of the workers over a wide area; in densely populated countries like China and Japan, he advocates the founding of stronger stations with many workers. But, even in the latter case, he says mission authorities have employed two methods of procedure: some have adopted the method of "concentration" (that is, of devoting greater attention to building up the Christian communities), while others have employed the policy of "diffusion" (that

as possible.<sup>8</sup> The missions themselves may either be extended over the whole land in a rapid and mobile form, or may establish fixed posts where Christians and catechumens may settle as in a colony. The latter method of establishing a colony immediately is advisable in the initial stages, if the newly converted are to be removed from their pagan *milieu* and kept apart as a select community. If a higher degree of culture has been reached, and Christianity has already to a certain extent taken root, missionary activity and also pastoral work may be pursued with the help of outposts. In one case the quantitative, and in the other the qualitative, success will be the greater, since much more thorough and careful work can be done in influencing and training compact and secluded communities, although such "isolated enclaves and artificial hothouse plants" may not be regarded as permanently satisfactory.<sup>9</sup>

The mission settlement or station is usually the center, starting-point, and local basis of the mission, and is thus also a missionary means. These stations are sometimes established in the open country (especially among primitive peoples without towns), and sometimes in already existing places which are important or favorably situated (especially among civilized races and in towns).<sup>10</sup>

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is, of evangelizing all the surrounding pagans as quickly as possible). Whichever policy is first adopted, it must invariably lead to the other before any district can be permanently evangelized. The only problem is: which method should receive the preference in the initial stages? (loc. cit., 118—119). According to Mott, the number of the native workers is another factor which influences the disposition of the mission forces, but according to Linckens this does not play so decisive a rôle, because the work is not to be entrusted to the native catechists alone (loc. cit., p. 118).

<sup>8</sup> Recommended also in the spatial sense by Skolaster (*ZM.*, X (1920), 137). As preliminary conditions for the personally extensive method of mass baptisms, he enumerates: (1) the absence of denominational rivalry; (2) isolation and the domiciliation of the nation as a whole; (3) inclination of the most influential members towards Christianity; (4) assurance that a sufficient personnel is available (*ibid.*).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the present writer's work, *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 sqq.

The earlier missions must also have had such centers, or seats, which later developed into parishes, and indeed into whole dioceses and monasteries.<sup>11</sup> In very recent times the system of chief stations (where one missionary at least maintains a fixed residence) with subsidiary or outstations (where a priest holds Divine service periodically, but which are without a priest for the greater part of the year) has been introduced almost universally.<sup>12</sup> As a rule, the Catholic missions practice greater concentration than the Protestant, but Warneck, the leading Protestant theorist, also feels obliged to recommend large, well-manned and fairly well-separated central stations with a network of outposts, which should gradually develop into smaller stations or communities under native mission auxiliaries: he thus recommends the "concentrated missionary work" which is customary in the Catholic missions.<sup>13</sup> Like Warneck, we can only hope that the missionaries at the chief and subsidiary stations may distinguish themselves from the pastoral clergy at

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<sup>11</sup> For example, Fulda, founded by St. Boniface.

<sup>12</sup> This definition is adopted by Krose in the *DMK.* (216 sqq.). Schwager proposes instead to make a resident catechist the criterion of a sub-station (cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 163 sq.). With the help of sub-stations, the missionary can easily control a territory within two or three hours' journey, but should only in emergencies attempt to exceed this limit. According to Skolaster, however, the radius of action in Africa may be increased to forty kilometers or more, if the stations are centrally situated, if cart-roads or riding-paths are available, and if the way to one outpost leads part of the way to the second (*ZM.*, X (1920), 135). The catechists, however, must always be kept under surveillance, and consequently the missionary must pay frequent visits to the outposts.

<sup>13</sup> "The cultivation of a system of outstations is one of the most important parts of effective missionary work. It multiplies the centers of light in the pagan land, provides working-places for the native auxiliaries according to their number, and also lessens the burden of the European missionary, leaving him free for other important tasks" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 89). "It is good neither for the mission worker nor for the mission work that a missionary should live alone . . . . A well-manned station, at which preaching and school work, literary activity, medical and women's missions, and cultural work of every kind are concentrated, is a city on the mountain, visible from afar, which exerts powers of at-

home by their greater mobility and elasticity." The setting up of a station, which usually entails a heavy cost "because of the distance of trading centers, is governed by no fixed rules, and varies in accordance with local conditions; nevertheless, the progress of a mission largely depends on its being planned as practically and strategically as possible. The selection of a location is governed by many considerations: the health of the mission personnel, easy communication with civilization, the density of the population and the possibility of expansion, regard for existing stations, the wishes of the natives, and economy in the use of resources."<sup>14</sup> The planning and grouping of out-stations in their relation to the chief station also belongs to the most important arts and problems of mission strategy.<sup>15</sup> With the station proper, the residence of the missionaries, a church or chapel is usually associated. And here externals also, such as a chapel bell, may serve as missionary means, by attracting the attention of the inhabitants and provoking new thoughts through which religious and cultural contact

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traction just as it radiates influence over its surroundings. Here one worker protects and supports another, and each work fosters the others. The less the individual strives to do everything, and the more one task dovetails with another, the better will the whole work be promoted" (*ibid.*, 90 sq). The Provincial Council of Goa (1894) also recommended that several stations be declared the centers of the missionary work (*capita seu centra expeditionum figere*), even if some of the smaller stations had to be relinquished (p. 109, n. 52).

<sup>14</sup> "The missionary should not sit as fixed as a *pastor loci*, nor so exclusively regard the care of his residential station (perhaps small) as to look upon it as his life's task."

<sup>15</sup> Training of the workmen, procuring of the building material and the tools, sanitary arrangements, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Skolaster in *ZM.*, X (1920), 133 sq., where he also discusses monastic settlements and the relation to Lay Brothers, Missionary Sisters, and natives.

<sup>17</sup> A mere glance at the map will frequently show the absence of a definite plan. No wonder that the individual missionary, within the narrow limits of his station or district, commits strategical errors and starts outlying stations (be it because of the entreaties of the natives or rival activity of Protestants), whose success stands in no proper proportion to the energy spent and the means employed.

between the mission subject and the mission object are immediately established. The station, as a rule, also includes, besides, farm buildings, a school, workshops, and charitable institutions; and these likewise tend to lead many pagans and Christians to the mission.<sup>18</sup>

A Propaganda Instruction of 1836, addressed to the Vicar General of Nanking, divided the churches or oratories into four classes: (1) those built from general contributions of the Christians; (2) those established in houses of rich persons for the use of entire communities; (3) those serving a single family unable to attend the community chapel; (4) those completely incorporated (i. e., not oratories) in private houses and in which missionaries naturally prefer to celebrate rather than in the community chapels.

The Propaganda declared that, as elsewhere, the Ordinaries must designate and visit all places of Divine worship, but granted the special privilege to China that the missionaries might exercise greater freedom in the choice of a place of worship, and, according to the Synod of Szechwan (c. 10, n. 15), might upon summons go to any place, rich or poor, provided only it was suitable for an assembly of the faithful and there were at least twenty persons assembled (*Collect.*, n. 1578). Another Instruction (1883) extended the Decrees of the Synod of Shensi (Sess. III, c. 1, *De ecclesiis seu sacellis*) concerning places of Divine worship and residence to all China, and exhorted the Vicars Apostolic to build in all the larger Christian communities at least a chapel with a residence for the missionary, so that the faithful might be edified by prayer and catechetical instruction, especially on the feast days. They were not to leave this task of increasing the churches to others (especially to lay persons), but were themselves to decide as to the needs and the location and to superintend the erection, although the faithful were to contribute to the cost according to their ability (*ibid.*, 1589). During periods of persecution (in Tonking), the Congregation of the Office granted permission in 1776 for the removal of the altars from the churches, provided this could be done without scandal or creating contempt for religion (*ibid.*, 1576). An ordinance of the same Congregation extended this permission to the churches themselves, so that the Vicars Apostolic might hold Divine service anywhere under such conditions: "*imitantes primaevos pastores, qui saeviente persecutione in domibus privatis, in chryptis, in coemeteriis offerebant*" (*ibid.*, 1579). Cf. *Collect.*, pars II (*De rebus*), Tit. II (*De locis et bonis sacris*); cap. I, *De ecclesiis et oratoriis* (c. II, *de coemeteriis et sepulturis*;

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mirbt, *Mission und Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1910), 81 sqq. This is not the place to enter into details regarding the equipment of the station with men and means, the securing of recruits and the rational employment of the means and forces available according to juridical and financial considerations.



c. III, *de bonis ecclesiasticis*). Also Ybañez, *Directorium missionariorum*, 130 sqq. An interesting Instruction regarding the material side of founding a mission (selection of the location, plan of the station, horticulture and agriculture) is given by Father Guardian Manuel Sobreviela of Ocopa, for the Peruvian Franciscan missions in 1792 (in Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 1073).

But the chief positive means of announcing the Gospel, of evangelizing, and of propagating Christianity is *oral* (verbal and lingual): in other words, it is missionary preaching.<sup>19</sup> Thus it is at once clear, as has already been shown in discussing the mission subject and mission object, what an obstacle for the entire missionary work is presented by the variety of languages; for their differences also extend largely to ideas and modes of thought. It is also apparent how stringent an obligation is laid on the missionary by his whole task to devote all his zeal and industry to overcoming this barrier. In both the Catholic and the Protestant camps occasional attempts have been and are being made to find some remedy or solution in a foreign (usually a European) language, and partly through the employment of interpreters. But even though a foreign language may occasionally be adopted as the common speech and can thus be used for missionary preaching,<sup>20</sup> and even though it is desirable that individual natives—especially native mission auxiliaries—should, as intermediaries between the people and the missionary, learn the latter's tongue, a supplanting of the vernacular is, nevertheless, usually inadvisable, and a mission must not, for convenience' sake or to further colonial politics, become an instrument of such suppression. Such an outrage on the just national sentiments of a people as their lingual denationalization is never wholly justified by the missionary task, and indeed only makes missionary success (at least the qualitative) more difficult, since natives never gain more than an imperfect inner understanding of a relig-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Acosta. *Quoniam fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei, lingua opus est ad evangelizandum* (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 120).

<sup>20</sup> For example, by assembling various separated groups among a people, or as the result of an enormous immigration of colonists, as in South America. Kisuaheli is thus used in German East Africa, and even German in other colonies.

ion ingrafted in this manner."<sup>21</sup> But the employment of an interpreter must also be regarded as at best an inadequate makeshift for the initial stage, because seldom if ever has an interpreter such an understanding of both tongues and also of Christian ideas that he can deliver the missionary message adequately and in all its purity.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, as a general rule, there only remains the third solution, which is always inculcated by Rome and the mission superiors—that of presenting the Gospel to the pagans in their mother-tongue. The miracle of tongues on Pentecost Day, when the Apostles, filled with the Holy Ghost, preached the Gospel to men of the most varied races in their own tongues, pointed symbolically in this direction. The Apostolic and post-Apostolic missions adopted Greek as their official language, because it was either the vernacular or the commercial language of the world which they aimed at converting: at a very early stage, however, other national languages (Latin, Syrian, Armenian, etc.) also received their Christian liturgy and literature. During the Middle Ages and the modern era, the missions, with very few exceptions, have tried to present the Gospel to all races in their own tongues.<sup>23</sup> If the Gospel is really to be preached to all peoples, and if Christianity is truly universal, it has also been created for all languages and must adapt itself to all, since otherwise the Divine mission command would be equivalent to an order for the destruction of nationality. Only when it is communicated in the vernacular is the Christian religion brought home to a nation, or even an individual. Only when the vehicle of speech is congenial to the native can the mis-

<sup>21</sup> Warneck emphasizes this point in contradistinction to many English-speaking missionaries who go so far in the use of English as to create the impression that the mission command was: "Go ye therefore and teach *English* to all nations."

<sup>22</sup> Since frequently the words must be first Christianized or are entirely lacking, an interpreter is expected to do *stante pede* what missionaries with linguistic training rack their brains over for years: the interpreter, moreover, is often uneducated and uninteresting. A further objection is that the use of an interpreter impairs the personal intercourse which is so necessary for a decisive effect.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *above*, 228 sqq., the reasons given by Acosta, etc., and the refutation of objections.

sionary and the native enter into each other's thoughts. Rightly may natives protest against the destruction, under false missionary protests, of the shrine of their speech, or against being laboriously taxed with linguistic study, which is properly a vocational concern of the missionary. According to mission theory, it is absolutely unjustifiable and indeed indefensible for a missionary to cooperate in the destruction of the national character by forcing on the natives the Gospel in a foreign tongue.<sup>24</sup> A knowledge of the vernacular, including a comprehension of its spirit, is a necessary prerequisite, both at the beginning of the missionary work and for its development, and especially for the task of national Christianization; it is also necessary for the effecting of a complete transformation or Christianization of the native speech, in which task the greatest possible indulgence must be shown for the inherent characteristics of the vernacular and everything possible be done to accommodate old terms to new and desirable uses.<sup>25</sup> Hence there immediately arises that obligation of the missionaries which was already established above—the obligation of learning and studying the native popular and national tongue so that they may translate the Gospel into it and preach in it, and so that the Gospel may become familiar and indigenous to the land and people.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The German Protestant missions are much more categorical on this point than the English Protestant or the French Catholic (cf. Warneck, 55 sqq., and the Resolution of the Ninth Continental Mission Conference of Bremen, 1897).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Grösser in *ZM.*, III (1913), 31 sq., and the treatises by Meinhof which he mentions. We do not mean to condemn *a priori* the use of German or Kiswaheli as a subject for study or indeed as a medium of instruction in the mission schools of the German colonies (at least the higher schools). The preference of the language of the ruling race, however, must never degenerate into a struggle for the destruction of the vernacular, and never must the use of such language be made a condition for the communication of religious instruction. We thus fully sympathize with Abbot Weber's energetic protests in his missiological brochure against the introduction and cultivation of German or Kiswaheli as the only language in the primary schools (*Euntes in mundum universum*, 68—70).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, c. 37, pp. 49—59, and cf. *above*, pp. 233 sqq., on the necessity of linguistic accommodation. Also the Catholic and Protestant literature mentioned in the following paragraph and at the end of III, B., pp. 250 sq.

This reverent care and regard for the native speech has been repeatedly inculcated by positive ecclesiastical decrees. "In iis vero, quae missionarius precepta et cognita habeat necesse est," declared Benedict XV's Mission Encyclical of 1919, "praecipue est numerandus, ut apparet, sermo populi, cuius se saluti vovebit, nec enim contentus esse debet levi quadam huius cognitione sermonis, sed tanta ut expedite atque emendate loqui possit" AAS., XI (1911), 448. The Propaganda Instruction of 1659 insisted that religion was to be taught in the native speech (*Collect.*, I, 135): similarly, the Decrees of the Propaganda of March 17, 1766, March 21 and May 5, 1774, and October 18, 1883 (*Collect.*, II, n. 1606, n. 2) Cf. the New Codex, Can. 68, n. 3. The Mission Synods also have required the study and use of the native speech, especially the Chinese Synods (e.g., the first two of Peking, of 1880 and 1886, Hankow of 1887, the second and third of Hongkong; cf. *Summa decretorum synodaliūm*, 17 sq.), the Japanese Synod of Nagasaki (Tit. I, c. 2, a. 5), the Indian (e.g., that of Lahore, 1890) and the African Synods (Libreville, 1901, 66 n. 15.) This example has been followed by the Manuals (e. g., for China, Ybañez, 159 sqq., and Fabrègues, n. 30; for Farther India, *Directoire de la Cochinchine Occidentale*, 170 sqq.; for Africa, *Directoire of Bagamoyo*, 20 and Geyer, 148 sqq., n. 17, regarding both the pagan and Mohammedan zones). Among the Instructions of the regular orders we may mention those of the Carmelites (pp. 35 sqq.), also the earlier (cf. Streit, *BM*, I, *Register*, s. v. *Sprachstudium*) and modern treatises on the subject and methods of linguistic studies (especially Grösser in *ZM.*, III (1913), 30 sqq., and the special literature given there), also Winhuis on the fundamentals of philology (in *ZM.*, IX (1919), 232 sqq., *DMK.*, 37 sqq.), Thaurén (*Die Akkommodation* (1927)), and Carroll (*Our Missionary Life in India* (1917), V, 39—58). Cf. also above, 233 sqq., for the works of the older writers on mission theory (Acosta). On the Protestant side, on the whole question, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 49 sqq., chapter 37 (nn. 1—2, *Die missionarische Sprache*; n. 3, *Erforschung und Ausbildung*). "It is better," declares the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, "that a mission station should suffer for two years than that a missionary should be crippled in speech for forty years" (Report V; cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 181). Also see numerous articles in the periodicals—especially those by Zahn, on *Die Muttersprache in der Mission*, in *AMZ.*, XXII (1895), 337 sqq.; and Meinhof, on *Die Christianisierung der afrikanischen Sprachen*, in *AMZ.*, XXXII (1905), 82 sqq.

#### 4. Preaching to Pagans

Having discussed the lingual instrument for the proclamation of the Gospel, it is proper now to consider the proclamation itself, which is accomplished by two methods, by preaching and catechesis, or, to use another classification, by missionary discourses for the conversion of individuals and by public preaching directed to the

general pagan body,<sup>1</sup> both methods being exercised with the double aim of instructing unbelievers in Christian truths and precepts and inducing them to accept the Gospel. This preaching is, of course, to be distinguished from "community preaching," which is addressed to Christian converts, and "catechumenate preaching," which is intended for candidates for baptism.<sup>2</sup> Following Keppler's example, we may call this preaching to pagans, "kerystics" or "halieutics," to distinguish it from homiletics as cultivated for home pastoral work.<sup>3</sup> Even though preaching does not occupy so exclusive a po-

<sup>1</sup> "In the proper and strict sense, missionary preaching is the first and thus the initial announcement of the most important dogmatic and moral doctrines of Christianity to non-Christians, to lead these to the recognition of the emptiness of their previous religious and moral views and to move them to accept the only true religion of Christianity" (Freitag, *Die missionarische Predigt im apostolischen Zeitalter in Theologie und Glaube*, IX (1917), 124).

<sup>2</sup> We shall return to the former, among the means of confirming the newly converted (*Initiation into the Christian Life*) and to the latter, in connection with the catechumenate. Zahn insists that the missionary as such (not as a pastor) is always concerned with pagans and not with Christians in his preaching, and that his community preaching also must be frequently and for the most part sermons to pagans, since even new converts have still many pagan views, and pagans also attend the Divine services (*AMZ.*, XXII (1895). 20 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> "Homiletics indeed concerns itself no longer wholly with an aim which was in earlier times its chief task: the specific missionary aim of announcing the word of God to those who had not yet embraced the Christian or true faith. Homiletics, however, has rightly refused to consider under the same heading preaching to Christian people and preaching to unbelievers, because the two are different *in praxi* and are undertaken by different agents. Like the missionary vocation and the missionary power, missionary preaching proper never grows extinct in the Church; but because of the development of God's kingdom on earth, community preaching which obliges the Church *parta tueri* has assumed greater importance and extent and claims far more of the ecclesiastical teaching forces than the missionary preaching by which she strives to extend even farther her frontiers . . . . By this limitation of the task of homiletics, room is still left for a third didactic discipline, which might be named *kerystics* or *halieutics*, this undertaking to explain the principles which should govern the announcement of the word of God to unbelievers, with the purpose of leading them to the faith and winning them for the Church" (*Kirchenlexikon*, VI, 211). If a practical need for this discipline is denied on the grounds that missionaries are trained in special institutes according to traditional methods and the experience of centuries, we might for the very same reason declare homiletics itself superfluous.

sition in the Catholic as in the Protestant missions, it is for both alike an indispensable missionary means, in accordance with St. Paul's declaration: "*Fides ex auditu*" (*Rom.*, x, 17). The older writers on mission theory, again under Acosta's leadership, at the time showed how necessary and also how laborious this *catechizare* was, partly because the work of the catechist himself—the task of constantly inculcating the same doctrine—was attended with very many annoyances, and partly because the low cultural level of the barbarian tribes led to the temptation to wonder whether the prize was worth the pains. As a remedy for this feeling of apathy, Acosta recommended, on the authority of St. Augustine (*De catechizandis rudibus*), first, an all-conquering charity, and secondly, patient work with the confident hope of an eternal reward.<sup>4</sup> This preaching to pagans is, therefore, attended with grave difficulties, since it presupposes not only a thorough knowledge of the speech, but also of the morals and customs of the people to be converted: but it likewise constitutes, according to the *Propaganda Monita* of 1669, the chief goal and duty of the missionary vocation.<sup>5</sup>

Mission preaching in actuality is something entirely different from what popular current conceptions, in legend and art, would lead one to suppose. Rare indeed are the occasions when missionaries preach after the manner of St. Paul on the Areopagus, or of St. Boniface as the famous paintings show him. And where such policies have been followed (e. g., by the earlier Franciscans and Dominicans), they have not indicated the best missionary means. In their own interests and to attain their purposes more easily, the missions have always

<sup>4</sup> *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 426 sqq. (l. IV, c. 21 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> *Apostolici muneris praeceptum caput esse praedicationem, eoque potissimum omnem animi cogitationem ac studium referre debere missionarium, nemo est qui non intelligat* (*Monita ad Missionarios*, 35 sq.). Attention is called to the sending out of the Apostles and the declarations of St. Paul, and emphasis is thus laid on the necessity for a faithful preparation for the preaching office (39 sqq., art. II). Similarly the First Synod of Allahabad (1890), 18. "*Proprium missionarii munus est,*" Fabrègues also writes, "*Evangelizare paganos eisque regnum Dei et remissionem peccatorum praedicare*" (*Adiumentum regiminis*, n. 102).

adopted a much less conspicuous and pretentious method of approaching unbelievers. Neither in the case of primitive nor of civilized pagan races, would it be practicable or serve much purpose (at least under present conditions), for a missionary to appear suddenly in the streets or squares and proclaim Christ in a loud voice, even though in certain circumstances such an immediate introduction might be advantageous. The *rapprochement* between mission-subject and mission-object must usually proceed more slowly and gradually.

A beginning is made when a missionary settles temporarily or permanently among the pagans, or visits them at their houses or farms, and some occasion or motive brings them together. There is usually an intellectual or material excuse at hand, such as curiosity, a desire for knowledge, a cultural impulse, an economic motive or necessity, but sometimes also a religious need or longing for higher elucidations or blessings (because of doubts or anguish over sin); and the initiative may come from the seeking mission-subject or the approaching mission-object. Thus begun, the first stage of the missionary instruction and preaching develops usually in individual fashion from person to person in the elementary form of private discussion. By such colloquies with individuals our Divine Master first sought to instruct and convert mankind (e. g., the sick woman, the publican, the sinner, Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman), and the Apostle Paul also never hesitated to use such religious discussion (in addition to his sermons) to prepare the way for his preaching and partly to supplement it. Today this contact is usually more difficult to effect, on account of the much greater distance which separates the object from the subject of the mission. For this very reason the missionary must display skill and ingenuity, wisdom and pedagogical insight in utilizing every opportunity that presents itself (Warneck mentions building works, bartering of commodities, settling of disputes, sickness, the schools) to bring about an interchange of ideas with non-Christians and build a spiritual bridge for the Gospel by introducing gradually Christian teachings and hopes. In so far as the educated are concerned, apologetic discussions also are often of value; but the spiritually wise and zealous missionary will appeal, not to the intellect alone, but also to the heart, since conversion is a matter of the heart and conscience rather than a result of study and meditation. In connection with missionary preaching proper, this form of discourse, from mouth to mouth, or rather from heart to heart, will also be useful at all times for deepening and confirming preaching effects: it will indeed be necessary for the complete realization of the purpose of conversion, just as even missionary preaching itself, in its elementary stage, bears a conversational character, especially when addressed to primitive peoples. Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Mis-*

sionslehre, IV, 65 sqq., chapter 38 (*Das missionarische Gespräch*), and Skolaster in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 114 sq.

This private instruction must, however, soon lead to actual preaching among the pagans in the stricter sense of the word (i. e., to a large audience), since the conversations (at least if successful) have extended the circle of disciples, and the preaching of the Gospel will grow ever more public, as in fact is intended. Like Jesus Himself, and Paul, all missionaries of the past and present have made more or less use of missionary sermons, although on the Catholic side one comes upon remarkably little material on this subject on the methods and content of pagan preaching, and thus the actual afflatus of the missionary calling. But it is probable that the subject, belonging to the "self-evident things," has appeared not to require long discussion, although both mission theory and mission practice would be gratefully benefited by information and suggestions on the matter. We are thus compelled to apply to missionary preaching the general homiletical rules according to which the chief requisite for every sermon is that it shall implant and explain the Christian faith, and as its chief purpose lead to Christian conduct.\*

First of all, the question arises as to where the missionary preaching should take place—in a closed place or in the open air? In connection with the Protestant Indian missions, there has been a lively and instructive controversy since 1880 regarding the opportuneness of "street preaching." The friends of this policy cite the example of Jesus and Paul, and also claim that, when openly proclaimed, the Gospel attracts general attention, and saturates the atmosphere more thoroughly. The opponents insist that such open and obtrusive preaching often causes a tumult and scandal, is usually attended with little success, rather provoking non-Christians and discrediting Christianity. The majority favor its retention, but only with certain precautions and limitations (discontinuation in case of disturbances; only suitable places and preachers to be selected; disputations to be avoided, etc.). In Catholic mission practice, this sensational propaganda, which according to Warneck scatters its seed at random along the wayside and not seldom casts pearls before swine, has been generally avoided, except for a few enthusiastic attempts of the Mendicant

\* Cf. Keppler in *Kirchenlexikon*, VI, 212, sqq., and the inaccurate development of his views by Winthuis in *DMK.*, 36 sq. Like Keppler, the latter especially insists that the kerystic method must combine the practical with the scientific.



Orders in earlier times: it is indeed rightly discountenanced, because the Gospel may be all too easily robbed of its dignity and sacred character and compromised by such sensational methods, as the reaction which it provoked among the pagans in Ceylon and China, proves (*ZM.*, V (1915), 21, citing Becker and Kervyn as authorities). The citing of the example of Jesus and Paul is inadmissible, because the relations between the mission-subject and mission-object in their time was very different; and besides, these two missionary models, as Warneck himself emphasizes, sought publicity for their preaching only when willing, attentive, and receptive hearers were at hand. In the early stages of a mission or even when Christianity is fairly well naturalized, Catholic missionary preaching may also take this public form on special occasions, such as burials or exequies, especially among uncivilized races and in rural districts (as practised by the White Fathers in the Tanganyika Territory); but, wherever it would give offense, as in China and Japan, such an experiment must not be attempted, and the propaganda must develop as quietly and unostentatiously as possible within closed halls (cf. *Bombay Statutes*, 134). On the other hand, a semi-public method of preaching is not unsuccessfully cultivated, to a certain extent in China and especially in Japan, in the form of conferences or lectures which are frequently held in special conference halls or reception rooms (*ZM.*, V (1915), 21, citing Kervyn as authority). Another question is whether or how far itinerant preaching or preaching tours should be combined with station preaching which is carried on at locally prescribed and defined places. While the former or itinerant method of preaching is the rule in the Protestant missions, the Catholic missions prefer the latter and we can scarcely help supporting them in this choice since pagans are usually of a very low cultural standing and are thus converted only by constant and systematic instruction. Even Warneck feels compelled to utter a warning against the extreme world-evangelization theory, which, completely neglecting the station system, would whip its missionaries as restlessly as possible from place to place like tourists. Neither the mission command nor the Apostolic models afford any support for such a theory: the word *πορευθέντες* does not support it, since by this word Jesus does not state that the Apostles should not set out on their missionary journeys from fixed headquarters. Again, by the wholly extraordinary character of his personality and his pagan apostolate, Paul was impelled to adopt this hurried, "running," and even flying, mission method; but even he had fixed resting places, such as Ephesus and Corinth: he indeed declares, in *Acts*, xx, 20, that he has taught in public and private; but he usually taught in private residences (according to Freitag, *Die missionarische Predigt*, loc. cit. IX (1917), 145), sometimes even in prison. The "apostles," or professional missionaries of the post-apostolic period, were also itinerant preachers. But even Warneck concedes that, if the fruit is to be permanent and the work fundamental, and especially if a community and church are to be developed, the system of establishing stations must be adopted. He distinguishes between missionary

preaching journeys in which the *journey* and those in which the *preaching* is most emphasized. The former, as journeys of reconnaissance or investigation, belong to pioneer work and develop sooner or later into localized missionary activities, for which the way is prepared by preliminary or itinerant stations; the latter must issue from fixed central points and be confined to these particular territories, just as St. Paul set out from Ephesus (this was the prototype of missionary central station, and by the organization and cultivation of this community Paul made a most effective preparation for his missionary journeys and gained a footing for his message). For this reason Warneck also recommends larger, amply manned central stations, situated at wide distances from one another and with a network of outposts. He thus also demands seasoned missionaries for the itinerant preaching and against the use of native evangelists (still more against women) who, according to Fabrègues also, must never announce the word of God "*quasi ex cathedra*" (n. 88). Warneck likewise calls attention to the many and great difficulties which are connected with preaching journeys (deprivations, fatigue, dangers, living conditions, especially in the case of remote settlements). These suggestions may be also adopted in modified form for Catholic missionaries.

But how shall the mission preaching be done—in other words, what form and method shall it display? Let us repeat first of all what Acosta impressed on mission catechists, namely, that their instruction should be inspired and animated with love and patience, and especially that the shepherd of souls should persist and persevere long in his instruction, and should therefore reside in the midst of his flock (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 491 sqq., lib. V, c. 15). Let us also recall what Thomas a Jesu said at the beginning of his investigation of the form and method of presenting the Gospel. He declared that the mysteries of the faith were to be announced in one form to the pagans and in another to the Jews, in one form to the wise and in another to the barbarians—that is, that no specific form could be prescribed, but that the mode of evangelization depended on temporal, local, national, and personal conditions, and must therefore be left to the prudence of the missionaries; that, however, it accords with the natural order first to destroy the opposing errors and then to establish the truth (*De forma et methodo proponendi Evangelium infidelibus ac de munere principali ministrorum in hac parte*, in *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, 126 sq., lib. IV, c. 1, 2). A correction is here necessary, to the extent that, to supply immediately a positive substitute for the destroyed pagan customs and practices (i. e., of the magicians), they must be changed into Christian. We are also to remember that the Christian dogmas (mysteries) surpass all understanding and are not to be accepted by natural light, although they may be shown as "*evidenter credibilia*" in themselves and in comparison with other religions (a proof which a Jesu borrowed from Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gent.*, I, 6); that the evangelical doctrine cannot indeed, as a rule, be nowadays confirmed by signs and miracles; that it is very difficult to decide whether missionaries should engage in public religious

colloquies or disputations with unbelievers or should confine themselves to private instructions; that since such colloquies have had little success, great reserve should consequently be exercised in this connection (*ibid.*, 153 sq., lib. IV, c. 1, 7). According to *Collect.*, I, n. 241 sq., and Fabrègues, n. 217, *disputationes publicae* are forbidden, because their success is too often dependent on external factors. They are largely replaced by religious or apologetic conferences and lectures, such as are held by the missionaries, for example, in the East Asiatic missions (especially in Japan). Instruction at seasonable times is indeed always allowable, and an opportunity for introducing Christian doctrine frequently occurs during daily intercourse. In his ninth book, Thomas a Jesu explained how missionaries should deal with Jews (*blandimentis non asperitatibus*, as given in the Old Testament); in the tenth, how they should deal with Mohammedans (*nec auctoritate nec ratione, aggrediendi sunt leniter*); and finally, in the eleventh, how they should deal with and help pagans. Like Acosta, he divided pagans into three classes: those with literature and political constitution, those with a political order but no literature, and finally barbarians without either literature or political order, who must first be educated in human morals and especially alienated from idolatry (*ibid.*, 817 sqq.). In accordance with Keppler's law of homiletics, Father Winthuis demands that the pagan preaching shall be catechetical, timely, kindly, and patient, clear, concrete, lively, popular, easily intelligible, simple, rich with illustrations and examples, supported by descriptive statements and filled with conviction and enthusiasm (*DMK.*, 40 sqq.).

We now come to the substance of the missionary preaching: What shall the missionary announce to the pagans? What is the message which he has to deliver from God to men? The answer may be given in two words: the Gospel. And what does this Gospel contain? It contains primarily the news and the glad tidings of the Saviour and of salvation. "*Finis Christianae doctrinae*," reads the title of Acosta's fifth book, treating of the substance of mission preaching, "*Christi cognitio et dilectio*"—consequently, the intellectual knowledge of Christ in faith and His ethical apprehension in love, that is, in conduct (*De procuranda Indorum salute*, 436). *Quamobrem illa prima ac praecipua cura esse debet ministri Evangelici, ut gentilibus Christum annuntiet, cum sit nullum aliud nomen sub coelo datum hominibus ad salutem consequendam. Neque vero potest quisquam aliud fundamentum ponere, neque est aliud ostium neque via alia ad vitam aeternam. Christus Alpha et Omega, et principium sapientiae totius et finis. Desinat Christi minister quaerere quid aliud doceat quam Christum, qui factus est nobis sapientia et iustificatio et redemptio* (437) . . . . *Haec ergo prima et maxima Evangelici catechistae praeceptio sit, ut neophytus Christum teneat et memoria ac intelligentia menteque tota, quantum capax est, capiat. Et quamvis res notissima sit, quam loquor, nullisque testibus egeat, tamen dignum est primos Evangelii praedicatorum contemplari quid docuerint et quo omnis eorum spectarit oratio. A Christo instructi et redempti nihil aliud quam Christum*

*Magistrum et Redemptorem loquebantur* [note here St. Paul: 'Nos praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Judaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, ipsis autem vocatis Judaeis atque Graecis Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam'] (439). Cf. in this connection the Instructions of Nikolaus Herborn (1532). Acosta gave a searching refutation of the opinion that anyone could be saved without a knowledge of Christ (loc. cit., 441 sqq., lib. V, c. 3), or that uneducated Christians could without a *fides explicita* in Him (*ibid.*, 451 sqq., V, 4). Cf. *Monita ad Missionarios*, of 1659, pp. 42 sq. Jesus Christ Himself is thus the substance of the Gospel, the "personified, incarnate Gospel" (Warneck). And since He is the Gospel, the messenger of the Gospel must portray Him not so much from the dogmatic as from the historic side: he should begin not so much with Christological dogma as with Christian facts, should concern himself less with defining the abstract substance than with telling of the living Personality. He should tell that Christ the Son of God came down to earth and redeemed all men (including the actual hearers) by His death: thus he should bring a message of redemption, atonement, grace, salvation, consolation, and peace,—or, in other words, a joyful message (Warneck) associated especially with the awakening of a desire to be saved. Whether the message of the Cross or of the kingdom of heaven should serve as the starting point is more or less immaterial and depends on circumstances. In any case, the death on the Cross and the Resurrection occupy a central position in this missionary message, as the example of St. Paul also teaches us; and with them is to be immediately associated the doctrine of the workings of grace in connection with sin, penance, and judgment. And the other incidents of the life of Jesus, even if not indispensable elements, belong also in their fundamental features to the Gospel, as the four great "Gospels" (the record of the first Apostolic preaching) show us—i. e., the Ascension of Christ, Christ's position as Lord and Judge of the whole world and all mankind, and finally the whole historical connection of Jesus the Redeemer with the facts of the Old Testament and His fulfilment of Holy Writ. Thus, even the preaching of the Apostles to the Jews differed from their message to the pagans: while, in the case of the former, the coming of the Messiah and the existence of the one God might be taken for granted, this basis had first to be established in the case of the latter (e.g., on the Areopagus) by adducing natural and historical evidence of the existence of God and then leading gradually to Christ. The one true God, His Son Jesus, and the Day of the General Judgment were the elements of the message of primitive Christianity which led to faith and penance (cf. Pieper, *Die Missionspredigt des hl. Paulus*, Paderborn, 1921). From all said above there arises a practical conclusion to be drawn by the missionary, and a challenge to the pagans to renounce their pagan nonsense and sin, to turn to the Redeemer, apply the redemption to themselves personally through faith and repentance—or in other words, to become converted and to prove this conversion by joining the Church. The missions of today must also, according to

Warneck, establish as central facts and requirements the actual, divine, events of the history of Jesus and their practical application, the acts of God and the human acts which follow therefrom, the details to vary (of course) with the condition of the mission-object. In this connection, the apologetic and irenic factors and the needs of the pagan temperament must not be overlooked.

Answering the question as to the most natural and effective link or medium between the Gospel and the inner understanding of pagan auditors, Warneck says that we should start, not from the Bible which is still foreign to the pagans, but from their own religious ideas, and then, by polemic and positive antithesis bridge the way to Christianity. The Edinburgh World Congress declares this process to be the cardinal point of missionary preaching (Report of Commission IV). Fear and love, misery and salvation, death and life, darkness and light, heaven and hell, and also the personalities of Jesus and the founders of the pagan religions, are to be powerfully contrasted. Starting from religious need, which is a more or less important factor in every religion, the missionary must show that this need finds its true and full satisfaction in Christianity alone. But however considerate the missionary may show himself in this procedure, he must not attempt any syncretic adulteration of Christian teaching; and he must represent Christianity as not merely a higher degree or stage of paganism but as something fundamentally new, because otherwise the pagan will find no need for conversion. The missionary must strive not only for an intellectual but also a moral and religious process of conversion, not simply to convince the understanding by a "combat of words" and a "play of ideas" (Warneck) but also to move the heart and will by awakening practical resolutions and thus securing dispositions toward ethical purification along with an apologetic refutation of objections. But above all, the attack on pagan beliefs, in itself destructive, must be supplemented by the positive establishment of the contents of Christian revelation; this should be effected in as simple and clear a manner as possible, illustrated with parables, examples, maxims, and perhaps even by pictorial representations, according to the mental scope and knowledge of the hearers (Warneck, *Missionslehre*). From practical and literary discussions, and from the Early Christian, medieval, and modern apologies, we learn on what points in particular the missions must instruct and convince the pagans (the essential points of difference, especially as to the oneness of God and the Redemption), and also that the missions, exercising a wise moderation, must confine themselves at first to the most necessary things and broaden and deepen the instruction after baptism. The Catechism of Cardinal Sanseverino holds that the missionary should purposely and systematically withhold certain mysteries and sacraments from the instructions before the conversion of pagans, and return to these subjects afterwards. From these suggestions we reach one great conclusion in particular, namely, that the missionary preacher is to reduce the Gospel and Christianity as nearly as possible to its kernel and essence, and in both the form and

matter of his instructions to adapt himself as far as possible to the intellectual powers and outlook of the mission-object; that in the terminology and to some extent also in the matter (at least as regards the measure and degree), no such demands are to be made of aspirants and beginners as a complete dogmatic system with all the subtleties resulting from a complicated development of centuries is justified in demanding of ancient Christendom. An elementary Christendom in as simple a guise as possible—this is also for Catholics the postulate of a truly pedagogical and enlightened preaching to pagans.

According to the prevailing theory and practice, the whole Revelation (thus, besides Christ, all the truth He taught) belongs in the wider sense to the Gospel and thus to the object of the mission preaching. Acosta pointed out that all Christians must know *de praecepto* at least the mysteries contained in the Creed, and must therefore be instructed in them, especially in the mystery of the Blessed Trinity in the name of which they are baptized, and in the doctrine of the Church as to (1) its Catholicity, (2) its Apostolicity, infallibility, and holiness, (3) admission into it through baptism. If, because of imminent danger of death, a candidate could not be adequately instructed, the Council of Lima directed that a brief instruction should be given him on the following points: (1) the Trinity; (2) God as the Creator and the Rewarder; (3) the Redemption; and (4) baptism (466, V, 8). On the ethical side, the Ten Commandments, which culminate in the love of God and one's neighbor, must be inculcated. Idolatry above all must be combated, not so much by violent extirpation as by expelling it from the hearts of the pagans and indeed wherever possible removing all evidences of it from their sight and eradicating all idolatrous practices (468 sqq., V, 9—11). Acosta recommended especially three arguments for the refutation of idolatry: from the nature of the pagan gods, from their powerlessness and ignorance, and from the providence in human affairs. Besides the worship of God, the charity as to self and one's neighbor must also be preached and explained to the pagans, since they frequently hold this matter in slight respect (483 sqq., V, 12 sq.).

Thomas a Jesu, as already said, distinguished between the Jewish, Mohammedan, and pagan missions (also between schismatic and heretical missions) by stating that, in opposition to the Jewish errors, it should be shown first that the Messiah had already appeared in fulfilment of *Gen.*, xlix, and the prophecy of Daniel; secondly, that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah, as shown by the accordance of the signs described by the prophets; while the Jewish arguments against the messianic character and divinity of Christ must be refuted (*Libri noni pars prima*). For the conversion of the Saracens the Koran must first be refuted, because of its origin (it did not originate from God, and Mohammed was not an envoy of God), its contents (absurdities, contradictions, and falsehoods), its depravities (permits unnatural sins, adultery, harlotry, polygamy, supplies sinners with no means of salvation; teaches the salvation of all in its law; practices violence and injustice), and its form

(without order or style), its aim (which consists ultimately in carnal pleasures): with these defects the holiness of Christ, according to Mohammed's own testimony and the excellence of the Christian law or Gospel, should be contrasted (Book X, parts 1 and 2). Finally, to dispel pagan errors, it should be shown what man's final goal is (God and everlasting bliss), what eternal life consists of (that God is the first Principle and Creator of all things, that there is and can be only one God, that He cares for all things, that He is an infinitely perfect Being, that consequently idolatry is an extremely foolish religion, that God is the last aim of man and of all other creatures, that man's soul is immortal and another life follows this, that man must thus adore God and serve Him (Book XI, part 1, ch. 3—13)). Then follow a *Brevis forma proponendi gentibus sanctum Evangelium* (chap. 14), a *Brevis convincendi paganos formula* from Lactantius (chap. 15—16), another formula of Savonarola for establishing the Catholic faith against pagans (chap. 17), and in the Appendix a General Catechism for the catechumens by Cardinal Sanseverino, which discusses and analyzes the mode of instructing the learned and unlearned (chap. 5), what the neophytes especially must know and believe (chap. 7), that faith in Christ is not sufficient without a knowledge of the Commandments (chap. 8), that love of God and one's neighbor and the expectation of a reward must be also included (chap. 9).

The other literary theses on missionary preaching written during this period agree substantially with the foregoing. Erasmus of Rotterdam, humanist (*De ratione concionandi*), and Nikolaus Herborn, the Franciscan, describe how and what the missionary should preach, and what the characteristics of the apostolic preacher should be (*ZM.*, I (1911), 217 sq.). The great apostle of the Dominican Order, Bartholomew de las Casas, has left us his first sermon to the Indians, preached on the Feast of the Ascension, and also the first sermon of his confrere, Antonio Montesino (*Historia general de las Indias*, lib. III, cc. 4 and 79). We also possess a course of instructions for the Mexican Franciscans, by Alonso de Molina, from the year 1556 (Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 109), and another in the *Itinerarium Catholicum proficiscentium ad infideles convertendos*, written in 1541 by Johann Focher, O.F.M. (*De competenti infidelium ad fidem venientium instructione et de modo catechizandi*, *ZM.*, III (1913), 279). From a later period we have a *Rhetorica Catholica* (1579) by the Franciscan Valades, which was also used for the conversion of the Mexican Indians (c. 8, *demonstrativa Indorum exhortatio ad suorum rituum et morum, nostraeque fidei catholicae amplexationem*; c. 9, *rationes quibus ad nostram religionem Deique obedientiam inducantur*; cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 131), and the *Breve Tratado* (1558) of the Dominican Luis de Granada, on the manner of presenting the Christian faith and religion (cc. 2—3, on the catechetical treatment in general, cc. 4—10, on the different mysteries of faith; cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 170). St. Francis Xavier has not only given us a practical example of a zealous pagan missionary, but has also left us a *Rudes catechizandi methodus*, especially an explanation of the Creed which formed the basis of his

missionary instructions in the Moluccas (*Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, 828—845), and hints which have been compiled and utilized in the *Monita S. Francisci Xaverii* of 1849 and 1897 (c. 22, *de modo concionandi*; c. 23, *de modo catechizandi*; cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, nn. 1272 and 1785). An introduction, *De modo persuadendi mysteria fidei*, also contains in the first part the *Instructio missionum* (1605) of the Carmelite, Johannes a Jesu Maria (Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 276), a *Catechismo evangelico* (on the instruction of baptism), the theory of the Negro mission, by the Jesuit, Alonso de Sandoval of 1627 (*BM.*, I, n. 436), and *General Documents on the Service of the Word and Concerning the Instruction of the Catechumens*, the manual of instructions of the Paris Seminary and the Propaganda of 1669 (*BM.*, I, n. 629).

These *Monita ad Missionarios* (*Instructiones ad munera apostolica rite obeunda*, and at the beginning of the fifth chapter *Quomodo missionario vacandum sit gentium conversioni*), discuss the chief dogmas by which the necessity of religion is established in opposition to the different pagan views: (1) the unity and goodness of God, (2) the immortality of the soul, (3) everlasting happiness in the next life, (4) the necessity of grace, (5) the obligation of man to co-operate (ed. 1893, art. I, 41 sqq., with allusions to Granada and Savonarola). The missionary should not adduce too subtle arguments to establish these dogmas, and should introduce them, not as a new doctrine but as if the pagans already knew them; he should not bring forward new objections but only the usual ones, and should especially extol those divine characteristics which incite to adoration (*ibid.*, 44 sq.). Art. II explains that God demands religious worship, not for His own sake, but for ours (citing as elementary motives for pagans and catechumens the goodness of God as opposed to tyranny or slavery); art. III deals with the law and precepts of religion (faith, hope, and charity, with a comparison between Revelation and pagan errors); art. IV discusses the method of combating idolatry in the case of frequent relapse of pagans (four causes; incite them to contrition, penance, and prayer); art. V treats of the prudence which the preacher of the Gospel must exercise in treating with unbelievers according to their dispositions (the obstinate, the fanatical, the cold, and those who doubt their own religion). The dogmas to be presented to the catechumens (c. 6, a. 2) are divided into natural truths and supernatural mysteries; the instruction must advance step by step from the first to the second category, the virtues (charity and prayer) being included and warnings uttered against vices (idolatry and unchastity, 65 sqq.); other dogmas for the catechumens are original sin, the Fall of the Angels, the Creation, Christ and the Redemption (a. 3); the objections of the unbelievers to original sin and the Divine justice are confuted (a. 4); the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Trinity, to be taught, after several days' prayers, in connection with the last-mentioned dogmas (a. 5); preaching on the life and death, the virtues and passion of Christ (a. 6); on the evangelical law: (1) faith, (2) hope, (3) the Decalogue, (4) the Eucharist, (5) the Sacraments (a. 7); objections of unbelievers, based on a later revela-



tion (a. 8); motives and grounds for proving and keeping the Christian law (a. 9); characteristics and marks of the Church (a. 10), its constitution (a. 11). The Propaganda thus demands, among other things, a thorough instruction on God, the divine characteristics and the everlasting reward (1645, *Collect.*, I, n. 1188), the history of the Passion of Christ (1645, *ibid.*, I, n. 114), and as the chief mysteries of the faith, the *Symbolum*, the Lord's Prayer, Precepts of the Church, effects of baptism, the theological virtues (1883, II, 195, XVII), the mystery of the Eucharist (1703 and 1845) and all positive divine laws (1703, *Collect.*, I, n. 256).

In the missions of all the centuries we have also a school for the study of mission preaching. The Pagan Apostle *κατ' ἐξοχήν* early shows us how mission preaching accommodates itself to the mission-object; how, according to the nature of this object, it emphasizes now the points of resemblance and now the points of difference; how it destroys falsity and error, on the one hand, and establishes the Christian message, on the other; how it links itself especially with existing religious elements of a dogmatic and ethical nature (cf. St. Paul's sermon in the synagogues and on the Areopagus). According to Freitag, the central place in the Apostolic and post-Apostolic preaching was occupied by the doctrine of the one true God, of Jesus the Saviour of the World, His Death and Resurrection, His Second Coming and the resurrection in the flesh—thus the essential truths expressed in the *Symbolum* or the "Gospel" simply—and then, as a correlative of the message of faith, Christian morality in contrast to pagan perfection (*Die missionarische Predigt im apostolischen und nachapostolischen Zeitalter, Theol. u. G.*, IX (1917), 124 sqq.). The Early Christian apologists also regarded it as their common task to prove, on the one hand, the untenableness and the imperfection of polytheism, and on the other, the truth and superiority of monotheism, assuming indeed now a more irenic and now a more polemic method according to their attitude towards paganism. The medieval preaching to pagans also sought to establish first the absurdity and horror of idolatrous worship (cf. the argumentation of the *Karolingischer Missionskatechismus* and of Daniel of Winchester, for St. Boniface; also the "propaganda of action" by the physical destruction of the idols), then the unity of God and the knowledge of Christ, with the promise of everlasting reward in heaven or punishment in hell (according to Konen and Lau, *ZM.*, VII (1917), 183 sqq.). That in the modern era this question of accommodation and of establishing links with paganism divided Catholic mission practice into two camps is shown by the Chinese-Malabar Rite Controversy. In India the Jesuits linked their preaching with the Brahman Vedas, of which they declared the Gospel to be the last and the most sublime; in Japan they linked their preaching with Buddhism, and in China with Confucianism; while in the native religious literature of South America they sought to discover elements in harmony with Christianity such as the Church Fathers had found in the pagan philosophers. Even today momentum is given to the positive side of this question in some

quarters, and to the negative in others; but by far the best method is, of course, to seek to establish some sort of equilibrium between the two.

In the missionary practice of today, it is not possible to follow at all closely any but the preaching methods of Eastern Asia (ZM., V (1915), 13, 21, 28). The Indian missionaries use Divine service as the occasion for expounding the fundamental truths of Christianity to pagans who may happen to be present. While, according to Archbishop Laouenuan of Pondicherry, a close, yet plain and clear-cut argument must be addressed to the Hindus and Brahmans, the Apostolic Delegate Zaleski warns against every provocation offered Mohammedans through dialectic attacks (*Les missionnaires d'aujourd'hui*, 41 sqq.). In preaching to the pagans in China, the polemical procedure must be also specific and prudent, with avoidance of all unnecessary attacks on Confucianism and ancestor-worship (Kervyn, *Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine*, 470; Becker, *Le R. P. Gonnet*, 245). In the Christianization of catechumens and neophytes, the preaching should combine doctrinal requirements with moral (Kervyn, 458 sqq.). Pagans, on the one hand, and newly converted and advanced Christians, on the other, are regarded as the special objects of "evangelical preaching," while the definite aim is the ethico-religious conversion and perfection of man through the cultivation of Christian faith and conscience. As postulates and conditions for overcoming the characteristic indifference of the Chinese, truth, simplicity, a supernatural character, and repetition are required in the preaching (Kervyn, 478 sqq., *Méthodes de la prédication évangélique*). Citing the example of Christ and the Apostles, the Chinese Synod of Shansi (1880, 31 sqq.) inculcates preaching as the chief means of pagan conversion: the missionaries must devote all their thoughts and zeal to the subject; they should avoid elegance, since God converts people through simplicity of speech and not through learned disquisitions; and since public preaching usually brings little fruit, it should be replaced by benevolent exhortations given in private, either in the homes of the natives or at the house of the missionary (similarly, *Summa decretorum Setchuen et Hongkong*, 120 sq.). Cf. also the Hongkong Synod of 1875, c. V (*De ministerio sacro et de gentium conversione*), and the Shansi Synod of 1880, S. V, c. i (*De conversione gentilium procuranda*). The Japanese-Corean Synod of Nagasaki (1890) demands well-prepared sermons, especially where the kingdom of God has not yet been announced. "*Evitetur sermocinando*," declares its methodical regulation, "*quidquid lites, et contentiones tantum generare protest, at nec directe et acerbe aut cum irrisione impugnetur infidelium religio; neque de ea disputatio fiat nisi ex necessitate, scilicet ut si quis coram interrogatus respondeat; quod semper ingenue et comiter agendum est. Secus, evangelistae officio factum est satis, quando externa veritas omnibus clare et pulchre enuntiata est. Perambulent missionarii civitates et pagos, praesertim eos, in quibus haeresis aut schisma nondum propagata fuerunt, ut mentes hominum prior occupet divina nostra religio*" (*Acta et De-*

*creta*, 108). Cf. the Indian Provincial Councils, Tit. I (*De fide*).

Besides the above descriptions of the missionary methods of today, the general manuals on mission pastoral theology and the older methodological works, the Catholic literature on pagan preaching is very deficient. Except for the address of Father Winthuis in the *DMK.*, of 1919, the only monograph on missionary preaching is Bonjean's work *De munere docendi* of 1877 (Streit, *BM.*, I. n. 1476), included in the Directorium of the Diocese of Jaffna (1903); and for catechesis, a *Précis de la doctrine chrétienne* (1905) written for the White Fathers in Africa, with questions and answers on the truths of faith. The Protestant treatment of this subject is very much richer, not only in published model sermons and collections of sermons, but also in theoretical discussions. Cf. especially Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chapter 39 (*Die missionarische Predigt*), IV, 72—130, with the literature cited at the beginning (particularly the Reports of the English Conferences). This is substantially the same as the article which Warneck published in *AMZ.*, VII (1880), 510 sqq., under the same title. Cf. also Zahn, *Die evangelische Heidenpredigt in AMZ.*, XXII (1895), 26 sqq., 58 sqq., and in *EMM.*, besides special articles on pagan preaching in India and China, *Was, wie und wo soll ein Missionar predigen?* XXXV (1891), 129 sqq. More recent articles are: Weismann, *Die Missionspredigt in EMM.*, LVIII (1914), 473 sqq.; Schomerus' articles, discussing the preaching in India on sin, final hope, the Redeemer and Redemption in *AMZ.*, XLIV (1917), 309 sqq., 385 sqq., 426 sqq., 441 sqq., Schlatter, *Das Gesetz und das Evangelium in der Heidenpredigt und in der Christengemeinde in AMZ.*, XLV (1918), 129 sqq.; Monographs: Hesse, *Die Heidenpredigt in Indien*, (Basle, 1883); Bohne, *Wie ich den Heiden predige* (Basle, 1888); Hoch, *Die Aufgabe der Missionspredigt in Indien* (*Basler Missionsstudien*, 1901). All these works are surpassed by the fundamental and scientifically sound monograph by Brouwer, *Hoe te prediken voor Heiden en Mohemmedanen, proeve van eene theorie der evangelie verkondiging op het sendingsveld Formeel gedeelte* (Rotterdam, 1916). Concerning the pagan catechesis, cf. *below*, in connection with the catechumenate.

### 5. Catechumenate and Baptism

Having discussed the rules and laws of pagan preaching in general, we come to two titles which of themselves indicate special means for winning and converting single souls and distinctly realizing the missionary aim. Considering the missionary task, we found that the reception of baptism, applying redemption and justification to pagans, presupposes certain dispositions arrived at through preparation and brings to definite conclusion the process of conversion. To convey to candidates the knowledge necessary for baptism, and to establish in them the requisite moral and religious conditions, through doctrinal

instruction and training in the Christian life, demands more than general missionary preaching: it calls for special teaching for baptism, at least for the adult candidates, with whom the pagan missions as such have chiefly to deal. This instruction is given through the ancient institution of the catechumenate.

*The Acts of the Apostles* and the Pauline Epistles give one the impression that such an institute as the catechumenate was unknown to the Apostolic missions, and that, immediately after the first preaching or instruction, the convinced and willing pagans were baptized. Apart, however, from the fact that the preliminary conditions of the mission-object of the time were exceptionally favorable for the comprehension of the Gospel, and that the graces of the Holy Ghost cooperated in the work to an extraordinary degree, the Apostles also demanded in normal cases a more detailed preparation and instruction prior to the baptism—that is, between the first preaching and the baptism. Both the *Didache* and the primitive outline of the faith in the Apostles' Creed show us that baptism was preceded by a systematic instruction: the first part of the *Didache* on the "Two Ways" (Life and Death), like the second part of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (on Light and Darkness), is nothing else than a manual of moral instruction for baptismal candidates. From the second century when it was mentioned by Justin Martyr and the *Pseudo-Clementine Epistles*, we find the proper order of the catechumenate in the Church, its necessity and regulation having arisen from the ecclesiastical development of communities and from collective self-propagation through assimilation. We possess directions for this instruction in St. Augustine's tractate, *De catechizandis rudibus*, and models in the twenty-four *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem; the so-called *pro-catechesis*, which to a large extent took the place of pagan preaching in Christian antiquity, may be also included here. As is known, the catechumens of the Early Church were divided into several classes: the *rudes*, the first or intermediate grade between paganism and the catechumenate, who had to bind themselves to refrain from idolatry; the *audientes* or *genuflectentes*, who were present during the sermon, but not the Mass; and the *competentes*, also called *illuminati* as immediate candidates for baptism, who might remain until the end of the *Missa Catechumenorum*. Promotion to one class or another was effected by symbolic ceremonies or initiations: to the *rudes* by the Sign of the Cross (*obsignatio crucis*), the *audientes* by the imposition of hands and the anointing of the ears, and the *competentes* by exorcism, anointing, the presentation of salt, and opening of the ears, with the *traditio et redditio symboli*. The purpose of this *cursus*, which occupied two years or longer, was not merely instruction in the Christian truths, but a testing and preparation, and a gradual introduction and training in the ecclesiastical life, associated to a large extent with the *disciplina arcani*. To what extent this gradual procedure was due to pedagogical reasons rather

than to fear of betrayal to the pagans, is difficult to say. In accordance with the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 39 sqq.), the instruction, which was given first by deacons and in the final stage by the bishop, centered on God, the Creation, the history of the Redemption, and the moral precepts; according to St. Augustine, the instruction of the *rudes* consisted of hortative stories based on the Old Testament (after an investigation of the motive for joining); the instruction of the *audientes* was concerned with Christ, His Person, His history, and His work; that of the *competentes* with an exposition of the *Symbolum* and the Lord's Prayer. According to the *Catecheses of St. Cyril*, the instruction (after a *pro-catechesis*) dealt first with sin, the devil, baptism, faith, and Holy Writ (4), then with the various articles of the Creed (14), and finally, after baptism, with the sacraments and prayers (5 mystagogic catecheses). According to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the prescribed minimum duration of the instruction was three years (which might be abridged in the case of zealous candidates); later it was forty days (Thomas a Jesu cited in support of this Jerome, Cyril, Siricius, Gregory, and the Councils), but an extension of this period was widely recommended (e. g., by Tertullian and the Clementines, the Third Council of Nicæa and the First Council of Constantinople; cf. Thomas a Jesu, 873). Cf. Freitag, *Die Erziehung der Taufkandidaten im altchristlichen Katechumenat* (ZM., XVII (1927), 177 sqq.

In the Middle Ages (ZM., VII (1917), 185 sq.), this Early Christian form of the catechumenate fell gradually into disuse owing to the prevalence of infant baptism, and is now no longer obligatory. But the catechumenate as such did not entirely disappear: the episcopal conference which met in the time of Charlemagne (thus, in the period of the greatest alienation of the missions), and issued regulations for the mission to the Avari, ordered that the barbarian people were to be instructed from seven to forty successive days before baptism in the Christian faith, and that they should at least know what they were to receive in baptism; after baptism they were to be instructed in the moral obligations of Christianity (Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* II, 464). It is indeed true that the medieval missions and those of the era of the great discoveries usually erred by administering mass baptisms too quickly and without sufficient preparation. Even Willibrord and Boniface, and later Francis Xavier, did not shrink from baptizing on their journeys pagans who expressed a desire for conversion, although they had not received much instruction (Lau, *Die angelsächsische Missionsweise im Zeitalter des Bonifaz*, 1909, 61). In the modern period we encounter the catechumenate as a system and institute only in isolated cases: for example, in Goa, where, at the command of their General and Founder, the Jesuits opened in 1555 a double catechumen house for the instruction of men and women before baptism (Müllbauer, *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, 94), while Pius V. in 1567 granted indulgences to all who contributed towards or assisted in the building of houses for Indian catechumens (Morel, *Fasti Novi Orbis*; cf. Streit, *BM.*, I, n. 1034,

117). The Instructions of Francis Xavier, S. J., Alonso de Molina, O.F.M., and Luis de Granada, O. Pr., in the sixteenth century, and of the Carmelite a Jesu Maria, the Jesuit Sandoval, and the Propaganda in the seventeenth century, supply valuable suggestions concerning the range and method of the systematic instruction of catechumens (cf. above, under Preaching to Pagans). Cf. also, Kilger, *Zur Entwicklung der Katechumenatspraxis vom 15.—18. Jahrhundert*, ZM., XV (1925), 166 sqq.

The General Catechism of Cardinal Sanseverino, which was printed in Thomas a Jesu's work and was based almost exclusively on the old authors, contains useful hints on the treatment of catechumens, although these were rather adapted, it is true, to the Roman catechumenate for Jewish converts. This Catechism states that, when an adult wishes to embrace the Christian faith, he should be brought immediately to the bishop or priest, who should receive him in a friendly manner, test his disposition and motives, exhort him to break off intercourse with unbelievers, direct his attention towards the saving of his soul, and enjoin him to renounce his sins (c. 1). After the catechumen has been tested and accepted, he should declare his willingness in writing; if he has a wife and children, these should be placed for some time in Christian families to receive religious instruction and decide with regard to embracing the faith (c. 2). The priest should then admit him among the catechumens, with prayer and ceremonies (breathing over him, making the Sign of the Cross, and imposition of hands) and install him in the catechumenate house, which should be established in all large towns where Jews and unbelievers reside (otherwise in a cloister or private house): Here, shut off from the outside world, the candidate should be carefully instructed and also engaged in corporal works, and wherever possible for longer than the traditional forty successive days (c. 3.) During this period of preparation, virtues and pious practices should be inculcated; and the candidates should be frequently exorcized (c. 4). As regards the object, candidates are to be instructed in the fundamental Christian truths (the Trinity, the creation, original sin, the Redemption, errors, Sign of the Cross, the Symbolum, Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue) according to their education and power of comprehension (according to the old *disciplina arcani*, the more profound mysteries were imparted only after baptism), and also in Christian morals (c. 5).

It is only in the most recent times that a regular catechumenate has again become the general rule. This revival is due primarily to the institution of more fundamental missionary methods which employ mainly spiritual means. All are agreed that a well-regulated and organized catechumenate is necessary, because only thus can the requisite qualifications and preparation of the baptismal candidates be guaranteed and the individual and social task thus be fulfilled; because, to quote the

Synod of Nagasaki, perseverance after baptism usually depends on the method of preparation before baptism, even though the Early Christian catechumenate with its various degrees need not be mechanically imitated. In details, the present catechumenate practice varies greatly as regards duration, arrangement, and so forth, and it is thus difficult to establish or discover laws of universal application. These can be best deduced from a comparison of the catecheses and catechisms of the missions, from actual administration, and from the instructions which the Propaganda, Synods, and mission Superiors have published regarding such administration.

The Instructions of the Propaganda regarding the catechumenate and catechumens are indeed scanty. "*Primus accendentium ad finem gradus*," begins the Sixth Chapter (*De catechumenorum institutione*) of the *Instructiones ad munera apostolica rite obeunda* of 1669, "*est catechumenorum, qui ex gentilitate veniunt animo christianam amplectendi religionem*" (*Monita ad missionarios*, 64). When an adult wishes to become a Christian and to be instructed, the missionary should receive him in friendly fashion, and before accepting him as a catechumen should investigate closely his character and reasons for conversion (whether from hate, revenge, avarice or other human motives); the missionary should then pray with the candidate for enlightenment; he should treat the catechumens well and not make excessive demands on them, endure their imperfections, initiate them gradually into the Christian religion, and exorcize them frequently (*ibid.*, 64 sqq.). The doctrines to be taught them are enumerated in the following articles (*ibid.*, 65 sqq.). In the Instruction of 1869, the East Indian missionary bishops are exhorted to found catechumenate houses for the reception and care of baptismal candidates (separate houses for the different sexes and castes), as the most effective means of attracting and supporting them (*Collect.*, II, 2nd ed., 1346, 40). Decision as to the duration is left by the Propaganda to the Vicars Apostolic (*ibid.*, 652, Decision of 1801 for Shansi and Shensi). To the question of the Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan as to whether he might discontinue the four degrees of the catechumenate before the baptism of adults, which, according to Bellarmine and Bona, were customary in the primitive Church, the Congregation of the Office answered somewhat evasively (in 1724) that, after sufficiently instructing the catechumens, all the ceremonies and exorcisms should be retained in accordance with the precepts of the *Rituale* (*Collect.*, I, 301).

According to the African Decrees of Cameroon (1906), the catechumenate period should last one and a half to two years in ordinary cases, and the baptism must be postponed if circumstances require it (XIV, 4, 60). In former German East Africa, the catechumenate lasted two years under the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and four years under the White Fathers: the East African Conference pre-

scribed, instead, at least two years for industrious school children who enjoyed religious instruction, and at least three years for adults, "without prejudice to the still longer periods decreed in many vicariates, while the sick and aged need be instructed only in the necessary things" (7). The Synod of Cameroon demands that the missionary shall, in particular, explain clearly the meaning of the principal ideas and accustom the catechumens (before baptism especially) to the practical exercise of the Christian life (morning and evening prayers, attendance at Mass, the observance of fasts and abstinence); that he shall frequently admonish them that life after baptism must be entirely different from that during their pagan days, and above all that a relapse into their old vices would be a scandal to religion (XIV, 12, 61). According to the Decrees of the East African Conference, admission into the catechumenate should be accompanied with a certain solemnity, prayers, and the presentation of a cross or medal; only from this time are the candidates to be entered as catechumens in the public statistics; since this admission should occur for all candidates without distinction two years before baptism, there must be a pro-catechumenate of one year, for adults; the determination of the solemn tests of the catechumens is reserved to the Vicars Apostolic (8 and 9). As to providing a catechism for the catechumens, which he calls "by far the most important task of the missionary work in pagan lands," Bishop Geyer prescribes as follows: (1) the explanations should be simple and clear, and adapted to the mode of thought and power of comprehension of the candidates, and, as the aim is to win and train new adherents of Christ and the Church, they should deal especially with the divinity of Christ and the only true Church; (2) the fundamental truths and common prayers should be learned by heart; (3) irregular attendance must not discourage the missionary; (4) regular attendance is a condition for aspirants to baptism; (5) the principal thing is to awaken a desire for salvation, and it should therefore be as far as possible a daily practice to attempt this; (6) with regard to the duration of the instruction of catechumens, only those are to be admitted to baptism who have attended the instruction for a year (daily during the second half), who possess a satisfactory knowledge of the fundamental truths, and promise to prove themselves good neophytes by their conduct (*Handbuch für die Missionäre des Apostolischen Vikariats Khartum*, 76 sqq.). Writers on mission practice recommend the separation of the young, the adults, and the aged, the limitation of admission to those over seven years old, the beginning before baptism of instruction for confession and communion, the interweaving of the pagan catechesis with biblical history and examples from local paganism, as is done in the three stages established by the Benedictines of St. Ottilien cf. *ZM.*, X (1920), 126 sqq.). Concerning the method of catechizing pagans in Togoland, cf. Hack in *Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, I, 179 sqq.

The most detailed and exemplary instructions on the catechumenate for the present time are those of Vicar Apostolic Hirth of South



Nyanza (White Fathers). In accordance with the Instructions of Cardinal Lavigerie, founder of his society, he recommends that, in recruiting catechumens, missionaries should first seek out the souls best suited for conversion and instruction, and such as live nearest to the station, especially grown-up youths and if possible the heads of the tribes. To win catechumens, the missionaries should take frequent walks into the surrounding towns, establish benevolent relations and hold kindly intercourse with the natives, invite them to visit the station, and in general utilize every opportunity to converse with them and lead the conversation to religion. By the end of a year they should have progressed sufficiently to be able to establish a regular catechesis for a first class; at the beginning of the second year for a second, and shortly afterwards for a third. In every mission, the first catechumens must be prepared with especial care. The missionary has more time at the beginning, and must use the firstlings of his community as models for the others. Subsequently the catechumens and neophytes may themselves assist in the propaganda, doing this more effectively than foreign catechists. Since the missionary cannot indefinitely discharge all the tasks unassisted or reach all the pagans, he should from the very first cultivate in the faithful a zeal for converting, with which, according to *the Acts of the Apostles* and the Pauline Epistles, the early Christians were animated. ("The Word of God should be communicated, like fire, from neighbor to neighbor, from individual to individual, from family to family, from town to town, from tribe to tribe!") In the case of organized stations, it is necessary to distribute the towns among the individual missionaries for the care of the catechumens. The four-year catechumenate is divided into a postulate and a catechumenate proper, of two years each. By postulants are understood all those who announce their desire for religion by attending the instruction or class of a catechist (or missionary). In the early days of a mission, these postulants may assemble regularly at the station; later they will attend the instruction for catechumens on Sunday, but must be otherwise placed in charge of catechists or individual Christians under the direction of the missionary (as a safeguard against insubordination and aggressiveness). Their instruction should be primarily planned with a view to awakening in them a sincere desire for conversion and baptism, and to purifying gradually the natural motives by which they are usually impelled: it should create in them a correct conception of Christianity and of its eternal truths (God, the Creation, the First Fall, the Redemption, the Trinity, the conditions of salvation, idolatry, prayers without texts) and awaken a great desire for the salvation of their souls, but should also assist them in their temporal concerns. "Deferred postulants," not fully accepted because of special difficulties, form a separate group. After the postulant has been sufficiently tested and prepared, he is admitted at his request

to the catechumenate proper: he must, however, first pass an examination as to his knowledge (based on the Second Small Catechism of Father Pacifique, or the first seventeen questions of Father Michel's *Précis de doctrine chrétienne*). The catechumens are enrolled in a special register, giving all necessary personal particulars. They are solemnly received in the chapel by the priest, who presents them with a blessed medal of the Immaculate Conception and explains to them its significance. As distinguished from the postulants, the catechumens receive regular and obligatory instruction of one hour's duration: these instructions are held once or twice a week during the first year (that is, the third year of their whole preparation), twice or three times a week during the first half of the second year, and daily or almost daily during the second half (that is, the last six months before baptism). These different stages of the instruction are separated from one another by examinations; they may, and indeed often must, be prolonged for urgent reasons (failure to pass the examinations, frequent absences from instruction, or some other difficulty). In the first place, the "Catechism for Beginners" is gone through: during the first year, the portion dealing with God, the Angels, Man, and the Fall; during the first half of the second year, the chief mysteries of the faith and baptism; during the following three months the doctrine of the Church with the deeper inculcation of the preceding, and during the last three months the other sacraments (according to the "Catechism of the Sacraments") and the Precepts of the Church. To render this instruction fruitful, the missionary should make careful preparation beforehand, secure attention by frequent questions, qualify his hearers to refute objections, cultivate their hearts as well as their understanding, suggest the means for the fulfilment of their duties, sharpen (and where necessary help to awaken) their consciences, and lay special emphasis on the necessity of work. His catecheses are to be supplemented, on the one hand, by repetition undertaken by native tutors or catechists, and on the other, by his personal visits to the catechumens. Both during the instruction and on other occasions they should be urged to practise discipline and the Christian life, by moral and ascetic training (in faith, the fear of God, hope, and charity, in the hatred and avoidance of sin), and by initiating them into private and public piety (morning and evening prayers, the Rosary, special prayers before and after the instruction, common devotions in special chapels with readings from and explanations of some historical part of the New Testament) and good works (particularly the precepts governing marriage). With regard to the duration of the catechumenate, the four-year period demanded by Lavigerie is preserved in principle, but an abbreviation is also permitted under certain circumstances—especially in the initial stages which permit a more intensive preparation, at least in the case of children who can be more carefully instructed, youths who live near the mission and can attend Mass and instruction every day,

and girls who ought to marry. Immediately before baptism, the candidates make the Spiritual Exercises for five or six days in some suitable hall with two instructions daily (*Directoire pour le catéchuménat à l'usage des Missionnaires du Nyanza Méridional par Mgr. Hirth, Algiers, Maison-Carrée, 1909*). Cf. Father de Louw, *Het Catechumenat in de Missiën der Witte Paters in De Katholiek* (1916), 209 sqq. (1 Concerning the Regulations and the Early Ecclesiastical Practice; 2 Concerning its Practical Execution in the Missions of the Society; 3. Concerning the Result), and Frey, *Die Gesellschaft der Missionare von Afrika, Weisse Väter* (1918), 54 sqq.

Because of the difference in the mission-objects and conditions, the East Asiatic catechumenate differs greatly from the above in its methods *ZM.*, V (1915), 13 sq., 22 sq., 29). On account of the difficulties arising from the caste system, the catechumenate is not introduced everywhere in India, but is replaced in many places by visits of the missionary or catechist to the home of the baptismal candidates and their instruction there. According to the "Directorium" of Archbishop Laouëquan of Pondicherry, the pagans who enroll themselves for admission must first be considered as to their motives, dispositions, morals, and circumstances; the missionary ought particularly to teach and explain to catechumens the Christian prayers and practices; the poor who cannot support themselves and their families during the period of instruction may be given alms, but not as due compensation (large sums only as a loan); the whole instruction must last thirty days, unless some urgent reasons recommend an abbreviation (Zaleski, *Les missionnaires d'aujourd'hui*, 48 sqq.; also Bombay, 140; the Provincial Councils, vol. V, chap. 3; Goa, 110, concerning hospices for catechumens; Lahore, 38, regarding the Meaning and Duration; cf. *KM.*, XLI (1913), 95). In Farther India, the catechumenate is to last from forty days to one year; the missionary is to receive candidates in a friendly manner, enroll them among the catechumens after investigating their motives and dispositions, and instruct them himself or have them instructed by catechists or Christians (*Synodus Vicariatus Cochinchinensis, Cambodien-sis et Ciamponiensis*, 1841, pp. 13 sqq.). The Tonking Synods of 1905 (124 sqq., n. 8) and 1912 (62 sqq., c. 5) also contain regulations regarding the admission and testing of catechumens (once a month, when they come individually; families every six months). In China the catechumenate (which Bishop Otto of Kansu calls a "truly golden work") is planned with the prevailing social purpose and, accommodating itself to the strong tribal and family sentiment of the Chinese, endeavors in so far as possible to gather the candidates in groups of one or several whole families (Becker, *Le R. P. Gonnet*, 331). In some cases (the Paris Missionaries and Lazarists) the catechumens are gathered together in a special community house, where they are supported and instructed (usually gratis) during the whole period of preparation, which lasts several months, generally throughout one or more winters. In other cases (the Steyl and Scheutveld missionaries and the Jesuits), there is a longer probationary period of 1—2 years, during which the catechumens receive instruction at home;

then follows a more immediate preparation for baptism, lasting 1—3 months, in the form of Spiritual Exercises which are held in a house specially erected for this purpose at the mission station or given in "flying" form at the critical period of the conversion. Elsewhere (the Dominicans and Franciscans), the instruction of the catechumens is limited (usually because of lack of means) to merely occasional visits, without the seclusion or maintenance of the candidates (Becker, loc cit., 313; Ybañez, *Directorium Missionariorum*, 183 sq.; Fabrègues, *Adiumenta regiminis*, Reynaud, 149 sq.; Servièrè, 117 sqq.). The admission, which here also is preceded by an investigation into the worthiness and family of the candidates and by the substitution of Christian churches for the pagan temples, is celebrated solemnly with the adoration of the Cross or the Blessed Sacrament and the recital of the Creed. Under the direction of the catechists, the catechumens learn first the prayers and fundamental tenets of the faith; the sermons, catecheses, examinations, and memorizing with practical exercises are increased in the stricter catechumenate, under the supervision of the priest (Becker, loc. cit. 312 sqq., Kervyn, loc. cit., 599 sqq.). The *Monita* of the Jesuit Mission of Kiang-nan, in their regulations regarding the enrolment and testing of catechumens (c. V), desire that the community of catechumens shall not be too large; that the candidates shall previously have learned the daily prayers at home; that an order of the day shall be observed; that the missionary himself shall undertake the instruction, and that he shall especially inculcate the renunciation of all pagan rites (57 sqq., in Kervyn, loc. cit., 606 sq.). Cf. also the *Manuale Missionariorum*, of South Shantung, 94 sqq. (c. II, *De catechumenis*, and c. III, *De instituto catechumenatus*), and Fabrègues (S. III, 26 sqq. *De catechumenatibus*, especially nn. 106—118 concerning the conditions for admission); the Second Regional Synod of Hankow, c. III (*De catechumenis et conversione gentium*) and *Decreta Synodi Pekinensis*, Tit. II, c. 2 (*De observandis circa sacramentorum susceptionem*). In Japan and Corea also, according to the Synod of Nagasaki, none may receive baptism without adequate testing and instruction; and before his enrolment in the list of catechumens, the motive and knowledge of every candidate must be investigated, especially if he comes by invitation or on a first hearing of Gospel preaching; every candidate must also remove superstitious tokens or replace them by Christian symbols, and procure a prayer-book, rosary, and crucifix; the duration of the catechumenate is two months, or even three if the distance from the missionary is great or the candidate is unknown; the catechumens must study the Christian doctrine diligently, must attend the instructions of the missionary or catechist as faithfully as possible, must hear Mass on Sundays and holydays, must be urged by every possible means to pray, must promise amendment or restitution, and regulate their marital relations (*Acta et Decreta*, 84 sqq.)

Having cited these typical examples, we may try to appraise the methodological question raised by Warneck, and his deductions therefrom. First of all, with regard to the symbolism of the Early

Church, against imitating which he believes he must utter a warning with an innuendo against the "Roman method of substitution" (!), we find that this symbolism is attained in the Catholic catechumenate not only without damage but to the advantage of the missions. Warneck himself favors a solemn act of initiation with imposition of hands and a vow during the community service, but is opposed to "the whole ancient *disciplina arcani*." We have also seen that, exactly as Warneck wishes, the instruction customarily takes an erotematic form and, together with the dogmatic teaching, combines education in the faith and initiation into a life of Christian morality and ecclesiastical worship. It is necessary for admission that the non-Christian shall bind himself to attend the preparatory instructions (but the community Divine service only with limitations) and refrain from all connection with pagan worship (Warneck does not venture to demand the immediate dissolution of polygamous relations). Later, the catechumen shall gradually learn to fulfil the precepts of the Gospel; but the Catholic practice which Warneck is so ready to accuse of laxity and precipitation offers from the very first much surer guarantees in this connection. While Warneck favors not too long a catechumenate (six months as an average, and at most a whole year, with two hours' instruction during the week) and the transference of the instruction to the house of the catechumen, the requirements of the Catholic missions are usually—at least in Africa—far greater. In so far as the content of the catechumenate instruction is concerned, it is by no means "ecclesiastical drilling and training in ecclesiastical ceremonies" (although, as a matter of fact, Warneck himself demands initiation into religious worship and ecclesiastical practice), but here also the chief concern is "Christian dogmatic instruction," mingled, it is true, with practical and religious exercises as sound pedagogy requires. Here likewise the Christian doctrines of faith are presented to the catechumens in their orderly connection (as distinguished from missionary preaching); but it is also shown here how this faith is exercised in works. The most important catechetical materials, which Warneck declares indispensable instruments, are found also in the Catholic catechumenate: (1) the biblical history of both Testaments, which is given a prominent place in the instructions, and is also enlisted for the elucidation of the catechism ("For awakening faith in Jesus and a spirit of obedience to His commands, an initiation into His glorious history is much more effective than any fare furnished by the popular dogmatic explanations of the catechism of the home church"), and especially recommended is the history of the Passion, Resurrection, and Pentecost, with also a moderate portion of matter to be learned by heart without completely cramming the heads of the learners; (2) the Christian rule of life, which, according to the Divine mission command, demands of the catechumens a change in their mode of living and gives an ethical stamp to the catechumenate instruction, and which is based largely on the Decalogue (for which Warneck demands separate treatment), especially the First Commandment in the interpretation of which the doctrine of God and His proper worship is to be contrasted with the

sinful idolatry of paganism; (3) finally, the explanation of the Creed (Warneck warns against the verbal translation or indeed the learning by heart of the home catechisms), the Lord's Prayer, and of prayer and the Sacraments (he recommends the suppression of the differences with other denominations, but all the stricter precautions against Rome). The Catholic catechumenate is also convinced that its success depends primarily on the ability and qualifications of its agents, the teachers, who are therefore sought among the missionaries themselves, if possible, but otherwise selected with conscientious care from among the natives and trained for their office ("In the giving of baptismal instruction and in deciding on the admission to baptism, the personal question is of much greater importance than in the consummation of baptism, and the catechist has a greater responsibility than the baptizer"). In practice Catholics also recognize that a firm foundation of Christian knowledge and understanding is indispensable for admission to baptism, and therefore ensures these by strict examination: but they know, besides, that with these must be associated, even during the process of conversion, an actual change of disposition and life ("in the withdrawal from all idolatrous worship, in the renunciation of all magical practices, and in the avoidance of gross pagan sins"), as a guarantee for the future. Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 245—268, chapter 42 (*Die Taufe*), n. 2.

The immediate purpose and conclusion of the catechumenate and of the individual mission task as a whole is, as we have seen, baptism. As the symbol of conversion to Christianity and the channel of the graces of the Redemption, however, baptism is also a missionary means. On the one hand, it completes and as it were seals the preparation and requirements for entering Christianity and the Church, and on the other dispenses the supernatural graces necessary for a true Christian and member of the Church.

In connection with the missionary aim we have already discussed the conditions and dispositions necessary for the reception of baptism. In his Directorium, Bishop Hirth demands a pure intention, ample instruction and tests, good repute, submissiveness, piety, zeal for converting, and marital concord. As requirements and criteria, Bishop Hennemann stipulates the establishment of a good catechumenate, the dispensing of a solid religious instruction, and the development of a strong moral character in the catechumens (*DMK.*, 13 sqq.). The Synod of Chi-foo recommends prudence on the part of the missionary in admitting candidates to baptism. With regard to the baptismal candidates, the Synod of Cameroon has established the following regulations based on the Decrees of the Propaganda: children of Catholic parents must always be baptized, and as soon as possible; also (but privately) children of pagan parents in danger of death, unless more serious harm than omission may result (other-

wise a child of pagan parents may and must be baptized only when the head of the family does not oppose it and when guarantees are given for a Catholic training; but if one of the parents is Catholic and the other pagan, the child may be baptized only when the former accepts the obligation of providing the Catholic training, which acceptance is more probable when the father is Catholic and lives near the mission); in the case of female children and adults, a number of guarantees with regard to marriage are also necessary; dying adults are to be baptized absolutely or conditionally according as they still have the use of their senses or are unconscious and according as they express the desire for baptism and have the other dispositions of faith and contrition (if these latter fail the baptism is unlawful; if the intention, it is invalid); for other adults the regulation of their marital relations and the knowledge of the principal mysteries of faith, the *Symbolum*, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, etc., are necessary. The minister of baptism is usually the priest, but in his absence the catechists may administer the sacrament; according to the Statutes of Cameroon, the latter should be questioned by the Superior regarding the administration of baptism on the occasion of their (semi-annual) examination; and the Propaganda declares it to be a laudable custom to have the children baptized by any Christian in the absence of the priest (*Collect.*, I, nn. 593 and 694), even if the children have been baptized by unbelievers for superstitious reasons (*ibid.*, 201). The Synod of Cameroon also records several decisions of the Propaganda concerning invalid and doubtful baptisms, and likewise concerning the baptismal water and fonts; and the *Collectanea* contain still others regarding the matter and form of baptism (e. g., in case of necessity, and of dying pagan children), baptism *per immersionem*, and the use of the Chinese word *Chen-Chen* for the Holy Ghost. Finally, many decisions have been given regarding the time, place, and rites of baptism: for example, that the ceremonies are to be performed, and, if omitted because of great haste, are to be performed later; in what cases baptism may be given outside the church and in private houses; when adults are to be baptized according to the rite for infant baptism, and how women are to be baptized; that the question must be first asked in Latin, and then translated into the vernacular. The *Directorium* of South Nyanza prescribes Christmas, Easter, the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and that of the Most Holy Rosary, as the baptismal seasons; it attaches great importance to the exact and worthy performance of the ceremonies (since they make a deep impression on the Negroes), to the selection of good godparents (since these must frequently take the place of the missionary in the spiritual care of the godchild), and to the provision of a Christian name. In China, baptism is to be administered in as solemn a manner as possible, and frequently after several days of spiritual exercises, since the Chinese are deeply impressed by external display, with which their native cults are indeed filled (Kervyn, loc. cit., 610 sqq.). The *Directorium Missionariorum* of Bishop Ybañez, of Shensi (255 sqq.), demands, besides the usual requisites, the renunciation of all su-

perstitious practices, and excludes all givers of scandal (concupinaries, haters, usurers, opium users); similarly, the *Adiumenta* of Fabrègues (nn. 313—319, *De baptismo*). The Propaganda prescribes like conditions and preparations for baptism in its instruction to the Chinese bishops of 1883 (*Collect.*, II, 195). In Japan the extent and strictness of the baptismal examinations are regulated proportionately to the degree of intelligence and education, the condition of health, the distance of the residence of the candidate, and so forth (Synod of Nagasaki). Criticizing sharply the carelessness and mass baptisms of certain Indian missionaries, the *Monita ad Missionarios* of the Propaganda demands a careful baptismal preparation of at least forty days (still longer in the case of the *rudiores*), with catecheses and tests of the knowledge and dispositions of the candidates, explanation of the baptismal ceremonies (Easter and Pentecost being no longer named the exclusive baptismal seasons), complete renunciation of Satan and communion with Christ (112 sqq., c. 7 *De baptizandis*). The Mexican and Peruvian Councils of the sixteenth century already contain similar baptismal regulations. A violent controversy, which developed also into a literary warfare, broke out in Mexico regarding baptismal practice, and divided the missionaries into two camps: the moderate party, represented by the Franciscans, were satisfied with the most necessary knowledge, and omitted the baptismal ceremonies, while the stricter, represented by Bishop Quiroga of Michoacan, wished to retain the Early Christian catechumenate practice (cf. Paul III's Bull, *De baptizandis incolis Occidentalis et Meridionalis Indiae*, of 1537; the Decrees of the Episcopal Conferences of 1537 and 1539; Quiroga's *Tratado sobre que no se debe ni puede hacer el bautismo sino como en la primitiva iglesia* (1537); *Apologia del bautismo administrado a los gentiles Mexicanos con solo et agua y la forma sacramental*, by Juan de Tecto, O.F.M., and the *Forma Brevis administrandi apud Indos sanctum baptismi sacramentum* (1583), by Michael a Zarate, O.F.M., in Streit, *BM.*, I, pp. 15 sq., 62, 113, 115). To the question as to who should be baptized, the missionaries answer: children and the half-grown, as well as adults and the dying, and, on account of the great child mortality, as many infants as possible. Cf. *above*, under The Mission Aim; and *below*, under Appendix, pp. 445, sqq. Concerning the act and administration of baptism in the Protestant missions, cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chapter 42, n. 3 (also *AMZ.*, I (1874), 281 sqq., and XX (1893), 316 sqq.).

## B. Indirect Missionary Means

Besides the direct means for attaining the aim of personal and social conversions, the Christian pagan missions should and may also employ means which lead only indirectly to their aim, and do not lie strictly within the province of religion but rather within secular and natural domains.



## 1. Natural Factors

There is a general psychological law in the Divine economy of salvation which declares that God generally uses natural agents and messengers to announce His Gospel and build up His kingdom on earth: through human labor and means, supported indeed by Divine grace and providence, and especially through human preaching and testimony, these natural factors are employed for the transmission and spread of joyful tidings among men. In the discussion of missionary means Catholic missionary theory also attaches greatest importance to the cooperation of these natural instruments, because they also form the basis of definite methodological laws and thus of scientific investigation. That missionary means should be chiefly of a religious nature follows immediately from the religious character of the principal aim and task of the missions, with which the instrument and methods must be in a certain manner congenial. Even if Christ has not expressly spoken of the folly of the Gospel in the eyes of the world and of the shaming of the strong by the weak, we should be forced to assume that primarily supernatural means based on the Cross and on suffering, rather than material or worldly wisdom or calculations must lead mankind, in the footsteps of the crucified Founder and King,<sup>1</sup> into a kingdom to be not of this

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<sup>1</sup> The exhortations of the Propaganda Instruction of 1669 are also to be understood in this sense: "*Nil mirum sane videri debet, si quandoque ex Missionibus fructus parvus decerpitur; id enim saepius contingit, quum non oratione, non mortificatione vitaeque exemplo, sed mediis pure humanis opus plane divinum Missionarii aggrediuntur. Ea sane natura sua videntur esse, ut in stabiliendis Missionibus solus ille iis utatur bene, qui minime vult uti . . . Et quidem si experientiae credimus, praesidia pura humana fidei propagationi plus nocent quam prosunt, nec unquam eorum usu religio vera, sed umbra religionis vel potius larva inducitur; quoniam operariorum ipsorum debilitant fidem, spem minuunt, motumque et amorem, quo ferri in Deum continuo debent, suspendunt et retardant*" (*Monita ad Missionarios*, 22 sq.). We are reminded, on the one hand, of the example of Christ and the Apostles, and on the other, of the ruin of missions relying on human expedients as soon as this aid was withdrawn or under the pressure of persecution. Among these purely human means are enumerated occupation unbecoming to an apostolic man (art. II), the use of force in introducing the Gospel (art. III), the creation of authority through human artifices (art. IV), false

world. This, however, does not alter the fact that, provided only they are not evil in themselves, natural and secular means may also be enlisted in the service of the missions and even sanctified by this employment.'

In this connection the older writers on mission theory at the time saw themselves confronted with a dilemma. Two things that are fundamentally distinct from each other, says Acosta, must nevertheless be combined, owing to the needs of the time—the preaching of evangelical peace and the introduction of the warlike sword, that is, on the one hand, faith, which is free and a Divine gift and not a human achievement, and on the other, the taming of beastlike barbarians. But self-denying love can unite both and direct them to the divinely ordained aim (188 sq., II, 1). Acosta accordingly distinguishes three methods of preaching the faith to the barbarians, all three entailing special advantages and difficulties: the first *modus* requires the messengers of Christ, in imitation of the Apostles and successors, to go to the pagan races and, without any military equipment, preach the Gospel; the second, to confine themselves to the races already subject to the Christian princes; the third, to preach Christ even in places where He is as yet unknown, but to avail themselves of human factors for their protection. According to Acosta, the first, or truly "evangelical," missionary method is undoubtedly the most proper and laudable: it is inculcated by the example of the Divine Master and the Apostles, who overcame the might of the world by their patience and poverty, and it is accompanied by the most interior consolation (as the example of St. Francis Xavier proves), by the most splendid eternal reward, and also by the richest successes, since the preacher of Christ reaches human hearts more by the evangelical examples of virtue and meekness than by his words. But whosoever would pursue indiscriminately in the West Indies this evangelization method, which is followed by the Society of Jesus among the Asiatic nations, must be convicted of sheer madness, since the inhabitants of

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human wisdom (art. V), astrology, mathematics, painting, and the like (art. VI). If the missionary sees that, because of contempt for purely human means, his mission is threatened with ruin (his severest temptation), let him grasp at the model of Christ and the Apostle (art. VII). The Propaganda Instruction of 1659 thus early admonished the missionary to direct everything towards heaven (*Collect.*, I, 135).

<sup>2</sup> The Peking Synod of 1880 thus distinguishes between *media supernaturalia sive divina* and *media naturalia sive humana ad fidem propagandam* (*Decreta quinque Synodorum*, 15). Even Warneck, who is inclined to reject all secular missionary means as inherently discordant with the fundamental nature of the kingdom of heaven, cannot help recognizing at least in practice the usefulness and even the necessity of such means as (e. g.) political science and culture, since they are so closely related to the whole missionary undertaking that the one cannot be attained without the other. Cf. also Frick, *Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission* (1917).

the former territory are, as experience has shown, so wild and rude that they never could be converted in this manner, but would slay all who came peacefully (coming even without hope of martyrdom) among them, and since the cause of faith and religion would not thereby be served, but merely a dainty meal provided. Since, moreover, the miracles which the Apostles employed to confirm their preaching have ceased, there would be nothing left for the missionary except to waste away in fruitless labor, powerless and totally destitute (*etsi enim ob cibum evangelizare non expedit, sed sine cibo tamen evangelizari non potest!*). The Jesuit superiors (in contrast to the Franciscans who desired to follow out the Apostolic ideal without human aids) had thus rightly forbidden the missionaries to place themselves temerarily, under the pretext of evangelical perfection, at the mercy of the barbarians (213, sqq., II, 8). But since, in accordance with the command of our Saviour, the Gospel is to be preached to all nations, a new way suitable to this age must be found to bring the Word of God to these peoples; as their nature is, as it were, a mixture of the animal and spiritual, military assistance may be simultaneously enlisted to supply the "*necessaria humanae vitae praesidia*" for the messengers of eternal life who are engaged in the winning of souls (230 sqq., II, 12). However, Acosta's final conclusion is that the servants of Christ may not promote the faith by injustice or direct compulsion, but must utilize the new "*ratio evangelizandi*": "*et quantum per rerum et temporum opportunitates licebit, institutum vetus atque apostolicum conservet: ubi minus id exacte fieri patitur conditio hominum, intelligat, neque de merito neque de laude neque vere de fructu aliquid sibi perire, si fideliter Dei gloriam quaerens atque animarum salutem, labores suos et curas omnes in Evangelii dilatandi studio ad finem usque consumat*" (250 sq., II, 19). Citing the above-mentioned views at the beginning of his Fourth Book (*De forma et methodo proponendi S. Evangelium*), Thomas a Jesu also maintains the thesis that those who set forth for the conversion of pagans must not compel the latter by force of arms to accept the Gospel, but yet are entitled to provide for the preservation of their own lives and may equip themselves with the "*humana praesidia*" necessary for their protection. Besides the grounds adduced by Acosta, a Jesu cites the following on the basis of Luke's parable of the feasts: God has invited man to embrace the truth by a threefold message—by calling them, by inducement, and by compulsion: the Roman Empire was summoned by the first message in the era of the persecutions, the *pagani* living in the rural parts of the Roman Empire by the second, and the uncivilized barbarian races by the third and last message. However, the method of spreading the faith chosen by the Apostles and the first founders of the Church must be practiced also today among all nations: (1) because the world has been conquered for Christ, not by arms and human forces, but by patience and suffering, especially by the death of the martyrs (*admirabilis pugnandi ratio et novum genus potentiae: sustinendo caedere hostem, patiendo affligere hostem, moriendo prosternere hostem, iacendo triumphare*

*de hoste*); (2) because God cannot will now any other form of conversion than in earlier days—that is, what formerly was supported by the Divine aid and the Cross of Christ should not now become dependent on human help and power; (3) because the work of converting souls and the founding of the Church itself have almost always required not only labor and sweat and persecution, but even the shedding of blood; because Christ sent His Apostles like lambs among the wolves, and taught by His own example that the preaching of the Gospel must not trust in human expedients (*praedicatio igitur Evangelii militari custodia munita, a Christi schola discrepari videtur: ac proinde incredibile apparet eo praedicationis genere insignem aliquem proventum expectari posse, licet fortuite aliqui per insinuationem convertantur, non enim possunt tunc Ministri Evangelii ea spiritus vi et efficacia pollere, qua in praeliis infidelium pugnandum esset, ut sincera fidei veritas et verbi Dei virtus omni gladio penetrabilior dura infidelium corda emolliret; nec huiusmodi praedicatio erit Deo gloriosa, cum in ea functione humana praesidia, versutiae hominumque sagacitates adhibitae fuerint: quae divinae virtutis splendorem potius obumbrant*). If it be said that the missions among the barbarians are to be carried on merely in collaboration with human means, he points to the labors of the apostles among the most savage races, and of the later missionaries among the Germans, Saxons, Sarmati, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, and other northern races, without any human support (?). Thomas a Jesu then arrives at a conclusion somewhat opposed to Acosta's: "*Non esse impossibile castum et sublime Missionum genus, quod a Christo institutum . . . fuit; quare in illis ad fidem convertendis non videtur recedendum ab antiqua apostolicaque Missionum forma, sed resectis humanis praesidiis in uno Deo spes tota casto corde erit colocanda*" (120 sqq., IV).

While, in their whole development of the missionary conception at the height of the Middle Ages, those writers on mission theory may have been too much engrossed and influenced by the postulates underlying the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires (although not so much as, for example, the layman Solorzano), their outspoken principle of including human and natural expedients is entirely proper and sound. From our modern standpoint, we also condemn even more categorically than our predecessors all employment of force in the work of Christianization as unevangelical and unchristian, and would much prefer the omission of even military protection or equipment, or to see it employed only with the utmost reserve.\* We consequently disapprove not only of the

\* Not from a foreign state, or at least only when, contrary to international law, attacks have been made on the missionaries as citizens of such state.

Mohammedan "mission of the sword," which everywhere produced bloodshed and lethargy, but also of the West Indian missionary methods, which were associated with physical force and which were thus attended also, as a rule, by external success only.<sup>4</sup> In foreign lands in particular, the missions should never allow themselves to be misused as the tools of political plotting, as unfortunately individual missionaries have often allowed themselves to be used, in the past and to the present day. On the contrary, they must register their protest if their mission is being used by statesmen with a lust for conquest as a pretext and cover for unjustified attacks, or if any state whatever seeks to force conversion on the pagans for the sake of bringing them into subjection. Explicit decrees of the Propaganda and also the Mission Encyclical of Benedict XV forbid the missionary to meddle in political affairs,<sup>5</sup> while intrinsic reasons (above all, the interests of the mission itself) must warn him against all national propaganda.<sup>6</sup> A mission may nevertheless not only live on peaceful terms with the political powers, but may even, as we have already seen, be in tacit alliance with them, so far as, without imperiling its religious aims, it performs valuable services for the state by its whole activity while, on the other hand, the state at least indirectly protects and supports the mission. In fact, every Christian colonial power is under a positive obligation to promote missionary work by ensuring pub-

<sup>4</sup> Warneck likewise admits that there have been similar mistakes in the Evangelical missions, for example, in the Dutch East Indies, the South Sea Islands, and Madagascar.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Decrees of 1659, 1674, 1845 and 1883 (Schwager, in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 112 sqq.). *Tam longe semper abeste a rebus politicis negotiisque Status, ut civilium rerum administrationem nequidem rogati et enixis precibus suscipiatis; quam rem S. haec Congregatio et serio ut districte prohibuit et porro prohibebit* (1659, *Collect.*, I, 135). As a supplement to the Encyclical of 1919, the Propaganda issued the Instruction of January 6, 1920, *De abiciendis a missionariis rerum saecularium curis* (Ybañez, loc. cit., 1921, pp. 71 sqq.). Cf. also the rules of conduct in the *Monita ad Missionarios*, 29.

<sup>6</sup> Schwager cites the distrust of foreigners and the universal aim of the Christian missions and religion (*ibid.*, 115 sqq.). Concerning the attitude of the missionaries towards the secular authorities, cf. (besides the Synods of the Congo) the Synod of Hongkong (1909), nn. 31 sq., and *Summa decretorum* (1910), 136 sq.

lic order and security, by the cultural and spiritual elevation of the people, by warring on evil pagan customs, and by protecting and supporting the missionaries (at least in their cultural work).<sup>7</sup> A mission may likewise accept and solicit the assistance of the pagan-Christian or pagan authorities, provided this help does not degenerate into the exercise of compulsion or pressure on the natives to be converted, as was at times the case in the Middle Ages. A mission can and should pursue the aim which was so successfully followed in the Middle Ages, of winning the favor of the native rulers,<sup>8</sup> and of converting these in the first place, so that their example and influence may also hasten and facilitate the conversion of their subordinates; but the danger of "all violent proselytizing" and "feigned conversions without conviction, arising from slavish submission or hypocritical calculation" is to be avoided.<sup>9</sup> The Catholic missions in general have indeed always endeavored to make the conversions of secular rulers not simply "exterior," but as associated also with "conviction and repentance": not seldom indeed have they shattered all their prospects by demanding a breach with pagan customs and the observance of the Christian moral law.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the missions may accept this assistance from the state and remind it of its duty. Cf. the author's article on the Missions and Colonial Policy in *ZM.*, II (1912), 29 sqq., and Archabbot Weber, *Mission und Politik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der gegenwärtigen Lage der deutschen Missionen*, in *DMK.*, 142 sqq., also the concluding article in his work on Corea, *Im Lande der Morgenstille* (1915). In his *Manual for Khartum* (1914), Geyer demands a good understanding with the government (recognition, obedience, respect) and the abstention from politics (191 sqq., n. 22). Especially instructive are the regulations of the Synod of the Congo for the relations of the missionaries with the state and social officials (1907, 6 sqq.; 1910, 10 sqq.; 1913, 9 sqq.; 1919 6 sqq.). Cf. also, Grentrup, *Die staatliche Missionsgesetzgebung in den vormals deutschen Kolonien*, *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 152 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> For modern practice, cf. the Instructions of the Propaganda and of Cardinal Lavigerie.

<sup>9</sup> Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 17.

<sup>10</sup> For example, during the Reformation period in England, and in missionary fields such as the Congo and China. Schwager also grants a limited national bent to the missions in the colonies and the home; Frick, only provided and in so far as the mission-object cannot alone attain a national church. On the whole question,

The same holds true of all the other secular inducements used by the missions to attract unbelievers to Christianity.<sup>11</sup> It is indeed a dictate of missionary prudence that missions should use all human and natural expedients which may assist them in their task, so far as these expedients are not reprehensible in themselves or in positive contradiction to the fundamentally religious character of the missions. Above all, a wise accommodation to existing conditions and the peculiarities of the mission-object—the utmost possible adjustment to this object and the liberal indulgence and even utilization of its natural talents and inclinations, desires, customs, and needs—is not only not forbidden, but is demanded by missionary tact, and is one of the most excellent missionary means. St. Paul himself, as we have seen, showed the utmost accommodation to both Jews and pagans; Gregory the Great and Alcuin urgently recommended it to the medieval missionaries, and these, like their successors in the modern era—with certain exceptions and deviations—achieved great success by their fidelity to this method of accommodation. It would be eccentric supernaturalism to condemn this prudent calculation and accommodation as opposed to the evangelical character of Christian missionary work, as was done by the opponents of the Jesuits in the Chinese-Malabar rite controversy and is done by many Puritans in the Protestant camp today.<sup>12</sup>

cf. Schwager, *Katholische Missionstätigkeit und nationale Propaganda* (ZM., VI (1916), 109 sqq.) and Grösser, *Die Neutralität der katholischen Heidenmission* (Aachen, 1920). For the Protestant side, besides the numerous addresses and articles which appeared during the War, cf. Frick, *Nationalität und Internationalität der christlichen Mission* (1917), and the literature cited there; Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chapter 35, n. 3 (IV, 12 sqq.), *Repertorium in AMZ.*, 200 sqq., 268 sqq.; especially the Edinburgh World Missionary Congress Report VII, which warns against political agitation (including extra-territoriality and judicial intervention) and urges training in obedience, but recommends the exercise of cultural influence and the preparation of the way for orderly conditions (cf. ZM., I (1911), 183).

<sup>11</sup> The Franciscan Raymond Caron already shows that, why, and under what conditions, there is no "simony" in this missionary inducement (1658).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Huonder, *Der Europäismus im Missionsbetrieb* (Aachen, 1921), and the biased discussion in Frick, *Nationalität und Internat-*

Accommodation is chiefly shown in the procedure which the missions are to employ in approaching the pagan world in general.<sup>13</sup> This difficult initial contact or attraction is accomplished by various means and methods according to the character and attitude of the non-Christian object. Confining ourselves to the Far East in accordance with Zaleski, we find that advantage is taken in India of the daily intercourse with the Christians and the attractive power of the Christian liturgy;<sup>14</sup> in China, according to Kervyn and Becker, special reliance is placed on material means, such as legal protection, almsgiving

*tionalität der christlichen Mission* (1917), 135 sqq. The Propaganda Decree of 1659 against Europeanization (*aliorum sese ingenio ac moribus accommodantes*) states: "Nullum studium ponite, nullaque ratione suadete illis populis ut ritus suos, consuetudines et mores mutant, modo non sint apertissime religioni et bonis moribus contraria. Quid enim absurdius quam Galliam, Hispaniam, aut Italiam, aut aliam Europae partem in Sinas invehere? Non haec, sed fidem importate, quae nullius gentis ritus et consuetudines, modo prava non sint, aut respuit aut laedit, imo vero sarta tecta esse vult. Et quoniam ea pene est hominum natura, ut sua, et maxime ipsas suas nationes, ceteris et existimatione et amore praeferant, nulla odii et alienationis causa potentior existit, quam patriarum consuetudinum immutatio, earum maxime, quibus homines ab omni patrum memoria assuevere, praesertim si, abrogatarum loco, mores tuae nationis substitutus et inferas. Itaque nunquam usus illarum gentium cum usibus europaeorum conferte, quinimo vos illis magna diligentia assuescite" (*Collect.*, I, n. 135, p. 42). Regarding accommodation to the mission-object according to this Decree, cf. above, III, B., p. 228.

<sup>13</sup> "It is a question of the most far-reaching importance . . . a problem the solution of which, if it is to be correct, demands deep psychological understanding, pedagogical tact, and a large measure of pastoral wisdom" (Skolaster, in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 115).

<sup>14</sup> Among the special means of converting pagans, the Synod of Pondicherry (1844) also mentions in the second place (after prayer): "Data occasione quorundam exercitiorum spiritualium et festorum solemniter celebratorum utatur missionarius, ad hoc comparatus, ut sermonem ad gentiles ad festa convolantes solemnitati consentaneum habeat" (*Collectio Lacensis*, VI, 661). It recommends, besides, that the catechists shall invite the unbelievers to Divine worship, shall lead them to the priest by teaching them to sing and by explaining the sacred hymns, and shall speak to them of our holy religion. According to the Synod of Coimbatour (1891), the missionaries should devote themselves with the utmost zeal to the conversion of pagans, should not in the first place attack the false gods but instruct them regarding the true God, and should treat all in a friendly manner even when they are impelled by worldly motives (t. II, c. 2, n. 3, p. 22). Zaleski and also a bishop from Farther India thus inculcate a "more active" pagan apostolate. Concerning the attractive power of the sacred liturgy, cf. Skolaster in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 117 sq.



(especially in time of necessity), the leasing of farms and houses, free support in the catechumenate institutions and even modest monetary gifts, and also casual meetings and visits;<sup>15</sup> in Japan, according to Annual Reports of the Paris Society, visits to the homes and conference addresses are utilized to establish contact with the natives.<sup>16</sup> In the case of the uncivilized peoples of Africa and Oceania, the missions also utilize every opportunity (especially the schools and economic and charitable aid) as a bridge for approaching and winning the population—usually the children first and through them the adults, who are much less accessible and much more difficult to convert.<sup>17</sup> The Synod of Bombay (1893), in particular, has made very wise suggestions on this matter.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the Manuals of Ybañez and Fabrègues.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the present writer's article on East Asiatic missionary methods, in *ZM.*, V (1915), 13, 18 sq., 21, 28 sq., and his *Missions- und Kulturverhältnisse im fernen Osten* (1914). Another especially effective means of attraction, particularly among civilized people, has always been the theater (cf. Huonder, *Zur Geschichte des Missionstheaters*, Aachen (1918). Also Walter, *Veranlassung und Beweggrund der Bekehrungen im Apostolischen Vikariat Tsinchow* (China), *ZM.*, XVII (1927), 205 sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the present writer's work: *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Münster (1913); also Skolaster, *Einzelbekehrung und Annäherungsmethoden*, in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 115 sqq. Besides the White Fathers in Africa, the Marists in the South Sea practise a uniformly developed method: they strive first of all to win as many children as possible and, on the basis of a legal contract with the parents, concentrate them at the principal station, hoping thus, on the one hand, to win an approach to the parents and by this seclusion to train qualitatively good Christians, and on the other, to produce catechists for a later stage; the missionaries then visit in succession the neighboring towns within a radius of two hour's journey, and thus establish new centers (according to the reports of Father Flauss of the North Solomon Islands).

<sup>18</sup> *Industriae, quibus missionarius paganorum conversionem aggreddietur, fere sequentes esse poterunt: Praesuppositis in ipso missionario qualitatibus omnibus, quae hominem apostolicum constituunt, et scientia consuetudinum tum religiosarum tum civilium quae vigent in regione in qua versatur, primum per catechistas tentabit conversionem et consuetudinem cum paganis intrare, quibus seipsum affabilem et humanum exhibebit. Deinde eorum boni et utilitatis seipsum anxium ostendet in eorum necessitatibus eos quantum potest sublevando, v. g. eos in morbis et difficultatibus adiuvando. Quandoque proderit eorum lites componere, vel apud ipsas civiles potestates eos contra iniuste opprimentes dominos protegere. Si scholas erigendas petierint, quantum fieri potest, huic desiderio libentissime satis-*

Among these secular, profane, human, and natural expedients, which are indeed raised to the religious supernatural sphere by their missionary purpose, also belong the various cultural services and auxiliary works of the missions.<sup>19</sup> While it may be true that in many cases, when culture is removed from religious influence or thrusts the latter too much into the background (e. g., in Japan and India), it may alienate the pagans from the Gospel instead of attracting them towards it; yet no one can deny that, working in harmonious synthesis with the evangelical preaching, it is able to, and frequently does, contribute largely towards the facilitation of the Christianizing process. Consequently, cultural work is not only a subordinate part of the mission aim and an inevitable consequence of missionary activity; but it is also a

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*faciendum est. Curet missionarius super omnia amicitiam hominum principalium, quibus alii subsunt, sibi conciliare, et in hac procuranda etiam maiora sacrificia facere paratus sit; saepe enim haec est via recta ad totum pagum vel totam tribum sibi acquirendam. Ostendat benevolentiam pueris, eosque etiam manusculis foveat; hac enim affabilitate valde afficiuntur parentes. Valde etiam proderit catechumenos adiuvaré in mediis inveniendis ad vitam sustentandam, sive procurando dominos qui eorum opera utantur, sive alio modo, praesertim cum ad christianam religionem amplectendam lucrosam vel prosperam conditionem relinquere debent. In aliquibus locis, ubi amplum fundum facile a gubernio obtineri potest, fortasse, valde conducet ad conversionem paganorum, si catechumeni et neophyti in aliquo loco congregentur, ubi aliqua parte terrae singulis attributa quietam possint degere vitam. Quamvis non expediat pauperes et mendicantes paganos ad conversionem allicere spe futurae sustentationis (nisi tales sint, ut in aliquo hospitio recipi mereantur), poterunt tamen saltem tempore instructionis adiuvari vel etiam sustentari. Impossibilitas ineundi in posterum matrimonia cum contribulibus et abrupta cum eis societas saepe insuperabilem offerunt difficultatem conversioni paganorum; quas difficultates dirimere vel imminuere quantum potest sataget missionarius. Uno verbo missionarius "ad paganos" initio conversationem et consuetudinem cum illis incipere sataget, deinde eorum amicitiam excolet, gradatim seipsum illis utilem atque etiam necessarium reddet, et tandem hoc pacto auctoritatem et aestimationem talem apud illos acquirat, quae eum in illis ad christianam religionem convertendis maxime adiuvabit (Synodal Statutes, 135; similarly Calcutta, 97; Pondicherry, 97; Verapoli, 91, etc., De conversione paganorum; later Goa, 78 sq., and Hyderabad, 35). Cf. Peking, 1886, c. 8 (De conversione gentium).*

<sup>19</sup> Warneck wrongly includes civilizing activities among the illusory missionary means, and believes that one may much more accurately describe the missions as a civilizing means than civilization as a missionary means.

tremendous lever for the realization of the individual and social missionary tasks—a powerful ally and active collaborator in the service of the Gospel.<sup>20</sup> That, in virtue of the Christian spirit with which it is animated, the formative and educative work of the mission schools is qualified to serve as an important means of Christianization; that it can both assure for the future and consolidate the fruits of the missions, and likewise attract those outside the Church and lead them into the fold, is self-evident and is amply proved by experience. The same is true of the literary and scientific work of the missions. Even economic work stands in most intimate final relation with the work of Christianization—as the brochure of Abbot Norbert Weber, based on East African missionary experience, shows; and this is not solely the case simply because the social pedagogics of the missions finds itself unable to dispense with the economic elevation and instruction of the natives.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, charitable support, the succoring and care of the needy and forsaken, protection and help in the face of every oppression and distress, loving ministration both in extraordinary cases of misery and through permanent institutions, are adapted above all other means to recommend the religion of love to the pagans, and have since the early days

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<sup>20</sup> Warneck himself admits: "Culture cannot be a real missionary means (?), because it lacks the qualification for the solution of the religious task (?) which confronts the mission. However, in the hands of a missionary who approaches the pagans as an intelligent teacher and with the Word of Life, the civilizing activity may support the work of Christianization. It would be doctrinarian narrowness to seek to overlook the fact that a large number of more or less external factors contribute towards preparing the way for Christianity, creating an entrance for it and giving it a footing. Even in the most ideally evangelical mission practice, the missionary means of the Word cannot be isolated; in many cases also its effect is subject to non-religious influences. Apart from the numerous external compulsions that lead men to seek help in Christianity; and from the manifold lessons which exist in good laws, regulations, and institutions, the various activities which aim at the economic, social, and especially the intellectual raising of the mission-object perform valuable spade-work for the cause of Christianization" (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, 19, in the discussion of the medieval missions).

<sup>21</sup> Why, therefore, should we not be allowed to designate this economic activity as "a real missionary means" (Warneck)?

of Christianity contributed greatly to missionary success. That, finally, ethical transformation and amendment are a *conditio sine qua non* of all true missionary success, need not be proved in view of the inseparable connection between morals and religion, even though this process of transformation should in itself be particularly effected by and through the Gospel.<sup>27</sup>

Consequently, in view of their higher motivation and final subordination to the missionary aim, all factors—even the most material—may be converted into missionary means, provided they are objectively suited for this diversion and are not morally or religiously reprehensible, but either good or neutral. However external or arbitrary its connection with the missions may appear, every action and everything which serves the missions may thus be enlisted in their service and thus also directed towards the final object of all created things—the glory of God and the salvation of souls: that this is true even of eating and drinking, living and sleeping, is declared by St. Paul, who knew how to transform into a missionary means even the profane craft of tent-making and the livelihood he thereby earned. Even money and property, which otherwise frequently constitute a danger and a diversion from good, are in this sense a missionary means—in fact, a highly important and indispensable means, since without financial means the missions cannot subsist at least under the present economic order. This does not mean that conversion may be bought with money or material support, for that would be in the most flagrant contradiction to the missionary task of accomplishing a truly interior, sincere, and religious conversion; but money is necessary to establish and endow the various institutions of the missions, and not infrequently also to support their needy Christians or to attract pagans through the medium of missionary devotion to the public welfare. There is nothing intrinsically unmoral in this consideration, provided the chief religious

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. 35, n. 4 (IV, 18 sqq.). Also Frick, *loc. cit.*, 143 sqq. For a detailed discussion, cf. the following chapters.

motive of conversion is not in the least obscured by such secular and secondary purposes in the mission-object, and any imperfections in this respect may be subsequently eliminated by instruction and church discipline. Consequently, both the Instructions of the Propaganda and the Decrees of the Synods attach great importance to the capable temporal administration of the missions and their property.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. Mission Schools

The schools offer a highly important and indispensable means for realizing the various missionary aims. In the first place, through the cultural benefits which they provide, the schools attract pagans and win them over to Christianity; and they are thus well suited to accomplish the distinctive mission task, especially where adults, because of their degenerate intellectual, moral, and religious condition (which is usual among them) show themselves inaccessible to the Gospel and thus force the missionary to direct his attention first to the still unspoiled, plastic and receptive children. The young are in themselves an important mission-object, and are evidently to be reached and influenced, not by missionary preaching, but by the mission schools. Consequently, while these schools are not a direct institute for conversion, they at least prepare the way for conversion in the future while helping to establish meanwhile an intellectual atmosphere that is Christian. Again, the *spiritual* needs of Christian children and families are best ministered to by way of the schools. With the help of the schools, the missions create in the minds and hearts of their Christian and non-Christian objects the preliminary conditions

<sup>23</sup> Besides the *Collect.* (II, 1606, XIV), cf., for example, the Synod of Hongkong (1909), 55 sqq., and the *Summa decretorum synodaliūm Setchuen et Hongkong* (1910), 140 sqq., and in general the sections of the Synods, Directories, and Manuals *De temporalibus*. "*Il est de toute nécessité que le missionnaire soit chez lui,*" declares the Synod of the Congo, in citing the reasons for mission property (c. 4, p. 9). Concerning finance and financial administration, the expenses and income of the missions cf. *above*, 299 sqq.; also Geyer's *Handbuch*, n. 18; Arens, *Handbuch*, 275 sqq. (*Die Missionsmittel und ihre Beschaffung*); and Ohm, *Irdische Vorteile als Bekehrungsmotive*, ZM., XVIII (1928), 208 sqq.

for the understanding and acceptance of Christian doctrine and morals; through the schools, they secure in the young a guarantee for the future; through the schools, they form the future generation and their future community, or, in other words, lay the foundation for their whole work. For their social task also, the missions need the schools as a medium of national Christianization, as educators of the Christian communities, as training institutes for their native auxiliaries, to permeate a whole nation with the spirit of Christianity and establish a self-contained, native, and self-propagating church. Finally, the schools are required to assist the missions in accomplishing their cultural object, by raising their individual and social objects to a cultural level corresponding to the religious standard of Christianity and linked psychologically with it. The schools thus occupy the first place among the indirect missionary means, but they also belong to the direct means in so far as they may lead directly to the Gospel and produce collective movements towards Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that, if we seek counsel from the past, we shall encounter the mission school but seldom. The Divine Friend of the children did assuredly gather His Apostles around Him in a kind of school, and gave them an insurpassable example of loving care for the young; but nowhere did we read that the Early Christian missionaries, whether in the Apostolic or the post-Apostolic age, founded actual schools or gave systematic instructions, if we except the "catechist schools." These latter were almost exclusively schools for the training of teachers or theologians, although to a certain extent they were also intended to serve the purposes of the missions—especially for the scientific defense of Christianity, for the convincing and winning of

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, in Togo and Uganda. "Scarcely any other social institution is so adapted as the school for exercising a religious and moral influence and, indisputably, for creating such a general level of culture, as is desirable for the reception of religion . . . . In the exact proportion in which the schools have been established, the decisive influence of the missions also extends and assures a gradually completed Christianization of these localities." (Schwager, in *ZM.*, III (1913), 56 sq.). "The task of this Church is intellectual, and it is a mark of the Church and her world mission in our days that she is becoming ever more detached from dependence on any secular power and more bound, therefore, to accomplish her task through an ever-increasing employment of purely intellectual means—that is, through the spread of culture" (*ibid.*, 65). Cf. Carroll, *Our Missionary Life in India* (1917), XI, 299—354 ("The Missionary in Schools and Colleges").

educated pagans, and for the formation of an educated body of catechists. The need then for mission and Christian schools was much less urgent than now, for the reason that young people (including Christians) were either not instructed at all or were instructed together with the pagan children in state or private institutes (cf. the *Martyrium* of the Christian Teacher, Cassian, and the Prohibition of Julian the Apostate). Consequently, Christian education had to be confined to the home and the family and the conversion of pagans effected by individuals and communities. From the Middle Ages likewise we have no records of the founding of schools during the initial stages of missions, as actual means of conversion. This is evidently because there was again no need for them in addition to the definitely religious instruction imparted to the Germanic and Slavic uncivilized races. It is, however, true that the medieval missions turned their attention immediately to the establishment of monastic schools for the cultivation of ecclesiastical science and for the training of a native clergy, and also for introducing that intimate connection between church and school which may be discerned throughout the Middle Ages, from the simple parochial school (where, besides the catechism, a little reading and writing was taught) to the university. Greater attention was devoted to the mission schools in the modern period. However, even in the case of the Society of Jesus, which was otherwise so distinguished for its school activity, the modern missions also seem to have paid little attention to the school question, in their initial stages. We learn from St. Francis Xavier that he himself instructed children and adults in the fundamental elements of Christian truth (especially the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*), and also founded or supported colleges for the training of the native auxiliary forces; but there is scarcely any mention of other mission schools, with regular instruction, for the common folk also and in elementary subjects. The later Jesuit missionaries contributed largely towards the introduction and promotion of Western science in the Far East, especially within the realm of the Middle Kingdom; but apart from isolated projects and foundations (for example, in Japan), they did not consider the establishment of regular mission schools until after the establishment of church communities. Such schools were for the children of Christian parents. Similarly in Latin America, the school work of the missions was confined within the most narrow and modest limits, not only among the Franciscans and Dominicans, but also in the Jesuit "reductions." Consequently, Pfotenbauer (*Die Mission der Jesuiten in Paraguay* (1891) II, 60 sq.; III, 223 sqq.) is not entirely unjustified when he blames the Jesuits because, according to the records, they neither built schools proper nor gave regular school instruction, and because apart from their activity in religious training which attached no little importance to the memorizing of prayers and texts from the catechism, they too greatly neglected the institution of a well-regulated school system. In his brochure defending the "educational principles of the Jesuits," Huonder does not admit this charge; but it is significant that among the older writers on mission theory, including Acosta (who recom-

mends the education of the sons of the chieftains in European culture, but preferably by the government) and Thomas a Jesu, nothing is to be found concerning the mission school as an institution of instruction in pagan lands. Whether this omission finds its true explanation in the differences of conditions or also (at least in part) in the mere silence of the sources, it cannot be denied that it represented a serious defection in the older missions and contributed largely to their failure to achieve qualitative success.

A change has taken place in recent times when, in answer to modern needs and to the universal impetus given to the spread of education and possibly also under the indirect influence of the Protestant mission-school system, the Catholic missions and Church have realized their vocation to impart Western knowledge to both the uncivilized and civilized pagan races and thus to admit the school into their program even during the initial stage of the missions, as a valuable ally and bridge to Christianity. We thus find today the mission stations provided everywhere with schools, and often surrounded with a circle of them,<sup>2</sup> although not at all to the same extent as with the Protestant missions<sup>3</sup> which, especially in Eastern Asia, concentrate their entire activities on education (here is an additional reason why the Catholic missions also should devote themselves to their school activities with greater intensity than before).

Possibly the beginning of this assiduous school activity of the missions of the present may be traced to the high schools prompted or founded by the Propaganda. The Instruction of 1659 at the time urged the Vicars Apostolic to interest themselves in the establishment of schools and the free instruction of the pupils, so that Catholics might not be required to entrust their children to unbelievers for education (*Collect*, I, n. 135). To ensure new recruits for the missions, and also to provide for the "Christian youth" and especially for candidates for the priesthood instruction in the true faith and in the useful disciplines (*unde religionis conservatio, integritas atque incrementum maxime pendet*), the Propaganda established and maintained "gymnasias and schools" in various parts of the world. An Instruction of 1780, invoking that of 1659, demanded as a condition for such school subsidies an annual report (on the number of teachers and pupils, the mode of life and subsistence, the classes and subjects, the period of study, the religious and scientific progress), and also that the students from these institutions should be received in the Propaganda

<sup>2</sup> Before the War, Krose (*Kirchliches Handbuch*, V, 129 sqq.) estimated the Catholic mission schools to number over 22,000 with more than a million pupils; since the War, Arens (*Handbuch der katholischen Missionen* (1925), 248 sqq.) has set the figure at 20,878 elementary schools and 1,123,397 pupils; the high schools and universities are not counted. Cf. also, Streit, *Catholic Missions in Figures* (1927), 93 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> According to Beach-Fahs, *World Missionary Atlas*, New York (1925), p. 78, the Protestants had 46,580 elementary schools with 2,165,842 pupils.



colleges and obtain therein their training in the humanities and philosophy (*Collect.*, I, 544). According to the Encyclical of 1861, the Reports sent by the Vicars Apostolic to the Propaganda must also give the number of Catholic and non-Catholic schools and pupils in their territories (*ibid.*, 1215, nn. 27—29). In an Instruction of 1845 on the native clergy, the Propaganda required all mission superiors to display zeal in providing "other useful instruction," and that schools and gymnasia should be opened for the religious and secular training of youths, since "this is the most effective conceivable means for promoting the advancement, stability, and glory of the faith" (*ibid.*, 1002, n. 8). An Instruction of the same year to the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry expresses the wish that the schools shall be open to all Indians, and that no spiritual or secular knowledge shall be withheld from them (*ibid.*, n. 999). It was, however, in its two Instructions (of 1869, to the East Indian, and of 1883, to the Chinese, bishops) that the Propaganda especially inculcated the necessity of school work. The Instruction of 1869 declared that, since according to the episcopal reports, one of the chief means of the Protestants for spreading their errors, was the boys' and girls' schools they had opened in all the cities of India, the Vicars Apostolic must direct all their energy and efforts towards providing for the education of boys and girls by establishing schools elsewhere, and that consequently the insufficient number of male schools (European and mixed, as well as native) must be increased at least to the point where they might serve as preparatory schools for the seminaries, while the previously greatly neglected female schools must also be kept in mind, particularly for the natives; and that, furthermore, with regard to the attendance of pagan and Protestant boys at the Catholic schools, the Instruction of April 25, 1868, was to continue in force (*ibid.*, n. 1329), that Catholic children were to be restrained from attending the secular state schools and that instruction in the Catholic schools was to be brought to the same level as in these institutions; and finally, that the state subsidies for private schools might be accepted in so far as the accompanying conditions were not contrary to the Catholic faith and good morals (*Collect.*, II, nn. 35—37). The School Instruction of 1883 (*ibid.*, 1606, nn. 1 sq.) referred to the previous efforts of the Propaganda for the instruction of the young in the Chinese missions and also to the Synodal Acts. In accordance with these, (1) the Vicars Apostolic were to establish in all mission districts at least one day or one night-school, for the religious instruction of the boys, under the direction of the missionary; and (2) besides these "catechist schools" (*scholis catechisticis*), they were to establish "literary" schools, so that the Christian youths might not have to attend pagan institutions and be filled with their superstitious prejudices, under pretext that they could obtain no secular profane knowledge (*litteras*) from the Catholic teachers. In the third place, the foundation of colleges for young lay people in every vicariate was declared laudable for the purpose of supplying model catechists and families (expensive buildings and a large number of pupils called unnecessary; but a beginning should

be made with small boarding-schools into which the sons of the wealthy (in particular) should be admitted for a small fee). Fourthly, with regard to mixed schools, the Instruction of 1868 was to continue in force; the attendance of pagan schools by the faithful should be prevented as far as possible, and permitted only in case of necessity. Fifthly, if it became difficult to find Christian teachers for the elementary schools, pagan teachers might be appointed, but only on condition that the faithful would suffer no harm thereby. Sixthly, instruction should be also supplied for the girls, on whom the welfare of families, and often also of the male members, depends: this instruction must not be given by men, because of possible dangers and scandals, but by nuns in connection with their houses, or, if these were not available, by Chinese virgins or pious women, with the utmost possible avoidance of notoriety (numerous but smaller schools were recommended, without daily classes and with not too frequent visits of the missionary).

The Chinese Regional Synods, on the acts of some of which the above Decree was based, also made very useful regulations regarding the mission schools. According to the Hongkong Synod of 1909 (the third of the fifth region), school activity has from the very first been at the head of all the ecclesiastical institutes of salvation, but must be adapted to the methodological and scientific developments of modern times. It consequently decreed: (a) that from their earliest years the children should be instructed in primary schools, by capable teachers possessing the diploma of *litteratus*; (b) that, in the more important cities, this Church should found graded schools partly for literary and scientific courses and partly for useful foreign languages; (c) that a school "of higher grade" should be established in the provincial capital, for more profound study and for securing a higher diploma; (d) that a Catholic university should be created in the Chinese Empire, with at least the two chief faculties. Regarding the method of founding these schools, the Synod ordered the formation of a special council and the adoption of the curriculum of the state schools, since the Catholic schools must not be inferior to these in their teaching and must surpass them in discipline and training; and it declared that the catecheses might be given only by a Catholic teacher (according to the Instructions of the Holy Office of 1866 and 1900), while the pagans should be invited, but not compelled, to attend these instructions, which should be carefully prepared as to matter and form; furthermore, since experience shows that the Chinese do not display equal zeal in sending their children for free instruction, at least a small fee should be levied. The missionary was advised not to appear too frequently in the schools, not to correct the teacher before the pupils, to make himself conversant with the whole program and able to intervene in case of necessity, yet not to give the instruction in person (48 sqq.). Similar directions were given in the *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong* (1910, 127 sqq.), Shensi (1908, 4 sq.), Shansi (1880, 21 sq.),

Hankow (1886, tit. VII, n. 1), and Hongkong (1875, 21 sqq.), and by the Synod of Pondicherry of 1884 for India (652). Similarly, the first Regional Synod for Japan and Corea, which was held at Nagasaki in 1890, declared it a duty of the missionary to provide schools for both sexes in all Christian towns and to appoint school councilors for this purpose: the site should be healthful; everything should be clean; the teacher should be a teacher of good reputation and possessed of a state diploma; the teaching force should be sufficiently large and the curriculum similar to that of the state (*instructio non inferior, educatio melior*); the sexes should be separated; pagan children also should be eligible (they should be conducted to prayer, and wherever possible, to Mass, according to the Decree of the Holy Office of 1886); the matter of the "moral studies" should be the catechism and the catechesis outside the school should be attractive; the examinations should be held in the presence of the parents; a reasonable school-fee should usually be charged, to create appreciation; the priest should be a father to all the pupils and supervise the whole instruction, but should himself teach only the catechism (99 sqq.).

Concerning the situation of the mission schools in India, China, and Japan, consult the present writer's articles on East Asiatic mission methods (*ZM.*, V (1915), 15, 24, 31 sq.) and on the mission school system in China (*ZM.*, VIII (1918), 96 sqq.). The three episcopal mission school conferences in China (Hongkong, Hankow, and Tsinanfu, besides the concluding conference in Shanghai), which were suggested by the writer at the beginning of 1914, declared as their aim the establishment of primary schools in every chief station, of higher schools in every district center, of secondary schools in every vicariate or at least in every national province, of one or more Catholic universities for the whole empire; furthermore, of professional schools for medicine, commerce, and so forth, as needed; and of normal schools (seminaries for teachers) in every vicariate (cf. the Reports). Consult *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 96 sqq., and Ybañez, 246 sqq., for India proper; the Provincial Councils, Tit. VIII (*De scholis*), for Indo-China, the *Directoire de la Cochinchine*, II, 4 (erection, visitation, supervision, etc.).

What serious attention is also being paid to the school problem by the missions among the uncivilized peoples of Africa is shown by the Decrees of Cameroon and East Africa. The Decrees of the Synod of Cameroon of 1906 entrust to the Vicar Apostolic with his council the decision regarding the foundation of schools and the approval of the school regulations; the reception and dismissal of children rest with the mission superior in consultation with the director of the school; no children are to be retained in the schools after their fifteenth year, unless they are to become catechists; and it is advised that, "to create a solid nucleus for the future of those instructed," as many children as possible should be admitted from the same town; moreover, with a view to lessening the school burdens, the parents living in the neighborhood should be urged to feed their children and,

in so far as they can, to pay a small school-fee (16th chapter, 63 sq.). The Decrees of the East African Conference of 1912 are of similar tenor, stating that school-fees in money or in the form of work should be introduced everywhere, and also the payment for school supplies; that the voluntary erection and support of the schools should be striven for, and that inducements to school attendance should be offered in the form of presents; that the children (including the girls) should attend the school as long as possible, even till their marriage, in order that they may be able to read their prayer-books later (4 sq., n. 3). The Synod of the Congo of 1919 distinguished between country schools under catechists, central schools at the stations, and normal, special, and religious schools (pp. 37 sqq.), agreeing with the Synod of 1907 (pp. 2 sqq.).

We may accordingly now endeavor to establish certain methodological principles pertaining to the mission schools. With regard to their financing, it is a very sound principle that a mission ought not to contribute to the building of the school or towards promoting attendance, but should rather strive to secure compensation for it through the cooperation of the pupils and the community. While it may be difficult to insist on a fee and to press the obligation to support the schools in the early missionary stage, these requirements must be introduced as soon as the position of the mission is to some extent secured.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese mission school conference of 1914 decided that the sources of the income to cover the expenses should be sought as far as possible in the missions and schools themselves through contributions from the pupils and Christians, and where possible also from the pagans and public authorities. Concerning the necessity or expediency of state subventions, opinions differ, chiefly because the governments are wont to demand, in return for such subsidies, certain rights with regard to the curriculum and supervision which may impair the independence of the mission schools.<sup>4a</sup> However, it is no more than just that the state should properly recompense the missions for the great cultural benefits of their school activities, which relieve the state of very heavy burdens; and the mission

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<sup>4</sup> At least in the secondary schools, as it is done by the Brothers of Mary in the Samoan Islands. Cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 108 according to the Reports.

<sup>4a</sup> For example, in Togo, Cameroon, and the English colonies.

schools on their part have a right, not only to accept but even to demand such support (at least indirect support, consisting, for example, in the providing or paying for school supplies). On the other hand, the independence of the missions is not excessively restricted by the counter-demands of the state (the rights of inspection and examination), which indeed, as experience shows, may even contribute towards increasing their efficiency.<sup>5</sup>

Besides the missionary himself (who should usually participate in the instruction at the station school and supervise and pay regular visits to the out-schools) and the Brothers (who are to a large extent special School Brothers), the teaching staff includes the native teachers, and also the catechists, who are so called because of the preponderance of their religious instruction. Besides personal qualifications, a good education, especially along practical pedagogical lines, is an urgent desideratum for all teachers.<sup>6</sup> According to Father Fahrer, the "missionary professor must be a combination of apostle and monk, and must therefore demonstrate above all else industry and holiness."<sup>7</sup> As guiding principles in the selection of a teaching staff, the Chinese School Conferences have declared that, provided the direct work of conversion is not impaired, the Society entrusted with the mission should, if its own forces are insufficient, summon to its assistance one or another of the teaching congregations, but that both purposes (of the mission and the schools) would be best served by the founding of a special teaching society for the mission.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, in so far as possible, native lay people should also be enrolled. Whether and to what extent the engagement of pagan teachers is permissible in the absence of Chris-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Stenz, in *École en Chine* (II, 233 sq.). Also the Synodal Statutes of Bombay, 216 sqq. (*De necessaria parentum cum schola cooperatione*) and 222 sq. (*De laicorum obligatione ad scholas sustentandas*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, III (1913), 54. "*Magistri sedulo eligendi*" (*Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, c. VI, § 3, I, p. 66).

<sup>7</sup> *ZM.*, V (1915), 15, footnote 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ZM.*, VIII (1918), 108 sq., discussing the Reports of the Conferences.

tian teachers, it is difficult to decide, although this practice prevails in the majority of the Jesuit colleges in India. Moreover, the Instruction of the Propaganda of 1883 permits an exception when Christian teachers cannot be obtained and when all harm is avoided.\*

The recruiting and attendance of the pupils is usually voluntary; and as full authority in this matter rests with the missionary, many difficulties are regularly encountered, all of which have to be overcome by prudence, kindness, and firmness. Again, while orderly school work is impossible without a certain amount of discipline and regulation, the exercise of direct methods of compulsion should be in so far as possible avoided.<sup>10</sup> From the very nature of the Christian missions, it is self-evident that girls may not be excluded from the mission schools, but that, on the contrary, in view of their later importance in family life, special zeal and care should be devoted to enrolling them; but the seclusion and oppressed condition of the women and girls in pagan lands offer very many obstacles that are usually to be overcome only by entrusting their education to female teachers exclusively. Except for a few evening schools for adults, attendance at the mission schools is usually limited to children. That the baptized children of Christian parents must attend the mission schools whenever possible, and must be urged to do so by their parents (with a view to their acquiring a better knowledge of the religious, and to a certain extent also, the profane, sciences), is naturally assumed by both the Catholic and Protestant missions. But pagan children ought also to be permitted or even invited to attend the mission schools. Protestant practice decidedly favors this policy, and the schools are open to pagan children whenever par-

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\* *Collect.*, II, 194, n. 5. Cf. the Peking Synod of 1886 (c. 11).

<sup>10</sup> From the fact that (e. g.) the Catholic Mission of the Congo secures its school children by purchase, Warneck unjustifiably draws the general conclusion that, "doubting the power of preaching over the hearts of the adults, the Roman mission practice has erred in securing children by purchase so as to exercise complete power over them, because it hopes through them to lay the surest groundwork for a Catholic-convert church (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 136).

ents give consent. Warneck approves of this policy, because the young are usually the most accessible and often prepare the way into the mission for their parents.<sup>11</sup> The Catholic missions also frequently adopt this means to influence the pagan youth and thus pagan society, and so prepare the way for personal conversions and also a general Christianization.<sup>12</sup> Ecclesiastical legislation, however, has established definite regulations and precautions for this admission of non-Catholics into Catholic schools, and for the establishment of mixed schools: these are to be found especially in the Propaganda Instruction of 1868,<sup>13</sup> which, although applying strictly to Protestant and Schismatic schools, was (as we have seen) extended also to the pagan missions in India and China by the Instructions of 1869 and 1883. The first-named Instruction establishes a general principle that no unbelievers may be admitted (at least into the colleges of youths) save in exceptional cases when such admission entails no proximate danger for the Christian pupils.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, female schools conducted by Sisters may admit pagan girls without any formality, "because these may appropriate with profit from the lessons of the catechism at least some Christian ideas, which, like grains of seed, will produce fruit in due season."<sup>15</sup> The missions in the German colonies also usually maintained mixed religious schools, and their pagan pupils often embraced Christianity. However, the Synod of Cameroon prescribed that the station schools should preferably

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<sup>11</sup> "Frequently the school is also the mother of the church, as the church is always the mother of the schools . . . . Consequently, the missions must also employ this means, since, by an extensive Christian system of education, they seek to train not only the Christian but also the pagan youth of all stations."

<sup>12</sup> Without noteworthy success in conversions in the higher schools of the Orient and India; in the Japanese girls' schools baptism is refused on account of dangers to be expected later.

<sup>13</sup> *Collect.*, II, 1329.

<sup>14</sup> Consequently, such pagans are admitted only with the approval of the missionary of the district; if their number is great, they should be instructed in a special hall, and a pious and watchful teacher should be appointed to exclude all liable to cause religious or moral harm to the faithful.

<sup>15</sup> *Collect.*, II, 1606, XI, n. 416.

admit baptized children, especially if they could not be supervised otherwise.<sup>16</sup> The admission of non-Christians is indeed the rule in the Indian colleges, because their school-fees facilitate the free admission of Christian pupils who are (spiritually) sponsored by sodalities. For China, the Mission School Conferences have decided that pagan pupils should not be excluded, and that the advantages of their admission are not inconsiderable if only care is exercised so that they may exert no unfavorable influence over the spirit of an institution. Whether a boarding or day school is to be preferred depends on circumstances, since both have their advantages; in principle, the schools should require an attendance fee, and the pupils should be formed into associations or organizations with a view to their instruction and support.<sup>17</sup>

The program and management of the mission schools vary greatly according to the categories into which the schools are divided. That religious instruction is an essential part of their program is immediately clear from the chief aim of the missions, although there are some higher schools (in the Far East, India, and Japan) that confine themselves to purely secular subjects and positively exclude religion or replace it with other expedients (moral instructions, lectures, feasts) in obedience to state requirements: these latter thus exercise only indirectly a Christian influence on the intellectual life of the land. Devoted exclusively to religious instruction are (besides the Sunday Christian-doctrine classes) the catechumenate schools, which are held in specially designated institutions for Chinese adults for one to three months before their baptism, and the "catechism schools," which, according to the Propaganda Definition of 1883, serve "for the instruction of children in the truths of faith, the chief portion of biblical history, and the customary pub-

<sup>16</sup> S., 64, n. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the Reports, especially that of the Mission School Conference of Hankow. Also the Peking Synod of 1886 (36 sqq.) and *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses* (67 sqq.) regarding admission and boarding-schools. (*Internis cautius invigilandum, non omnes recipiendi, Convictus universe, Convictus singillatim*).



lic prayers of the Church.”<sup>18</sup> It cannot be denied that these “catechism schools” possibly satisfy the absolutely indispensable specific needs of the missions and serve as a makeshift under certain circumstances, because it is religious instruction as such that appertains directly to the mission task viewed in the narrowest sense; but the missions can scarcely dispense with at least an elementary knowledge of reading and writing, because the Bible and catechism cannot be used without these attainments; and nothing prevents the mission schools from extending their scope to include the other elementary subjects:” in fact, such an extension harmonizes entirely with their ideal. In this way, they raise the cultural level of the mission-objects, exercise a better educative effect over them, render them intellectually superior to their fellows, confer a great benefit on them, attract them to Christianity, make it easier for them to understand its teachings and to rival or surpass students of pagan, Mohammedan, and Protestant schools which divorce religion from their program. The Propaganda, therefore, recommends the establishment of lower and higher schools; and well-developed missions everywhere have actually established primary schools. The out-schools are under the direction of catechists, and are still rather elementary in their teaching aims, while the station-schools, which have a five to seven years’ course, usually approximate the standard of the European primary schools. Besides religious instruction, which should always occupy a central position, their program includes reading and writing in the vernacular, elementary arithmetic, history and geography at least in their rudiments, and also possibly singing and gymnastics.<sup>20</sup> However, Abbot Weber rightly warns

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<sup>18</sup> In Japan the “catechism schools” have to take the place of Catholic primary schools and strive to neutralize the influence of the pagan institutions; and the Sunday-schools also promote the work of conversion there, and establish contact, not only with the children, but also with the parents and the teachers (*ZM.*, V (1915), 31).

<sup>19</sup> At least in the form of winter schools, which, especially in China, form the usual intermediate step towards the primary schools.

<sup>20</sup> Such are the recommendations of the Synod of Cameroon. The Synod of the Congo (1920) makes similar recommendations for both the out-schools and the station-schools, and divides the curric-

against overburdening the curriculum in an effort to compete with the Western standards (especially in the case of uncivilized races), and weighing down pupils with unnecessary ballast which may only fill them with conceit and estrange them from their national character: in this warning Warneck concurs," and both writers likewise condemn the teaching of a foreign language in the primary schools, whether as a special subject or especially as the medium itself of instruction." "*Non scholae, sed vitae,*" is Abbot Weber's admonition to the mission schools. To attain this practical and vital aim, he demands that the schools, besides developing the understanding and transmitting knowledge, shall above all exercise a pedagogical influence on the hearts and character of their pupils; and therefore, besides mere instruction, he demands such educational training as must be given chief emphasis in the mission schools. He urges, furthermore, that the task of initiating pupils into social life and economic occupations shall be added to the theoretical instruction, and be cultivated with special earnestness from the third school-year: for the boys he suggests agricultural and manual occupations, and for the girls the various domestic occupations and handicrafts. This suggestion is actually carried into effect in most of the missions in the German colonies, where the forenoon only is devoted to school work proper, and the after-

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ulum into four courses (pp. 37 sqq.). The program according to the Convention of 1906 is the same as that recommended by the Congo State Synod of 1907 (pp. 2 sq.). Cf. the *Scholae catechistae* and *litterariae* in the *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses* (c. VI *De Scholis et collegiis*). Also Skolaster in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 116 sq.

"Instead of planting full-grown trees in the mission field, they must sow the grains of seed from which the trees will later grow . . . . And this can happen only if moderation is exercised in the importing of new knowledge, and if everyone is given what he can carry, actually assimilate, and utilize under the existing conditions."

"In individual cases, as in Togoland and Cameroon, where the desire for European culture and a knowledge of German is especially keen, an exception may be justified. "Negro English," however, may not be taught. The Congo Synod of 1919 demands that the medium of instruction shall always be the vernacular, and declares that in the matter of foreign languages the teacher must consider exclusively their value to the pupils. (pp. 37, 39 sq.).

noon to practical work.<sup>23</sup> This practical training is still more strongly emphasized in the numerous boarding and trade-schools of the missions. For more advanced individuals and groups, these elementary mission schools must be supplemented by intermediate and higher schools, particularly continuation and middle schools, which will deepen and extend the instruction received in the elementary schools without compromising the central position given to Christian religious teaching. In the civilized countries of Eastern Asia especially, the missions cannot dispense with the higher schools for boys and girls<sup>24</sup> if they wish to reach the educated classes and to impregnate the national spirit with Christian views: in fact, special high schools and universities are necessary if any striking successes are to be attained.<sup>25</sup>

The expediency of the Protestant mission colleges which Duff inaugurated in India gave rise to a lively literary controversy which has not entirely subsided to this day (cf. the Report of the Edinburgh Conference). Warneck defends them in principle as a means for the gradual transformation of the national spirit and for preparing the way for the work of conversion; from the pedagogical standpoint, however, he condemns the selection of English as the medium of instruction, the absence of an organic medium between Western and native thought, and the exclusive striving for academic degrees. His demand that the Christian character of these institutions should be

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. the Decrees of the Synod of Cameroon. On the Protestant side, this same policy is recommended by Warneck: "It must always be the aim to make the boy and girl pupils useful members of the practical life in which they are immersed." At the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, the following complaints were registered against the mission schools by the Third Commission and in the public debates: (1) that they were too English, alienated the natives from their home, and did not cultivate sufficiently the native languages; (2) that their instruction was not sufficiently directed towards practical life, and that too much regard was paid to the memory and too little to character-training; (3) that the training of the teachers was defective (cf. *ZM.*, I (1911), 178, commenting on Report III).

<sup>24</sup> Colleges and boarding-schools, and to some extent purely lingual schools. As model schools of this kind, we may mention the Ignatius College of the Jesuits in Siccawei, the Francis Xavier College of the Steyl Fathers in Tsining, and the Morning Star College of the Marianists in Tokyo.

<sup>25</sup> In India, four Jesuit colleges; in China, the Aurora at Shanghai, the college in Tientsin, and the university of the Benedictines in Peking; in Japan, the university of the Jesuits at Tokyo; in the Philippines, St. Thomas University of the Dominicans at Manila.

preserved by obligatory attendance at Christian instruction is unfortunately not realized in the Catholic mission colleges of India. This controversy has also provoked strong echoes and debates from the Catholic side: while the Apostolic Delegate Zaleski condemns the higher schools as superfluous from the missionary standpoint, and even as a harmful dissipation of forces, Father Fahrer of Cuddalore, an Alsatian member of the Paris Society who has grown old in the service of the college, warmly defends their necessity for the Indian missionary work, because not only is the faith of the Christian youth preserved and fostered by them, but an impulse is also given to the conversion of the pagan youth, especially the youth of the ruling Brahman classes. If, however, these schools are to fulfil this purpose, their intellectual, moral, and social influence on the pupils must be well organized; consequently, the Christian pupils must be separated from the pagan in the scientific circles, trained especially in religious disputation and the missionary sense must be inculcated in the confraternities ("*Le collège catholique en mission*" in *Annales de la Société des Missions Étrangères* (1896), 40 sqq., 82 sqq., cf. *KM.* (1909), 193 sqq., also Bombay, 214 sq., in the *Collect.*), and Dahmen, *Das höhere Missionsschulwesen in Indien*, *ZM.*, XV (1925), 9 sqq. With regard to the necessity for higher schools in China, the Conference of Hankow declares this to be so evident that it requires no proof. In support of the thesis in question, various members put forth the following reasons: because of "the moral and religious welfare of the Catholic youth who must not be exposed to the pagan atmosphere of the official schools; of the examinations, which henceforth will be held for every public office; of the need for propaganda, especially among the educated classes, who will otherwise be lost to us; of the glory of the Catholic Church; of the example of the dissident sects, the favorableness of present conditions; of the desire of the Chinese nation for European culture, which it is well to utilize for the purpose of introducing simultaneously the truly Christian spirit as the foundation of all civilization." (*Compte rendu* (1909), 3). The Northern Conference of Tsinanfu also gives as urgent reasons for the erection and extension of the higher educational institutes: "(1) the fact that a deepened and well-conducted instruction alone can confirm religious convictions and form good citizens, while the superficial and frequently unmoral instruction which many Chinese now receive estranges them from religion and makes them hurtful members of society; (2) that without good secondary and higher schools we can have no good primary schools; (3) that through our Catholic schools (especially our higher schools), we can combat effectively prejudices of the pagans and gradually introduce Christian ideas and sentiments into the press and legislation; (4) by thus acting, we are following the instructions of the Holy See and the teachings of experience: in the lands where the Catholic religion flourishes, it is largely indebted to higher education for the fact that it maintains its position and develops its activities" (*Conférence* 2). With regard to the program, there should be the greatest possible ✓

conformity and adaptation to the state curriculum; the classical Chinese literature should be also cultivated (cf. Warneck), the European languages included as subjects of study and Chinese used as the medium of instruction, while religious instruction should be obligatory for the Christian students but optional for the pagan. For Japan, consult especially Lebon (Marianist), *L'apostolat et l'éducation au Japon*, 1908 (influence even on the highest circles, respect for the ecclesiastical institutions and individual conversions). To secure state approval, the Jesuits and Marianists had to renounce in Japan their systematic religious instruction and substitute for it moral teaching and instruction outside of school hours. However, according to Schwager, the immediate task of the higher mission schools in the civilized lands of Asia is not a larger number of direct conversions, but the destruction of the pagan prejudices and the leavening of the native society with Christian ideas (*ZM.*, I (1911), 247 sq.).

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 131—172, chapter 40 (*Die missionarische Schule*), and the literature given there (especially the Resolutions and Minutes of the Mission Conferences); also the *Reports in AMZ.*, by Jellinghaus (II (1875), 434 sqq., 481 sqq.), Hesse, XI (1884), 259 sqq.) and Miller, XXIII (1894), 529 sqq.; also especially the Report of the Third Commission of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. Regarding a particular territory, cf. Schlunck, *Das Schulwesen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Hamburg, 1914). On the condition of the Catholic mission schools, cf. Schwager in *ZM.*, III (1913), 53 sqq.; Krose in the *Kirchliches Handbuch*, V (1916), 129 sqq., and Schmidlin, *Rundgang in the Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung* (1917), 261 sqq. The question is discussed, partly from the fundamental standpoint, by Schwager in the *Pädagogisches Lexikon* (1914), III, 698 sqq.; Freitag, in the *Aachener Lehrerinnentag* of 1914 (*Monatsschrift für katholische Lehrerinnen*, XXVII, 458 sqq.), and Braam, in the *Lehrerinnenkursus*, Münster, 1917, 83 sqq. Cf. also: Weber, *Euntes in mundum universum*, and Kilger, *Zur Geschichte des Missionschulwesens*, *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 198 sqq.

The seminaries for the training of the native auxiliaries occupy a special position among the higher mission schools. That, besides the personal qualifications, a "systematic vocational preparation" (Warneck) is also necessary for the Catholic native mission personnel, and that, on the other hand, this native auxiliary force is indispensable, has been already shown in our discussion of The Missionary Aim. Since this preparation cannot be properly accomplished by individual missionaries working along personal and separate lines,<sup>28</sup> and since

<sup>28</sup> They usually lack the necessary time and natural qualification for this work, and too much effort is dissipated by this method.

the attendance of European educational institutions cannot, as a rule, be recommended, for hygienic, financial, and pedagogic reasons, the only remaining solution is to establish such seminaries in the mission field itself for the training of the candidates in common, and to make these institutions an integral part of the mission organism. Very early—in fact, before there was any thought of founding the other classes of mission schools—the missions adopted these schools as part of their program, beginning with the catechists' schools of Christian antiquity and extending down to the priests' seminaries of modern times.<sup>27</sup>

With some modifications, we may adopt the general principles laid down by Warneck for these schools, as indeed these principles have been already carried into effect in the Catholic mission seminaries: for example, that the communities shall contribute to the cost of the seminaries by their general support, the parents by paying school-fees, and especially the seminarists themselves by their manual labor (which is recommended also for pedagogic reasons); that the native speech and customs shall not be suppressed by the seminary (although we might not care to declare it a fixed law that the vernacular alone should be used as the medium of instruction); that there must be made a careful choice and preparation of seminary professors,—both European and the native (who should be enlisted at least as auxiliary teachers as soon as possible); that the seminary should be also a training institute, and consequently that emphasis must be laid, not only on the instruction, but also on the external discipline, well-regulated order, authority and subordination, the formation of character and the cultivation of asceticism, and the qualifications, of candidates for their practical vocation; that the curriculum should avoid alike all unnecessary overburdening of the students and all mechanical adoption of European methods, and should rather be accommodated in so far as possible to the local and personal needs; that, even after the completion of their course in the seminary, the further training of the native auxiliaries should be promoted by private study, conferences, continuation courses, and so forth (*Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 94 sqq.).

The lay members of the mission personnel, especially the teaching staff, should be supplied and trained by the seminaries for catechists and for teachers: the former supply the catechists or religious instructors and the latter the school-teachers (although both categories of teachers and institutions are often combined). Both in the civilized countries of Eastern Asia and among the barbarian peoples

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<sup>27</sup> Regarding this and the following paragraphs, cf. Huonder, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern*, chapter IV (267 sqq.).

of Africa and Oceania, the missions have established many of these schools for catechists at the suggestion of the ecclesiastical authorities. Besides the necessity for the native teaching staff, the Propaganda also emphasizes the urgency of such colleges, or at least of special schools under the direction of a missionary—for example, in its Instruction of 1883 to the Chinese bishops (*Collect.*, II, 2nd ed., n. 1606, X). The last Regional Synod of Che-kiang accordingly orders that a seminary for catechists and teachers shall be established in every vicariate (*ZM.*, II (1912), 217). Cf. also the Synod of Bombay, 138, and the other Synods of Eastern Asia. The Statutes of the Synod of Cameroon of 1906 contain the following requirements regarding "the schools for catechists": (1) for reception, besides the necessary personal qualities, graduation from the highest class of the mission school and a knowledge of German are required; (2) "the instruction is to be given only in German, because the school is intended for the whole vicariate and consists of students who are sent thither by the other stations"; (3) "the period of instruction is to extend for the present over three years"; (4) students should follow a fixed order of the day, and devote an appointed time (not over two hours daily) to physical labor; (5) laziness, moral delinquencies, staying out at night, and so forth should be punished by expulsion; (6) the reception of the sacraments should take place at least every four to six weeks (the rector not being the confessor); (7) the instruction should be uniform, connected, practical, and fundamental in the necessary subjects, to which the less necessary must be subordinated; (8) all pupils—and, wherever possible, also their fathers or guardians—must bind themselves to attend the school for three years without interruption, and also to perform manual labor and, in so far as possible, pay a fee of three marks a month; (9) the candidates must also promise to act as mission teachers for at least three years after the termination of their school course, or otherwise to refund the cost of their education (chapter 9, 49 sq.). Warneck suggests as integral parts of the curriculum for teachers' seminaries: in these colleges also, first of all, religion, Bible history (individual incidents in their connection with the history of the Redemption), biblical readings (especially the *Acts* and the *Epistle to the Corinthians*), catechism (especially instructions regarding the differences from Romanism!), hymns and church history (biographical and especially mission history), then reading, speaking, writing, compositions in the vernacular, a foreign speech only in case of necessity and after a solid foundation has been laid in the mother tongue, elementary arithmetic according to local needs, geometry or drawing, natural science, geography (of the home land), world history (a difficult subject), singing, the qualifications for teaching (acquired by theory, observation, and actual practice) and pedagogics (V, 111 sqq.).

These schools for catechists, as well as the other colleges, serve largely as the first step towards the ecclesiastical seminaries proper, and thus as the immediate nursery of the native clergy for the Catholic missions. Warneck also recommends this graduation through

the teachers' into the theological seminary, because the educational methods are thus simplified, the candidates for the pastorate better tested, and the teaching easier from the Protestant standpoint. Various attempts have indeed been made to find a solution for the problem involved, especially by the establishment of the so-called "national colleges" in Europe (particularly in Rome) for the education of candidates for the priesthood from the missionary lands (note the Propaganda College which, created in 1627, soon admitted Orientals, Abyssinians, and Indians among its students, and aimed at imparting scientific and religious, and particularly lingual, training, cf. *Collect.*, I, 2nd ed., n. 127; the College of the Holy Family for China in Naples; finally, some African seminaries or initial ventures in that direction, such as the Della Palma College for Negroes in Naples, the Mazza Institute for Negroes in Verona, the St. Barnabas Mission College founded by Cardinal Massaja in Naples, Comboni's undertaking in Egypt, and the experiments of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost). However, the tragic collapse of the vast majority of these attempts demonstrated that such a transplantation of exotic plants into an entirely strange soil is, as a rule, doomed to failure, primarily because of the hygienic dangers of the climate, but also because the students are all too liable to suffer serious spiritual harm as the result of artificial Europeanization and a consequent estrangement from their nationality and loss of their special racial gifts: furthermore, these colleges cost more to maintain than those established in mission lands (Warneck, *loc. cit.*, V, 95 sq.). Consequently, if a native clergy competent to cope with all its tasks is to be developed—and how necessary this is for the attainment of the missionary aim, we have already seen—priests' seminaries for their training must be established in the mission territories themselves.

The Church and the missions have issued a series of regulations regarding the seminaries for priests. By its Seminary Decree, which applies also to mission dioceses, the Council of Trent there and then inaugurated the establishment of diocesan seminaries. The Propaganda Instruction of 1845, "De clero indigena," declared it advantageous and even necessary to found seminaries "in which the disciples called by God to the priesthood should receive a good and extensive training and be instructed in the sacred sciences" (*Collect.*, I, 544, n. 2). In a Rescript of 1852 for Ceylon, the Propaganda answered that, in conformity with the Instruction of 1832 regarding the admission of the fisher caste to the priestly station (n. 826), the seminary should be open to all, including the lowest castes (n. 1080). Invoking the Council of Trent and the Instruction of 1845, the Instruction of 1883 to the Chinese mission superiors especially stressed the necessity of training the levites in knowledge, piety, and pastoral theology at special seminaries: regarding the reception of candidates, the precept of the Synod of Szechwan (c. 8, n. 1) should be observed to the extent that, when suitable boys were found (twelve years old; not over fourteen or under ten), they should be tested first for one to two years in the vicinity of the missionary



and then for two years in the seminary, after which they should be placed, if possible, in a preparatory seminary (*petite seminaire*), but that no lay students or students without a vocation should be admitted to the ecclesiastical seminaries proper; central seminaries should eventually be established for several vicariates, the directors being relieved of all other functions; the Tridentine Decree on studies should be observed; the surplus of the mission income remaining after the support of the missionaries should be applied first to the seminaries, and, as directed by the Synod of Szechwan, Holy Orders should be conferred only after long testing in the seminary (*Collect.*, II, 1606, V). Among the points on which the Propaganda demands periodical reports from the missionary bishops are included several concerning the education and training of the native clergy, the existence and curriculum of the seminaries, and the observance of the Tridentine regulations (*ibid.*, I, 665 sq.). Accordingly, the mission synods have also ordered the Tridentine seminary training as alone admissible.

In conformity with these Instructions, most of the mission dioceses, at least in Eastern Asia, possess priests' seminaries (according to Huonder (*Einheimische Klerus*), they number 135 with about 5200 students), which for excellence of training may usually be compared with the European institutions (Schwager in *ZM.*, VI (1916), 62): some of these are general seminaries, such as that of Kandy for India. To raise the standard of the education, the last Synod of Shensi proposed the erection of such general seminaries also for the five Chinese Regions (*ibid.*, II, 216). The Hongkong Synods of 1875 (11 sq.) and 1909 (43 sq.) likewise issued a series of decrees regarding the students and seminaries (admission, reception of the sacraments, contribution of the parents, etc.); the *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong* (1910), p. I, c. 4 (*De alumni seminarii*), discussed the institution and direction of seminaries, the admission and studies of the candidates, their spiritual exercises and ordination (48—57). Similar regulations for India were made by the Synods of Bombay, 1893 (117 sqq.), and Pondicherry, 1844 (*Collectio Lacensis*, VI, 651 sqq.). Most detailed of all were the synodal regulations of Nagasaki (1890) for the seminaries of Japan and Corea: after citing the Decrees of the Popes, the Council of Trent, the Propaganda, and the Paris Society, this Synod ordered the foundation of seminaries and the proper organization of those already founded (or at least the sending of candidates to another seminary); alone eligible for admission were to be candidates over twelve and under fifteen years of age, who could produce testimonials from a missionary regarding the necessary qualifications, who had graduated from a primary school, who could to some extent read and write Latin, and whose family were confirmed in the faith, or their parents at least baptized (49 sqq.).

For the internal administration and curriculum, the Tridentine regulations have, as a rule, been preserved as the only admis-

sible norm. Frequently, however, but according to Zaleski with very little success, attempts have been made to depart from these regulations and devise other methods which seemed better adapted to the specific needs (thus possibly giving an impetus to the Europeanization and formalism which Warneck condemns, because conditions on the mission are not identical with ecclesiastical conditions at home). In his Mission Encyclical of 1919, Benedict XV expresses the wish that, not merely an *institutio inchoata et rudis*, but a complete training shall be given to the candidates for the priesthood (similar to that given to such candidates in civilized lands), so that they may be able to perform the same work as the European priests; according to Grösser, however, this must not be regarded as justifying a merely mechanical transplantation of European methods (*ZM.*, X (1920), 78). The Propaganda Instruction of 1883 expressly reminds the Vicars Apostolic of China of the Tridentine Decree, *quoad instaurationem studiorum*, while nevertheless advising them to seek the counsel of learned and experienced men regarding the method of study and to discuss this matter in their synods on religion (especially regarding the Latin and Chinese classics and the philosophico-theological authors and errors); it lauds the suggestion of treating philosophy according to the Thomistic method, and inculcates the emphasizing of the papal primacy in the doctrine regarding the Church (n. 6). According to the Decrees of the Synod for Japan and Corea, everything should be regulated by a written rule: the seminaries should be put under obligation to devote some time daily to meditation and spiritual reading, to attend Mass, to say their morning and evening prayers and also the Rosary, visit the Blessed Sacrament and examine their consciences, approach the Sacraments twice a month, make three days' Spiritual Exercises annually, take an examination before the bishops and professors twice each year on all the subject-matter which their teachers have treated. The curriculum includes the vernacular (*quam nisi sacerdotes calleant, muneri suo prorsus impares existimandi sunt*), Latin (which they must be able to speak and read), sacred eloquence (a knowledge and practice of the native forms), church history, geography, mathematics, plain chant, scholastic philosophy, French, natural science (physiology, physics, chemistry, and astronomy), dogmatic and moral theology, biblical study, liturgics (the omission of catechetics, pastoral theology, and canon law is surprising); the humanistic studies occupy from six to seven years, the course on philosophy and natural science three years, and the theological course four years, after which follows three months' immediate preparation for ordination. The candidates are to devote a two months' summer vacation not merely to recreation, but also to testing their vocation outside the seminary—if possible, in the circle of their own families, or otherwise at the house of a priest (who should give them a kindly welcome and furnish them with a testimonial at the end of their vacation). No candidate may be admitted to the tonsure before his second year in philosophy, to the subdiaconate before his third year in theology, or to the priesthood

before the conclusion of his fourth year. Consequently the ordinations frequently take place after the canonical age. Several days' Spiritual Exercises are to precede Holy Orders, and the Tridentine Decrees are to be observed in connection with the priesthood; and to guard against possible improprieties, seminarists should not wear the clerical dress until their ordination to the priesthood, but should wear it always thereafter (52 sqq.). We thus see that the regulations are substantially the same as for the priests' seminaries at home. We shall not attempt to decide whether this almost mechanical transplanting of European methods, and especially the hermetical seclusion of the undergraduates from the outer world, is the best educational method for every land. Warneck (V, 118) divides the subjects of instruction in the theological seminaries into biblical science (the substance and history, exegesis and fundamental ideas of the Old and New Testaments, translated into the vernacular), church history (especially doctrinal development), dogmatics and ethics (apologetics not as an independent subject, and in a more elementary form than at home), and finally, instruction in the sacred ministry or practical theology (homiletics, catechetics, liturgics, pastoral theology, and practices); and he utters a warning against the introduction of critical and dogmatic subtleties with all the scientific methods employed at home.

### 3. Missionary Literature

Another purely modern missionary means, which in turn is indispensable also for the mission schools, is that of the press and literature, of the "written word" with which to supplement the spoken, partly in the service of the preaching and the schools and partly outside these domains. While the Apostles attached chief importance to their preaching, even they issued a written message in their "Gospels" and the Epistles, although these writings were primarily intended, not for the pagans, but for the Christians. This literary activity was continued by the Church Fathers; and the Apologists in particular employed this as a special missionary means for reaching the non-Christians, even though their apologies were read rather by the Christians than by the pagans. The Middle Ages, which neglected literature (at least in so far as its utilization by the people is concerned), naturally made little use of this means of converting pagans.<sup>1</sup> Following

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<sup>1</sup> Even the "Carolingian Mission Catechism," discovered by Heer, if it merits this title at all, was rather a catechetical manual for the missionaries.

the invention of printing, which providentially coincided with the great discoveries, the modern missions devoted themselves much more earnestly to literary work as a direct or indirect missionary means: this is shown, on the one hand, by the numerous catechisms,<sup>2</sup> and on the other, by the extensive literary productions of the Jesuits in China. The need for the literary mission is still greater at present when the press has developed such enormous influence in the intellectual life at home and in the missionary lands (at least among civilized peoples and the educated classes); and this influence extends even to the illiterate, not merely because they are reached indirectly through the literate, but because the literary mission creates in the former the desire to utilize its works and enables them to do so by providing for their cultural elevation, in particular by teaching them to read and, through the schools, creating a need for reading.<sup>3</sup> The resulting general spread of education and of the ability to read serves to impress ever more urgently on the missions their obligation to engage in literary efforts, as do their rivals to a constantly increasing extent.<sup>4</sup> With the help of the press, therefore, as with the help of the schools, the modern missions are expected not only to cultivate the religious life of their budding churches, but also to penetrate into pagan circles and prepare the way for Christian thought among the literate and determinative classes. The need applies especially to Eastern Asia where the Catholic press is unfortunately still far behind the Protestant. Here especially must literary production assist the missions in attaining their social aim of

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<sup>2</sup> Acosta, the writer on mission theory, also compiled such a catechism.

<sup>3</sup> The very desire for the possession of this accomplishment not infrequently opens the door to the civilized, and even to the uncivilized, peoples—e. g., in Togo and Cameroon, Ruanda and Uganda.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the introductory article of Father Arens on the Catholic Press in "The Far East and Oceania" (*Das katholische Zeitungswesen in Ostasien und Ozeanien*, Aachen, 1918). "It is, however, true that for the Catholic missionary the press must always remain an indirect expedient, and he may never devote himself to journalism in the same way as the agents of the numerous Protestant sects and the representatives of unbelief do" (loc. cit., 3).

spreading Christianity far and wide and gradually regenerating the whole nation with the Christian spirit.<sup>5</sup>

Though the Protestant Warneck assigns to the written word a much more decisive part than do Catholics, he finds himself instinctively compelled to utter a warning against any overestimation, exaggeration, or rash development of the literary weapon. He reminds us first of all that it is not the unconverted pagans but the converted Christians who have the first right to and the required understanding for the written word and that it is properly through their indirect mediation that mission literature should bring forth its fruits among the surrounding non-Christians, although its circulation may not be restricted to the original addressees but must inevitably come into pagan hands also. But he especially exhorts us to proceed slowly and gradually with literary propaganda, at least in the case of illiterate or immature mission-objects, and to develop first their susceptibility to literary production. Just as did the older writers on mission theory (Acosta and Thomas a Jesu), Warneck also distinguishes between pagan races with and without a literature, but shows how even among the former (in Japan, China, and India) the vast majority of the people either cannot or will not read. "Preaching and the school must first be made to play their parts with persevering patience before literary work can be successfully cultivated among the non-Christian masses"; consequently, tradition is "the first and soundest pamphleteer" (182). "Moderation is necessary in both directions, so that a narrow piety may not isolate the work of Christianization from the whole intellectual development of a nation, nor a too liberal cos-

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. the reasons cited by the Chinese Mission School Conference (Hongkong, 8: "The work of the press is scarcely less useful or indeed less necessary than that of the schools; for, as all the world understands, the one is the companion and completion of the other: through the press are actually propagated throughout the whole nation the ideas first taught in the schools"), and by the Japanese "Messenger" (ZM., V, 1915, 32), on the need of a mission literature for pagans, besides that intended for the Christians). Concerning the need, task, institution, and methods of the Catholic press in Japan, cf. Father Weig, "Das religiöse Problem in Japan," in *Hist-pol. Blätter* (1910), 13 sqq. The Edinburgh World Missionary Conference states on this point: "The Commission desires to express its appreciation of the enormous value and importance of Christian literature, on the one hand, as a means for the instruction and development of the church in the mission field, and on the other, as an apology for Christianity in non-Christian localities (Report III, 302). It accordingly recommends a more vigorous cultivation of this branch of activity, greater regard for the native languages and needs, the development of the native auxiliary force, specialization, and cooperation.

mopolitanism transform it into a cultural activity which substitutes intellectual for spiritual life" (230). Consequently, Warneck boldly condemns the missionary method which is especially popular among the Anglo-American Bible societies—the method of overwhelming the pagan masses with Bibles and regarding this as the consummation of the whole missionary task (for the Catholic standpoint, cf. also the criticism of Marshall, etc.). Inasmuch as the Catholic missions attach far the greater importance to oral instruction, official authority, and ecclesiastical tradition, they must all the more carefully avoid the obnoxious extremes and exercise a wise moderation in the carrying out of their literary program.

Who, in the first place, should engage in the production of mission literature: Who should write it, and who publish it? It is natural and unavoidable that the foreign missionaries should undertake this task, at least in the initial stages and especially in the case of the strictly religious literature. It is, however, desirable that this highly important and difficult part of the missionary task should be entrusted, not so much to active missionaries overburdened with missionary and pastoral duties, but wherever possible to mission writers who are specially qualified and trained for this work and are more or less relieved of other professional duties (and, in Eastern Asia, established in authors' homes). At the suggestion of the Hongkong representative of the Propaganda, Leo XIII took this problem under consideration, and commended it to the attention of the Chinese Regional Synods of 1880; but no successful solution was attained (*ZM.*, I (1911), 238). Regarding the missionaries engaged in literary work, Warneck demands that they shall not only truly master the speech of the natives, but that they shall also, as a result of long years' experience and intimate association, penetrate into the native habit of thought, since the important point to consider is not the number but the excellence and intelligibility of possible literary productions. Besides the foreign-born, Warneck also recommends the training of native writers from among both the clergy and the laity (at least for the work of translation), since these alone can adequately accommodate their thoughts to the native speech and viewpoint. I would also most warmly recommend this procedure for the Catholic missions, especially in Japan and China, where such collaboration of native scholars with the missionaries would greatly relieve the burdens of the latter and inevitably bear rich fruits. That all mission literature should be adapted to the mission-object, both as to language and intellectual import, needs no proof after what has been already said. Regarding the mode of writing (whether by symbols or phonetically) and orthography, which has frequently to be introduced for the first time (such as the use of the Latin characters, which was developed in China by Bishop Cosi, O.F.M.), cf. Warneck, IV, 209 sqq. For the establishment of missionary publications special mission printing shops are most serviceable, not only in the civilized lands of Eastern Asia (there are over twenty in China, cf. *ZM.*, II (1912), 236), but also in Africa and Oceania: for the proper fulfilment of their aim, these shops

must naturally be maintained at a high level of efficiency, and must in fact be to a certain extent thoroughly modern in their equipment (cf. Propaganda, 1869, *Collect.*, II, 26). Special mission publishing houses and Catholic bookstores should undertake the sale of the mission publications; but unfortunately such are still very scarce even in China and Japan (*ZM.*, I (1911), 245): where they are not available, the missionaries themselves, and especially the educated laity (possibly also native baptizers or catechists assigned to this duty), should provide for the distribution; and publications ought rather to be sold (even at moderate prices) than distributed gratis, since free gifts are not sufficiently appreciated (*ibid.*, 246). It is highly desirable that literary societies for the distribution of literature should be at the disposal of the Catholic missions (*ibid.*, II (1912), 238). The Protestant missions enjoy the advantage of having several highly developed societies of this kind (especially the Bible and tract societies, and in China the Society of Christian Literature which has been active for twenty-five years). Thus far, the Chinese Mission School Conferences have decided on the institution of the *Société de gens de lettres*, with a representative for every vicariate. Public and private lending and consulting libraries, which have been planned for students but evidently not yet instituted (*ZM.*, I (1911), 246), must facilitate the reading and consultation of Catholic literature. The Propaganda has frequently forbidden publication by the missions without its permission of writings on religious or ecclesiastical topics, except catechisms and prayers for the daily use of the faithful, which need only the *imprimatur* of the bishop (*Collect.*, I, nn. 124, 482, 519, 912, 919). Concerning the distribution of the mission publications, cf. Warneck, IV, 230 sqq. (Conclusion).

In so far as their subject matter and nature are concerned, the literary productions and works of the missions fall into different categories. First of all, the missions need for their schools textbooks for teaching and study, which as a rule are produced in the first instance only with great (especially linguistic) difficulty. Warneck names primers and a reading-book as the media of instruction for the primary schools; manuals on history, geography, grammar, arithmetic, and natural science for the intermediate schools; Bible commentaries, church history, Christian doctrine, and a biblico-theological dictionary for the seminary, for which also he recommends original productions (not works in a foreign language or mere translations) and the utmost possible regard for local conditions (IV, 149; V, 129 sqq.). The Propaganda Decree of 1883 refers to the deliberation of the Chinese bishops the question as to what authors are to be used in the philosophical course in their seminaries, and especially as to the extent to which the Latin and Chinese classics are to be admitted into the curriculum (*Collect.*, II, p. 190). In the mission schools, pagan books also may be used in connection with instruction in reading and writing, but not the Chinese classics, which foster superstition; consequently, the Vicars Apostolic should have chrestomathies prepared for the different classes, with harmless ethico-religious excerpts from the classics (*ibid.*, 194). In its Re-

script of 1821 to the Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan, the Propaganda decreed that the Christian teachers who explained the pagan as well as the Christian books were not to be interfered with provided they confine themselves to the teaching of reading and writing, because otherwise the parents would send their children to the pagan schools and the magistrates would persecute the Christian schools (*ibid.*, I, n. 763). The Chinese Mission School Conferences also demand school-books, especially the classics, reading-books, history, and philosophy. The Eastern African Conference of 1912 declared itself ready to adopt for the mission schools the state primers (ethical and Christian selections for reading) and the orthography which these introduced, but also appointed a commission for the preparation of a general reading-book along the lines suggested by the Vicar Apostolic of Daressalam (4, n. 3).

Besides the school-books proper, the missions need both in and outside the schools other literary media of a prevaillingly religious nature. Abstractly speaking, the Word of God as transmitted in the Sacred Writings should occupy the foremost place among this Christian literature (cf. the Propaganda Decree of 1869, *Collect.*, II, 22). However, even Warneck is forced to admit that the Bible is to serve primarily for the Christians, and that for the pagans it is upon the whole "a book closed up with many seals," not only because its contents remain strange to them and every translation may leave a misconception, but also because the Bible presupposes a religious maturity which the pagans lack. He therefore expresses a wish—and herein he is entirely Catholic—that the Bible should be disseminated among the pagans only with explanations and in the form of excerpts (especially biblical incidents and passages, the *Psalms*, *Genesis*, the *Gospels*, the *Acts*). This need is recognized on the Catholic side by the regulation which forbids the reading or dissemination of biblical translations without commentary and without ecclesiastical approbation: this regulation applies also to the missions. Especially in countries where the Protestant missions disseminate widely their translations of the Bible (South Seas, Madagascar, Uganda), the Catholic missions also prepare and introduce translations as a counterpoise; and this policy should have been pursued more frequently and intensively, not merely "from a zeal of rivalry" (Warneck), but also for the positive edification of the natives. For schools and general use, the biblical histories, which have been translated into almost every language, suffice. Like Warneck, we also regard this translation of the Bible as one of the most difficult and responsible of missionary tasks. We would also utter a warning especially against exaggerated haste and the employment of an insufficiently qualified translator, and would demand that fundamental preliminary work of a linguistic and theological nature should be done. Besides, we should expect in the translator a knowledge of the original texts of the Bible (not merely of the Vulgate) as well as complete mastery of the vernacular, and require of the translation that it should be exact and intelligible, neither excessively slavish nor free, but noble and popular in style (the spoken



popular speech being used in China and Japan, and not the written cultural language, and finally, that the existing script should be adopted but the phonetic method otherwise preferred, and that the method of writing should conform to the pronunciation (a character for every sound).

Just as fundamentally important for Christian doctrine as the Bible and biblical history (at least according to Catholic ideas) is the catechism—the teaching manual for the catechists and the lesson-book for catechumens, neophytes, and Christian children. From the very earliest times the missions have recognized the necessity of such manuals, and have actually satisfied this need. Not rarely, however, these manuals have shown a lack of accommodation to the prevailing missionary conditions and an absence of uniformity and clarity, although the difficulties to be faced have not been so great as in the case of the Protestant sects which differed in their dogmas. Urban VIII's Constitution of 1633 prescribed that, to avoid scandals arising from doctrinal differences, the missionaries (of the East Indies) should preserve the utmost possible uniformity in the instruction of the newly converted peoples, and should take as the basis of this instruction the *Catechismus Romanus* and the large and small *Doctrina christiana* of Cardinal Bellarmine, translated into the vernacular (*Collect.*, I, n. 72). The Instruction of 1869 recommended the early publication of special catechisms (in so far as these were not already available), or if necessary the adoption of those of another mission, with the observance of the greatest possible uniformity as recommended by episcopal conferences (*ibid.*, II, 1346, 14). The bishops of Japan and Corea thus decided in their Synod of Nagasaki that only one large and one small catechism should be used for the faithful in all Japan, and only one Commentary on the catechism for the catechists, "so that not only the doctrine, but also the methods of teaching" should be the same and the same answers be given to the same questions" (97). In the Hongkong Synod of 1909 the Chinese bishops of the Fifth Region also recognized that the publication of a uniform Chinese catechism was very necessary for religious welfare and for assuring greater unity; and they thus decided (as the Vicars Apostolic of Tongking had done a decade before) to have the particular catechism proposed by Pius X translated into Chinese by two missionary linguists, utilizing for the purpose the early mission catechisms, and to prescribe this new catechism for the use of the Christians in all the vicariates (52 sq.). Similar action was taken by the Synods of Shensi of 1908 (II, 5 sq.) and Hankow of 1880 (tit. III). The East African Conference of 1912 also decided on the compilation and introduction of a uniform catechism, modeled on the catechisms of Augsburg and Rottenburg and the Daressalam Catechism of 1901 (12). Cf. also the Libreville Conference, 62—65. Regarding the plan and subject-matter, we would refer to what we have already said regarding the development and restriction of pagan preaching and catechumenical instruction (limitation to the essen-

tials, accommodation to the intellectual capacity of the readers, predominance of concrete *termini* and historical features).

Uniform formulas for the daily prayers are also prescribed by the Synods of Nagasaki (52) and Hongkong (97 sq.), as well as by the East African Conference (10 sqq., n. 13)—at least, for the Sign of the Cross, Pater Noster, Ave, and Beads; and according to the Synod of Nagasaki, translations of the official texts should be used also for the Confiteor, acts of faith, hope, and charity, morning and evening prayers, prayers for Mass and Communion, Way of the Cross. The several bishops, however, may secure special formulas and adapt them into the particular prayer-books of their vicariates. Prayer and hymn books for private and public use, written in the vernacular and adapted to the specific mission-object, cannot be permanently dispensed with in any partly developed missionary church. Besides the above-mentioned categories, there is also the devotional and narrative literature, which is governed by the same regulations (for Japan, cf. the Synodal Decrees of Nagasaki, *De libris*, and the catalogue in the *Messenger*).

To religious literature finally belong the works which may be called "theological" in the widest sense of the term—thus, apologetic, dogmatic, moral, ascetic, biblical works, and works on church history (intended especially for the native auxiliaries). The Synod of Nagasaki declares it highly desirable that as many works as possible should be published in defense and for the propagation of the Catholic faith, but it simultaneously recalls the ecclesiastical regulation that no missionary, catechist, or layman may publish any work whatever on matters of faith without first securing the *imprimatur* of the Vicar Apostolic, who must send a copy to the Propaganda. For China, the *Acta et Decreta* of the Synod of Shansi declares: "*Post debitam allocutionem Missionarii potius commodent eis libros confutantes eorum superstitiones, ut a semetipsis legant, intelligant et considerent: affirmando non esse institutum suum disputare et contendere, sed solum Catholicam fidem docere ac monita salutis tradere.*" The Synods of Peking and Hankow of 1880 (*Decreta quinque synodorum*, 17, 60, 65) contain similar provisions. Consequently, first consideration in this connection is given to Christian apologetics addressed to non-Christians as a missionary means (the publishing undertakings of Trichinopoly for India, of Father Hoogers for China, Drouard for Japan, and similarly the printing of conferences in Japan). The apologetics should concern themselves first of all with defense against rival attacks and accusations, but also with the criticism and condemnation of concrete errors and atrocities; however, this criticism must never be offensive or exaggerated, and must thus be irenic in character but without syncretic compromises. Confessional polemics is also justified and necessary, at least as much so as that of the Protestants directed against "the Roman propaganda which is so completely unscrupulous in its choice and means" (Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission* (1884), 21 sq.). Finally comes the positive exposition of Christianity,

of the Christian truths and fundamental dogmas, developed in the thetic and dialectical fashion ("the most powerful missionary apology," according to Warneck). Cf. the Propaganda Instruction of 1883 regarding the publication of apologetic works (*Collect.*, II, n. 1606, VIII). For all these classes of works, which in so far as possible should be developed simultaneously, the missions have models in Early Christian apologetics. Warneck, however, rightly points out that this early literature betrays many defects which were due especially to its purely philosophical tendency, and the apology of facts was then far more effective than the apology of writings; and he therefore declares that the converting power of this apologetic literature should not be exaggerated. We also endorse Warneck's demand that this "independent missionary literature" (as distinguished from the translations of the Bible) shall include as many original works, or at least adaptations, as possible. With regard to the literary form, the works may be monographs, pamphlets, or tracts, according to the subject, occasion, and circle of readers, and may be directed towards either the general public or the educated classes (cf. the Japanese tractates).

Nor may the pagan missions entirely neglect the secular branches of literature, if they wish to promote the missionary interests. This is especially true where (as in the civilized lands of Eastern Asia) the intellectual life requires this indirect incitement. Following here in the footsteps of the Jesuits of the seventeenth century, the missions should help in transmitting the cultural treasures of Europe in the various branches of knowledge, and thus secure influence and respect for Christianity and its representatives (cf. the "Christian Literary Society" and the literary activities of Catholic missionaries in China, according to Msgr. Henninghaus in *ZM.*, I (1911), 201). Similarly, the Catholic missions among civilized as well as uncivilized peoples perform a useful service by interesting themselves in periodical literature, and by founding and publishing their own newspapers and magazines (when conditions are favorable) for the purpose of promoting Christian and also progressive ideas in general, and to some extent also the ecclesiastical life of the community (such newspapers and reviews are published in Africa, Oceania, China, and Japan: regarding their utility and aim, consult *Le petit Messenger de la Presse*, which treats of the writer's *Reiseberichte*). Cf. Arens, *Das katholische Zeitungswesen in Ostasien und Ozeanien* (Aachen, 1918). The missionaries should and may also contribute to other public organs for the same purpose, although this journalistic activity of the priests and catechists (e.g., in Japan) is subject to the revision and approval of their writings by the Vicar Apostolic (Synod of Nagasaki, 98). Cf. Bombay, 160 sqq. (*De libris et ephemeridibus*), also the other Provincial Councils (t. VI, c. 7) Lahore, 37 (printing plants, libraries, and newspapers) and Shensi, II, 5 (*De ephemeridibus*). The Chinese Mission School Conferences of 1914 urge the establishment of a Catholic daily paper, a magazine for popular science, a mission yearbook, apologetic

essays and treatises, a Catholic translation of the Bible, etc. We should also mention stories such as have been introduced by the Jesuits and by Father Stenz, S.V.D. (these in particular were developed from the works of Christoph von Schmid).

Finally, the scientific activity of the missionaries in general is to be recommended in the interest of the missionary cause, and thus as an indirect missionary means. This activity may consist of research work in the domains of geography, geology, botany, zoology, ethnography, sociology, the science of religion, philology, literary history, or general science (e. g., publications of Chinese literature). Consult on this point Ybañez, *Directorium Missionariorum*, 157 sq.

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 172—232, chapter 41 (“*Das geschriebene Wort*”), and the literature given there, especially regarding the translation of the Bible; also the Reports by Warneck (*AMZ.*, XX (1893), 307 sqq.) and Jellinghaus (*ibid.*, III (1876), 289 sqq.), and by Zahn, on *Bibel und Mission* (*ibid.*, XIX (1892), 393 sqq.); and finally, the discussions of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 (Report II, 234 sqq. III, 331 sqq.).

#### 4. Economic and Charitable Missionary Activity

To the indirect missionary means finally belong the material benefits which (besides the intellectual) the missions bring—those forms of “beneficence” by which, according to Acosta, the missionary should attract the pagans to Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Even the rudest barbarians, he continues, who betray no gratitude for a first benefit, are won interiorly by enduring kindness, and are won for Christianity if its representatives display a friendly and loving attitude towards them. In like manner, St. Francis Xavier recommended that his followers should “enchain the Indians with kindness” and, by rendering assistance to the pagans, make them inclined “to bend under the yoke of the Gospel, not only from inner conviction of the truths of the faith and from effective hope of life everlasting, but also because of certain temporal predictions which exercise a powerful influence on the hearts

<sup>1</sup> *Beneficentiam tertio loco numerabamus: quamvis autem ipsa verbi Dei impartitio beneficentiae sit praeclarissimae, neque tam stulti scimus, ut panem quo venter esurientis impletur, in eleemosynae genere praeferamus Dei verbo, quo mens discentis instruitur, ut Augustinus admonuit, tamen eam modo beneficentiam proprie nomino, qua fratrum saluti fortunisque consulimus* (414, beginning of c. 18 in lib. IV).

of the subject peoples." Through works of Christian mercy unbelievers are given a practical and concrete lesson in Christianity, are convinced of its excellence, are touched in heart and soul, and are favorably disposed towards conversion while many prejudices are banished from their minds; and likewise, Christians are confirmed in the faith.

As we have already shown and Acosta has emphasized, Jesus and the Apostles from the first led many to the true faith and eternal salvation along this path of material benefits. Following in their footsteps, the missions of every age have combined worldly and temporal blessings with the spiritual gifts which they brought: the Early Christian missions, by interesting themselves in the poor, needy, and slaves, and extending their circles ever wider by their universal charity (cf. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I, 2d ed., 154 sqq.); the medieval missions, by devoting themselves from the beginning to the economic instruction of the Germano-Slavic races and to the creation of institutions for the public welfare (cf. *ZM.*, VII (1917), 177 sqq.); the modern missions, by protecting the defenseless natives against the oppression of a brutal colonial economic policy and striving their utmost meanwhile to raise the social level of their charges (cf. the Reductions). Both the Catholic and the Protestant missions of the present day also employ this means in the widest possible measure—on the one hand, by raising their object economically, and on the other, through their various charitable institutions (cf. the present writer's *Die katholische Mission in den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Münster, 1913; and, for Eastern Asia, his *Missions- und Kulturverhältnisse im fernen Osten*, Münster, 1914.

Abbot Norbert Weber in particular has devoted his entire brochure on mission methodics (*Euntes in mundum universum*, 1904), to proving that the economic elevation of a people and its social well-being constitute for the missionary a means of "helping the Christian ideas to victory and lending a powerful support to Christian morality, of developing a Christian people, which, when confronted by unchristian influences from without, becomes reassured by the possession of that which is necessary for earthly happiness . . . a necessary prerequisite if Christianity is to sink deep roots and renew the life of the people" (15), because, while poverty, the proletariat, hunger, and want form an unfavorable soil for the reception of the Gospel, they may, on the other hand, serve as a bridge for the helpful and soothing religion of love. Consequently, just as in the Middle Ages agriculture and cattle-raising had to be systematically and rationally cultivated and fostered (at least among the primitive races), especially by way of example in the cul-

<sup>2</sup> According to Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, London, 1912, II, 2.

tivated lands of the missions, the missions of today are in these ways best assured of their influence over natives, reach non-Christians most easily, bind Christians to their stations and strengthen a budding Christianity (28 sqq.). In pursuit of this policy, the missions should slowly and gradually create the foundations and prerequisites for trade and industries—by increasing production, economy, purchasing power, local needs, and the facilities for intercourse and trade (21 sqq.; 55 sqq.). Still more valuable and useful as a missionary means are the handicrafts (toward which Abbot Weber displays a less sympathetic attitude, because he fears they may exercise a deleterious social influence on the Negroes of his field): these are fostered through trade-schools, with corresponding schools for women. In the civilized lands, as among the primitive races, these economic undertakings and services prepare the way for the Gospel (for example, the leasing of land and the founding of insurance societies and loan offices in China, *ZM.*, II (1912), 222; cf. also undertakings by the Jesuits in India, *ZM.*, V (1915), 16). This economic activity is pioneer work for both civilization and Christianity: the natives are thereby induced to work, their prejudices against manual labor are overcome, and proper methods of work are taught them by word and example, all this constituting a service which is absolutely peculiar to the Catholic missions (cf. the controversy between Warneck and Major Wissman concerning "*Ora et labora*") and which in turn lends no slight impetus to Christianity "because of the conspicuous importance of work in the program of ethico-religious training." Not only is the mission-object raised to a higher level of social life by the material activities of the missions, but the missions themselves thereby acquire or facilitate their financial support; and consequently agricultural work is as valuable a factor for the missions as for the church at home where such undertakings are usually very beneficial both for the training of the wards of the Church and the lightening of the financial burdens. Schwager has shown that, especially among primitive races, more industrial training should be combined with the ethico-religious and intellectual education, not only for the purpose of improving the Negro's character and will-power, but to facilitate his conversion and to strengthen the new communities financially (*ZM.*, IV (1914), 278 sqq.). Concerning the Raiffeisen Loan Societies in the service of the Indian mission, cf. Father Hoffmann in the *DMK.*, 118 sqq. Concerning the economic missionary means recommended by Lavigerie, cf. Father Hallfell, *ibid.*, 191.

Another branch of this activity is the strictly charitable, which is also qualified to attract many to Christianity, or to confirm them in the faith. In the first place, the missions should in all cases of extraordinary distress and crises hasten to the aid of sufferers (both Christian and pagan), by protecting them against injustice and cruelty, by almsgiving in times of famine, by personal care during epidemics, and so forth; and such charitable activities are not infrequently rich sources of individual and mass conversions. Cases do indeed occur where direct participation in the catechumenical

instructions, or other religious functions, whether in individual instances or in families (this last case is, of course, preferable) is rewarded or fostered by gifts (*ZM.*, II (1912), 222 sqq., concerning a "method of giving presents" which led to many undesirable developments and culminated in the direct money payments made by the Lazarist mission in Peking). Besides the catechumenate house devoted to direct conversions, the missions also usually maintain as regular parts of their program permanent charitable institutions, especially orphanages, asylums for the aged, and hospitals; and not only do these, through their loving care, usually win the inmates for Christianity, but they also make both the new Christians and the pagans of the locality more favorably disposed towards Christianity (cf. Shensi, 1908, x, *De hospitibus*, and *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong*, 1910, p. III, c. 2, a. 3, § 2 *De operibus caritatis*). A Chinese missionary has indeed designated the erection of orphanages as one of the "most radical" means of spreading the faith, because, thanks to their careful training, the orphans come to form an excellent nucleus for the future Christian body. Schwager, however, has very justly pointed out that, while this method of secluding them for years may have a most beneficent effect on the orphans themselves, it has but little influence on the real propagation of the faith (*ZM.*, II (1912), 227). Father Becker, S.J., indeed proposes the supersession of the orphanage by boarding-schools for neophytes, because the latter would lead more easily to the conversion of families and the attraction of auxiliaries, while the orphanages cost much and contribute little to the promotion of the mission (in *Le P. Gonnet*, 144 sq.; *ZM.*, VII (1917), 26, note 1). Cf., besides Ybañez, the reasons given by Father Weig, S.V.D., for orphanages in Japan, *ZM.*, V (1915), 34, footnote 2. In 1869 the Propaganda urged the Indian bishops to devote special attention to the increase and good management of the orphanages, including those for the natives, so that the spiritual welfare and Christian training of the orphans might receive as effective care as possible (*Collect.*, II, 26, n. 38). The Japanese Synod of 1890 (120 sq.) prescribed special regulations for the orphanages, because more complete religious instruction could be given in them than in other schools. The boys were to be trained in the handicrafts, and the girls in the domestic arts, with a native female to teach the latter sewing, embroidery, etc., as well as the native customs. Before marriage the orphans were to be entrusted to Christian families for initiation into domestic ways (*ad id conspirat omnium caritas: Nam si omnes student perditas oves revocare, a fortiori eas, quae iam in ovili sunt, incolumes servare studendum est*). The Synod also declares that the maintenance of a hospital in every vicariate is very desirable and that, until such are established, the missionaries and catechists should endeavor to secure free access to the public hospitals (107). The Synod of Tonking and Farther India also discusses charitable works, orphanages, and hospitals. Through the medical aid given by the missionaries and Sisters, the furnishing of medicines (partly from their own dis-

pensaries), the treatment of wounds, the nursing of the sick by visiting Sisters, and so forth, the missions also establish beneficent contact with their object, and link the latter to themselves. As they open the gate of heaven to many on their sick- or death-beds, this means also effectively prepares the way for the evangelization of the locality, and dispels prejudices against the missionaries (*ZM.*, II (1912), 225 sq.). Physicians are frequently brought by the missions into the pagan countries, and some are employed in the missionary service (especially in the mission hospitals of Eastern Asia, although Negro physicians are also found, e. g., with the White Fathers in East Africa): While the services of physicians have not been availed of to the great extent that is desirable and is customary in the Protestant missions, the chief reason does not lie, as we have shown, in any fundamental objection, as the article of Father Linckens might seem to indicate: the reason usually lies in the lack of means and personnel (for China, cf. Kervyn, 420 sqq., and Becker, 316 sqq.). Concerning the nursing of the sick as a branch of missionary activity, cf. Father Brenner, in the *DMK.*, 132 sqq.

Like Warneck, we must indeed utter an earnest warning against the overestimation or exaggeration of these economic and charitable missionary means. That actual conversion may never under any circumstances whatever be purchased directly with money is acknowledged by all, although occasional desertions from this axiom have occurred to the detriment of the missions. That, on the other hand, charitable aid may really win many pagans to Christianity, that the missions indeed should utilize such opportunities, especially in times of great distress, and that they may constitute themselves the champions of the natives against unjust treatment and thereby also open the door for Christianity, is admitted even by Warneck (IV, 45 sq.). The only question is whether it is permissible or opportune to incite pagans to conversion by other temporal favors (e. g., by gifts of clothes, as in New Britain (New Pomerania formerly) or in the mission among the Danes of Louis the Pious) or by money inducements to the reception of other benefits that may lead to conversion (e. g., for attendance at instruction). Warneck answers this question in the negative, and thus absolutely condemns the practice of the "Roman Propaganda" which aims at attracting the pagans to Christianity by material favors or support (the emphasizing of the need for money, however, is no proof of the prevalence of this practice) or at attaining numerical successes by interfering in Chinese lawsuits. He stigmatizes this practice as the purchase of souls by bribery, although the Protestant missions also do not disdain to employ such means. However, Catholic missionaries also register their opposition to the method of paying for attendance at instructions, because pagans who join the Church for purely material reasons adopt Christianity only outwardly, and easily fall away again. Again, to prevent mistakes, the Hongkong Synod of 1909 has specifically forbidden the legal intervention of the missionaries in secular matters, and has entrusted the conducting of unavoidable suits to a few ex-



perienced missionaries who are fully conversant with Chinese customs (31). Cf. the Manuals of Ybáñez and Fabrègues. However, even so otherwise strict and earnest a missiologist as Schwager believes that both methods may be utilized, provided that a later instruction and spiritual ministration purifies the motive for conversion, and the cause espoused is a just one (he recalls the corruption of the Chinese courts and officials and the obligation of the missions to protect the poor, weak, and helpless, *ZM.*, II (1912), 223). I must confess that I cannot feel enthusiasm for this missionary method, and long for the moment when it will be found superfluous, for it does not harmonize with modern missionary ideals, and has to rely so largely on artificial and unspiritual crutches for its support. However, I should not care to condemn it unreservedly as reprehensible, since no means can be truly bad which are so sanctified by the aim in view (cf. *ZM.*, V (1915), 17 sq.). On this point, cf. Skolaster in *ZM.*, XI (1921), 118 sq.; also Schmidlin, in *ZM.*, XIII (1923), 114 sqq.

Cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, IV, 41—48, chapter 36, n. 2 (“*Das veranschaulichte Wort*”); also his monograph on *Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen der modernen Mission und Kultur* (Gütersloh, 1879). For the Catholic viewpoint, cf. Schwager, *Die Bedeutung der Arbeitserziehung für die Hebung der primitiven Rassen*, in *ZM.*, IV (1914), 278 sqq. (the same topic is treated in *AMZ.*, XIV (1887), 147 sqq.), and Abbot Weber, *Euntes in mundum universum, passim*.

## Appendix

### Initiation into the Christian Life

The missionary means last discussed—school literature and charity—ought not only to attract and win non-Christians, but also to confirm converts and consolidate the results already attained. Similarly, missionary preaching and instruction in general is addressed, not to pagans alone, but also to converts. And finally, prayer and example in conduct and suffering are likewise means and prerequisites by which the mission extends its influence further over its non-Christianized object. There are, however, in addition, special means for the initiation of the neophytes to Christianity and the life of the Church; and the mission must employ them all, since it cannot rest content with the conversion and baptism of individuals and their formation into communities. To realize its personal and social aim, a mission must confirm and deepen the Christianity of both objects (individuals and communities), and in both continue and complete its work. To purify the neophytes from their im-

perfections and initiate them into the full Christian spirit, to save them from lapses into paganism and guard them against the dangers of their pagan environments, the writers on mission practice in India and China—Archbishop Laouenuan of Pondicherry and Apostolic Delegate Zaleski, Kervyn, and Becker—recommend careful supervision and further training after baptism.<sup>1</sup>

The general constitution of the Church and ecclesiastical discipline supply us immediately with a series of such final missionary means. The ecclesiastical hierarchy and subordination belong to this category. Acosta in his time described "*correptio et disciplina*" as the indispensable correlative of "*beneficentia*" among missionary means (II, 19). The Synod of Cameroon desired that, after baptism, the neophytes be supervised "with still greater circumspection and care" (62); and the East African Conference suggested for this purpose the appointment of special elders (8); and for the same reason, both assemblies ordered the preparation of lists and house visitations (in Cameroon every more important center was, if possible, visited by the same missionary). The Propaganda in 1869 recommended for the Indian missions the institution of parish registers, etc. (*Collect.* 23, n. 21; and in this connection also Geyer, *Handbuch*, n. 5). Regarding the ecclesiastical censures, cf. the Ecclesiastical Penal Law and the *Collectanea*, under the Sacrament of Penance. The Congo Synod of 1907 inflicted the public penalty of exclusion

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<sup>1</sup> *ZM.*, V (1915), 14, 23. "The neophytes are not to be thrown on their own resources after the reception of baptism, but must be fostered with special care, like new plants, for several weeks afterwards, until the faith has struck firm roots in their hearts. Special supervision must be exercised over converts who live alone among pagans, or who have at home unbaptized children not instructed in Christianity, or still unbelieving parents or spouses" (*Monita ad Missionarios Provinciae Nankinensis*, n. 127). *Manuale Missionariorum*, 99 sqq., Ybañez, 163 sqq., and *Summa decretorum Setchuen et Hongkong*, 109 sqq. The *Instructiones ad munera apostolica rite obeunda*, of 1665, exhort the missionaries to instruct the new converts in the sacraments, and the Christian life and all good (c. 8. *de neophytis*); to nourish the older Christians with preaching and the sacraments, to guard them by warding off wolves and leading back straying sheep, at the risk of their lives, and even to govern through the natives (c. 9. *de veteribus Christianis*; *Monita ad Missionarios*, 123 sqq.). The Congo Synod of 1910 (p. 23) enumerates as means to promoting perseverance: (1) attendance at Mass; (2) devotions as a substitute for the Mass; (3) instruction during the Mass; (4) daily prayers; (5) catechetical instructions; (6) spiritual exercises; and similarly, the Synod of 1919 (31 sq.). This supplementary work is still more important than a long preliminary training and is more easily accomplished in the case of existing Christian communities.

from the church for seven categories of offenses (p. 19), and that of 1919 distinguished various ecclesiastical penalties (33 sq.). That the mission is entitled and bound to employ discipline and punitive methods when it is necessary to lay greater emphasis on its commands, is clear from the authority derived from Jesus Christ (who assigned His Church the power to bind and to loose) and from St. Paul's procedure with the Corinthians guilty of incest. Invoking this example from the New Testament, even Warneck ventures to propose that, contrary to the lax practice at home, ecclesiastical penalties (withdrawal of ecclesiastical privileges, exclusion from the sacraments, exclusion from the community) shall be imposed for specified sins (participation in pagan worship, relapse into pagan morals, offenses against public morals, insubordination, and heresy) by the missionaries, pastors, and elders (V, 246 sqq.). The Catholic missions unfortunately make much less use of the ecclesiastical censures (especially of excommunication) than the Protestant, although they have more right to do so and more expedients at their disposal, and although moreover it is to their interest—and the interest of the members of their communities—to be strict in punishing scandal. "In the mission communities we can exercise ecclesiastical discipline, because the conditions which make the exercise of church discipline now almost impossible at home are either entirely absent or do not exist in the same degree; and in the mission communities we *must* exercise church discipline, because the majority consist of children in whose training the rod is often indispensable so long as lapses into pagan sins are frequent and moral judgment is still in the course of development: to renounce ecclesiastical discipline would be to surrender the communities to neglect" (Warneck, V, 250 sq.). In discussing the principles underlying the exercise of church discipline in dealing with public sinners, Witte (*DMK.*, 104 sqq.) asserts that less attention is paid by Catholics to this problem, and that our need of such discipline is less, because we possess the *Ius canonicum* (especially c. V, *De delictis et poenis*), the *Collectanea*, and the literature on moral and pastoral theology. He declares that the most frequent objects of church discipline in the missions (that is, the offenses to be feared), are the complete or partial relapse into paganism, the desecration of Sunday, unchastity, and enmities. The *remedia poenalia* to be considered are, according to Witte, the refusal of the sacraments, deprivation of privileges, exclusion from all offices and positions of trust in the community, refusal of ecclesiastical burial, and under certain circumstances also fines or alms. Witte has also pointed out that the public sinner automatically excludes himself from the church community (especially when he is refused absolution), and is actually regarded by the community as excluded from it. Cf. Acosta, *lib.* IV.

The Precepts of the Church constitute a special disciplinary means enforced in the missions as at home. In reply to the questions asked by the Chinese missions in 1645 and 1656 as to whether the neophytes must follow the *ius positivum* with regard to the re-

ception of the sacraments and the feasts and fasts, and whether the missionaries should proclaim to them their obligation to do so under pain of mortal sin (as the Chinese must frequently work on such days and are accustomed to the forbidden foods from their youth), the Propaganda declared that all converts were bound by the precepts regarding the feasts and fasts, and the missionaries must acquaint them with their obligation but that, in individual cases, however, they might dispense them and explain this to the faithful (*Collect.* 1st ed., 808 sq., 812 sq.). The mitigations granted in 1587 by Paul III for the West Indies are established as the rule to be followed (*ibid.*, footnote; restriction of the holydays of obligation to Christmas, the feasts of the Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, Corpus Christi, the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul; the fast-days to the vigils of Christmas and Easter and the Fridays of Lent "*propter eorum novam ad fidem conversionem et ipsius gentis infirmitatem*"; abrogation of all other abstinence). This Indult of Paul III was extended to all China, Tonking, and Siam, by the Propaganda Decree of 1685 (*ibid.*, n. 2032). According to an Instruction of the Holy Office of 1769 the Pope, in view of the custom and poverty of the Christian population (*come germi novelli della cattolica Chiesa, bisognasi ancora di esser nutriti di latte*), granted to the Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan the authority to allow work on all Sundays and holydays except the four principal feasts, if agriculture or commerce required it (n. 2033; but according to 2034 sq., the faithful must attend Mass). Rome, however, showed itself inexorably opposed to the request that the Chinese should be dispensed from fasting and abstinence on the first three days of the Chinese lunar year, because a pagan custom was concerned (nn. 2048, 2054, 2058, 2060), until finally in 1868 the Propaganda also granted some alleviations in this connection (n. 2057, where the fasting indult is extended also to the Chinese priests and European missionaries). Rescripts of the Holy Office regarding the precept of fasting for South Japan were issued in 1890 (n. 2082). Cf. the Synod of Coimbatour of 1891 (tit. III, *De festis et jejuniis*), Hongkong of 1875 (24, c. 11), Shansi of 1880 (S. V. c. 2, *De festorum, jejuniorum, abstinentiarumque observantia*, 34 sqq.), and Nagasaki of 1890 (tit. IV, c. 3, *De ecclesiae praeceptis*, 82 sq.). According to the Synodal Statutes of Cameroon, the bishops, in virtue of an Apostolic Indult, enjoyed the right of adapting the fasting regulations to conditions in their dioceses, and the station superiors enjoyed the right of dispensation in individual cases; but otherwise, the regulations of the home dioceses of Limburg prevailed for feast- and fast-days (56 sq.). The Synods of the Congo also dealt with fasting and abstinence (1907, 18 sq.; 1910, 75 sq.; 1913, 77 sq.; 1920, 116 sq.). The South Sea Conference of 1913 likewise issued Decrees regarding fasting. The East African Conference of 1912 resolved to refer the regulation of the feast-days to Rome, but requested no Indult in the matter of fasting, because "the Negro should have the idea of penance and needs a counterpoise to the *Ramadan* of the Mohammedan." Cf.

*Directoire de Madagascar*, III, 2 (127 sq.), *de la Cochinchine*, III, 1 (226 sqq.), and Taiku, II, 10 (63 sq.); also Geyer's *Handbuch* (6 sq.), regarding feast-days and abstinence.

The more immediate pastoral care must also be included in the church discipline proper, because to the converted and baptized the pagan missionary is primarily a pastor. According to the Directory of Pondicherry, the missionary, while not a pastor, is obliged by a tacit compact with the Church and Christianity (by charity, according to the Directory of Cochinchina, 1 sq.) to exercise the care of souls. Consequently, like the pastor at home, he must employ all pastoral means to protect his flock against moral and religious perils, and to preserve and promote their faith and virtue. Citing the regulation of the Council of Trent, the Synod of Cameroon (57 sqq.) includes preaching and catechesis also among these means: regarding the preaching, it prescribes that it shall be simple and short (not longer than twenty minutes), that the sermons shall form a cycle (following preferably the *Catechismus Romanus*, so that one will deal with the truths of faith, a second with practical life, and a third with the sacraments), that all missionaries shall preach, that they shall make careful preparation, that they shall not be personal and aggressive, and that the reading of the Gospel and the necessary announcements shall precede the sermon; the catechetical instructions, which should occupy from three-quarters to one hour daily and should be given by catechists in the towns, are divided into those given before and after First Holy Communion (the latter should serve for the revision of the catechism; a one-year preparatory course of instruction should precede Holy Communion). The Synod of Indo-China of 1841 demands daily public sermons during the period of administration, after the Gospel on Sundays and holydays, but otherwise in the form of a catechesis which must be accommodated to the intellectual ability of the hearers and be more practical than the sermons (46, n. 5). According to the Synod of Szechwan (1803), the sermons should be well prepared, authentic (in harmony with the sources), substantial and practical, methodical, modest, and simple (c. X, n. 26). Concerning the need for the preaching and its characteristics, cf. *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong*, 114 sq., Shansi, 30 sqq., and Bombay, 150 sqq. The Apostolic Delegate of India, Msgr. Zaleski, also agrees with Archbishop Laouenuan of Pondicherry in recommending preaching and catechesis as the chief pastoral means; these should be given daily if necessary, but at least regularly on every Sunday, and should be supplemented by public controversial sermons between two priests (*ZM.*, V (1915), 14). C. Zaleski's *Monita et exempla S. Francisci Xaverii* (c. 22 *de modo concionandi*, c. 23 *de modo catechizandi*, c. 26 *de ministerii fructu continuando*); and also, *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, c. IV, § 3 (*De praedicatione*). Regarding the large and small catecheses, as to who would give these instructions and where they should be held, cf. the *Directoire de la Cochinchine*, 200 sq. The *Directorium* of Taiku requires preaching and catechism every Sunday;

also a sermon before every Mass *tempore administrationis* with the comment: "*Officium docendi christiani est unum ex gravissimis ministerii officiiis*" (II, 1, nn. 34—37). Regarding catechism, cf. first, Acosta, lib. IV; regarding catechesis in Togoland, Hack in *Jahrbuch von St. Gabriel*, I, 179 sqq. Otherwise, the general rules of homiletics, catechetics, and pastoral theology are applied, with special modifications to suit the object. Like the Synod of Cameroon, the East African Conference also desires "the industrious visitation of the families by the missionaries, Sisters, and catechists" as a means of initiation into the Christian life (n. 10, 2). The Synod of Japan and Corea of 1890 also declares: "*Fideles suos sacerdos visitet assidue, monens unumquemque sicut Paulus, et os ad os loquens sicut Joannes, ut quod palam corripitur aut corrigi nequit, privatim fiat*" (106).

In its Instruction of 1869 (*Collect.*, II, 25, nn. 31—33) to the Vicars Apostolic of the East Indies, the Propaganda also recommends as special means for raising the ethico-religious condition of the people the Spiritual Exercises for clergy and faithful (to be held according to Pius IX's Encyclical of 1846), the holding of popular missions (cf. Archbishop Bonjean of Colombo, *ZM.*, V (1915), 14, footnote 6; concerning missions and exercises, the Synods of Bombay, 51 sq., and Peking, 1886, c. 12) and the institution or revival of confraternities by which piety and charitable activity may be enkindled in the hearts of the faithful (these associations to be regulated according to the Papal Constitutions). The Synod of Nagasaki mentioned the Sodalties of the Sacred Heart and the Rosary (105), and urged the institution of mission associations after the nature of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Association of the Holy Childhood (108), so that the native Christians might co-operate in the missions according to their ability. Cf. *Directorium Missionis Taiku*, 52 sqq.: in China, the Sodality of the Sacred Heart of Mary for the conversion of unbelievers is especially recommended (Fabrègues and the Synods); and similarly in Bombay, 158 sq. (the Sodality of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary), and in Verapoli, 37 sqq. The East African Conference also includes associations and confraternities among the means of initiating the faithful into the Christian life—"but rather none at all than associations with lukewarm and bad members"; but the introduction of Marian congregations, which were proposed as an especially suitable means of raising the Christian life to a higher level, was postponed as still insufficiently tested (9). Citing the Instruction of the Propaganda, the Statutes of Cameroon (52 sq.) urge the missionaries to foster zealously the existing confraternities, to preserve unimpaired their practices and traditions, and to utilize the proper means for their invigoration (celebration of the feasts, weekly or monthly meetings, wearing of a badge); and it declares that for permission to found a confraternity application should be made to the Vicar Apostolic who possesses the authority to erect all confraternities except that of the Holy Rosary, but that missionaries should first test the confraternity

for a year, and confine themselves to the associations with ecclesiastical approbation (especially recommended are those for the liberation of the poor souls; but of the scapulars, only that of Mount Carmel is sanctioned, which, to avoid the danger of scandal, is to be given solely to persons of exemplary conduct, and that in many cases scapulars should be abolished lest they be used as amulets). Cf. Libreville, 54 sq., and Geyer, n. 11 (*Skapulierbruderschaft*).

In view of the impression made on primitive peoples by everything perceptible to the senses, and to provide a counterpart for the pagan festivities, liturgical and pious practices also serve as additional means of invigorating the native church. The *Collectanea* contain detailed precepts of the Propaganda and the Congregation of Rites regarding sacred practices in general and their employment in mission territory, the office of the day and the calendar, patron and titular saints, the ceremonies of Holy Week, blessings and processions, sacred music, the quality of the church candles, the veneration of pictures, saints and relics, litanies, the Angelus, and other prayers (775 sqq., 783 sqq. Pars III, c. 8 *De cultu Sanctorum*, c. 9 *De sacris ritibus et precibus*). These precepts show how strict a watch the Roman authorities keep over the liturgy in mission territory, and how little inclined they are to allow deviation even in small details. For example, an Instruction of 1830 to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina, invoking the Council of Trent, declared it absolutely reprehensible to neglect the ecclesiastically prescribed rites in Divine service (especially in the Mass), to add to or subtract from them at pleasure, or to form, as it were, a mixed liturgy (*Collect.*, I, n. 817). With regard to sacred music, the Instruction of 1869, intended for the East Indies, most strictly forbids the use of songs with accompaniment which contained anything worldly or impure, or anything foreign to the sacredness of the function or of the place (*ibid.*, II, 24, n. 29); and it states that, although the Vicars Apostolic should awaken and encourage the piety of the faithful towards relics, images and shrines, they must not allow any abuses or superstitions to creep into this veneration of the saints, which must conform with the Decree of the Council of Trent (*ibid.*, n. 34). The Synod of Japan and Corea of 1890 expressed the urgent wish and advice that the public Divine services—High Mass, Vespers, and Benediction—shall be celebrated in every place possible, and in strict accordance with the liturgical laws; that missionaries and priests present in the locality shall assist at these services; that the faithful shall be exhorted to regular attendance; that women shall attend with heads covered; that men shall sit on the Gospel side, and women on the Epistle side; that the school children shall have a special place; and that a definite order shall be observed in churchings and processions (*ibid.*, 35 sq.). With regard to the Mass and public devotions, the Cameroon Synod of 1906 commanded that they shall begin punctually at the appointed time; that this time shall be adapted to the conditions of the faithful and shall not be changed without a serious reason; that bination shall be

allowed only in case of necessity; that in virtue of papal privileges Masses may be celebrated from one o'clock in the morning, two Requiem Masses during the week, on Christmas all three Masses during the night, and High Masses (even without levites) with incense; that holy water shall be blessed and distributed before the High Mass on Sunday; that the special ceremonies for certain occasions (the blessing of candles on the Feast of the Purification, the blessings on Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday, the rites of Holy Week, the blessing of the baptismal water on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, the procession of Corpus Christi and Rogation Days) shall be observed at all stations; that the singing shall be good and devout; the Mass shall be sung on Sundays and holydays; that Latin only shall be used during High Mass, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei being sung if possible by choir and congregation alternately; that outside High Mass, singing in the vernacular shall be encouraged in so far as possible (cf. Congregation of Rites, 1879, to the Apostolic Prefect of Madagascar, *Collect.*, II, nn. 1522, 1913); and finally, that, regarding the feasts, the churches shall have their titular saints but the stations no local patrons, that the chief patronal feast of the Mission, that of the Regina Apostolorum, shall be celebrated on the Sunday after the Ascension (*Directoire de Madagascar*). As means for the initiation into the Christian life, the East African Conference recommends attendance at Mass even on weekdays; visitation to the Blessed Sacrament; public morning and evening prayers in the smaller localities (when possible, with a hymn; and when attendance at the Sunday Mass is impossible, "mass devotions" are to be held in the house by the catechists); the propagation of devotion to the Mother of God and to the Rosary; private devotions in May, June, October, etc. (n. 10); worthy services, as means for promoting an understanding of the liturgy, given in a proper place, with proper vestments and demeanor, explanations during the sermons and catecheses, spreading of the Goffine work, participation of the whole congregation in the sacred chant and in the liturgical processions (Palm Sunday, Rogation Days, and Corpus Christi), prudence in the selection of the place for offering the Holy Sacrifice when the missionary is on a journey or visiting out-schools (n. 12); finally, under the title *Rituale Romanum*, some details regarding burial and marriage rites and political occasions (n. 7). Regarding churches and Divine service, cf. Geyer's *Handbuch für Khartum*, n. 9.

The questions raised by Warneck's "Order of Divine Service" accordingly answer themselves: (a) Where is Divine service held?—By both Catholics and Protestants it is held in a separate place reserved for Divine worship, in a church building which, although at first primitive and poor, should later become worthy of its office (characterized by the greatest simplicity, with no elaborate buildings, with moderation as to church ornaments, pews, fonts). (b) When should Divine service be held?—It should be held at special times and on fixed days, especially on Sunday, the Christian day of rest and religious celebration (not a legal institution of the State!), on the



feasts of the ecclesiastical year, particularly the principal feasts (or the mission feast as a local memorial day, not on feasts referring to ecclesiastical history, but on the day of the civic celebration of the New Year as well as the Circumcision, on the harvest feast, and on the feast of the dead). (c) Who should conduct Divine service? On the Protestant side, the station missionaries and pastors should conduct Divine service, also native teachers and elders, but the latter only when commissioned by the ecclesiastical authorities (in the Catholic missions, strictly, by the priest only; yet in his absence catechists or other members of the faithful may hold private devotions. (d) Of what does the Divine service consist?—Warneck demands preaching (community preaching as distinguished from preaching to pagans; sermons in analytic or synthetic form, on texts containing the fundamental evangelical truths of salvation and the elementary precepts of Christian morality, with their concrete applications), hymns and prayers (officially formulated, but with special adaptation to the mission churches), also the reading of the Bible and the Apostles' Creed. Besides these elements, the Catholic missions must give a central position in their Divine service to the Mass with its various parts, which is celebrated now in solemn and now in simple fashion; also to the devotions which have received ecclesiastical approbation and are prescribed in their fundamental features. That in comparison with the sober Protestant service the Catholic is much richer and more attractive, even for the pagans and neophytes, and serves therefore as an excellent missionary means, is universally recognized. Consequently, to accuse the Catholic missions of worldliness and external display and even pagan idolatry (on account of the veneration of Mary and the saints, of images and relics) is highly unjust and is contradicted both by ecclesiastical theory (which alone determines this worship) and also by the Catholic mission practice which, by its explanations and instructions, seeks to eradicate in every possible way any suggestion of paganism (Warneck, V, 196 sq.).

The chief means which the missions and the Church in general employ to initiate new believers into the Christian life, and simultaneously to sanctify and save them, are the sacraments and sacramentals—the ecclesiastical channels of grace. Acosta devoted the whole of his last book to treating of the administration of the sacraments, discussing them not from dogmatic and apologetic standpoints (as emphasized in his introductory chapter), but from the point of view of the practical missionary, because of prevalent abuses in contradiction to ecclesiastical practice (518 sqq.). In the principal section, comprising by far the largest division of *Pars II (de rebus)*, the *Collectanea* of the Propaganda also deal with the sacraments in general and detail (*Collect.*, 1st ed., 207 sqq.). The East African Episcopal Conference rightly places the monthly reception of the sacraments at the head of all the means of initiation into the Christian life (8). "Since there is nothing holier in the Church of God, nothing more excellent,

nothing more necessary for the attainment of eternal salvation than the sacraments instituted by Christ," begin the Synodal Decrees of the Vicariate of Szechwan of 1803, the missionaries entrusted with their regular administration should first of all live pious and pure lives, should not undertake their administration in the state of mortal sin, should observe the ceremonies exactly, should be dignified and edifying, should say some preparatory prayers and form the intention of fulfilling their office for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, should always wear stole and surplice, should neither ask nor accept any remuneration for their services, and should never show themselves sullen, but friendly and loving towards every one, even when there is danger of infection; they should consequently study the rubrics of the *Rituale* and the doctrine of the sacraments, frequently, and native priests should be drilled in them once or twice a year by the European Fathers, while the faithful should be taught the value of the sacraments and urged to receive them (7 sqq., c. 1 *De sacramentis in genere*; adopted in 1891 by the Synod of Shensi, I, 1 sqq.). The Cameroon Synod of 1906 also exhorts the missionaries to have recourse to study and prayer, so that they may be at all times faithful ministers of the sacraments; to review especially the ecclesiastical doctrine of the sacraments frequently, so that they may be able to instruct the faithful therein and to administer them properly; to sacrifice even their health and life for the salvation of souls, if the circumstances demand it; to interest themselves especially in the poor, weak and ignorant; to wear the *stola* whenever possible during the completion of the sacramental act (4 sq., *Sakramente im allgemeinen*). Cf. *Directoire de la Cochinchine*, 1 sqq. (*Règles générales*). In other respects, the general ecclesiastical regulations and laws for the administration of the sacraments prevail also in mission practice, although deviations are allowed in certain particulars under the pressure of circumstances. Concerning the sacramentals, cf. *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, 608 sqq.

Baptism always stands at the head of the sacraments—a *fortiori* in the missions, since it opens the gate of Christianity and the Church to unbelievers, while its after-effects accompany the Christians throughout their lives. Since baptism is the threshold to Christianity, and therefore occupies an altogether special position as a separate missionary aim and a missionary means, we discussed in proper place its minister, its recipient, its conditions, and ceremonies. We saw that for the reception of baptism three things are necessary in an adult (even in a barbarian, to quote Acosta): intention (will), faith, and contrition (521 sqq.); that accordingly baptism should be preceded by a catechumenate which should instruct candidates in the Christian truths and initiate them into Christian morals; that admission must be associated with an examination and the resolution to become Christians fully and completely, interiorly and exteriorly, in faith and in life (a repetition of the baptism in the case of converts from other Christian denominations occurs only when the first baptism was invalid or doubtful;

although Warneck and the Ninth Continental Mission Conference most unjustifiedly propose an exception in the case of converts from the Roman Church, because in such case the baptism must have been performed quite mechanically and in a condition of servitude!). The baptismal ceremonies are the same on the missions as at home, since the extreme view in the Mexican baptismal controversy of the 16th century, which called for the omitting of the ceremonies for the Indians, has been condemned. We likewise saw how and under what conditions the children of Christian and Catholic parents may and should be baptized, and also the children of pagan and mixed marriages. Warneck condemns the latter practice, but demands baptism for the children of Christian parents (whether at the time of the latter's conversion or even later: he encountered difficulties only with regard to the age limit and the half-grown), and in so far as possible before an assembled community and in the presence of the parents (to whom the baptismal questions, greatly abbreviated, should be addressed). The Catholic missions do not deviate from the generally prescribed rites in this baptism of the children, except that the godparents (whom Warneck does not desire in the missions!) answer instead of the children. That the Catholic missions also should provide in every possible way for the instruction of the baptized children, through Divine service on Sunday and the schools, has already been stated (cf. Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, V, 212 sqq., *Taufordnung*). Besides *Collect.*, 1st ed., 210—264, on Baptism, cf. Cameroon, 1906, 5—17; Libreville, 6—17; Congo, 51—78 (1907, 10 sqq.), Szechwan, 1803, 10—18; Cochin-China, 1841, 13—19; Peking, 1880, 13 sq.; Lahore, 1890, 44 sqq.; Agra, 1890, 46 sqq.; Vera-poli 1889, 7 sq.; Bombay, 1893, 169 sqq.; Nagasaki, 1890, 64 sq.; Tokyo, 1895, 31 sq.; Shensi, 1891, 3 sqq.; Tonking 1900, 74 sqq.; Hongkong, 1909, 44: *De baptismo puerorum* (the Christians should be exhorted to bring their children as soon as possible to the missionary for baptism). Cf. also Appeltern, *Manuale Missionariorum* (1911), 69—143; *Monita ad Miss. Nankin.*, 302—350; *Directoire de Pondicherry* (1879), I, 23—62; *de la Cochinchine* (1904), I, 2 (5 sqq.); South Burma, II, 17 sqq.; Taiku (1914), II, 4, § 1 (17 sqq.); Madagascar (188), II, 1 (23 sqq.). Finally, the monograph by Michel (*Questions pratiques sur le baptême et la confirmation dans les missions*, 1907).

The Sacrament of Confirmation should, in the mission field also, supplement baptism and confirm its fruits (*cum Confirmatio sit perfecti Christiani signum et consummatio*, Nagasaki, 65). The older writers on mission theory (especially Verricelli) conducted a lively controversy as to whether and how Confirmation should be combined with Baptism. Acosta (529) believed that the neophytes at least should not be denied this sacrament in principle, even though, through the lack or the negligence of bishops, they seldom actually received it (he raised the question as to whether balsam is necessary). Strictly speaking, the minister of Confirmation should be only the bishop. In the mission fields, however, priests have frequently (the

Apostolic Prefects always) the extraordinary faculty of conferring this sacrament, or may be entrusted with its administration by the bishop (according to *Collect.*, 1st ed., 673, however, not all *generaliter*; according to n. 669, the pro-vicar does not necessarily possess this faculty; according to n. 670, the Superior *ad interim* or the Vicar General in China possesses it). In an Instruction of 1774 the Propaganda gave detailed and documented directions to be followed by ordinary priests authorized by papal delegation to administer Confirmation: they must administer the sacrament only with *chrisma* blessed by a bishop; they must remind the faithful that the bishop alone is the proper minister; Pentecost Week and the third hour should be preferred as the time for administering the sacrament; children may not be confirmed before reaching the age of reason, and thus not before their seventh year; for the worthy reception of the sacrament, the candidates should be in the state of grace and, where possible, also fasting; they should be instructed regarding the sacraments and the fundamental principles of the faith; the faithful should be urged to receive the sacrament, because they have special need of this strengthening by the Holy Ghost if they are to profess the faith in the midst of pagans and despite persecutions; the candidates should appear with clean faces and simple dress; godfathers and godmothers should be appointed, etc. (n. 666). Regarding the "subject of the Confirmation," the Propaganda declared that children should not be admitted before their seventh year (n. 682, Sandwich, 1850); that Baptism and Confirmation should not be administered on the same occasion (n. 683, Kuytcheou, 1851); that the dying might be confirmed only when they have at least the intention (n. 685, South East Tcheli, 1861) (nn. 686 sqq., art IV, *de caeremoniis*). The First Synod of Szechwan (1803) thus decreed that the faithful should learn and the missionaries should explain the doctrine of Confirmation, that the women also must be touched on the forehead, and that the children, in view of the special difficulties, might be confirmed even before their seventh year (18 sqq.). Similarly, Bombay, 117 sq.; Lahore, 49; Agra, 52 sqq.; Verapoli, 9 sq.; Tonking, 77 sq.; Cochin-China, 19 sq., Nagasaki, 65 sq.; Tokyo, 32; Shensi, I, 12 sqq.; Cameroon, 17 sqq., Libreville, 18 sq.; Congo, 79. Michel devotes monographs to the subject (Confirmation of Children and Adults), the minister and the administration of the sacraments (*Questions pratiques sur le bap-tême et la confirmation*, 294 sqq.). Cf. also the *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, 350 sqq., and the Directories of Pondicherry, 49 sqq.; Cochin-China, 29 sqq.; South Burma, 22 sq.; Taiku, 26 sq.; Madagascar, 49 sqq. Warneck, who rejects Confirmation as a sacrament and, even in the Protestant practice at home, regards it as an "empty formality" associated with all kinds of improprieties, wishes that it might not be considered necessary to reckon with such "traditional services" and that they might be replaced with the common communion service (V, 220 sq.).

The Propaganda declares the Eucharist to be the focus and culmination of the sacraments—the most sacred of all mysteries. There have nevertheless been tendencies in mission circles which went to the extreme of denying the enjoyment of this sacrament to neophytes from primitive peoples, throughout their lives and even before death: the Spanish theologians and early South American Councils justified this exclusion on the pretext that men so crude as the Indians were not worthy of such heavenly food and might sacrilegiously desecrate it. Acosta in his time bitterly combated this error, pointing out that the reception of the Blessed Eucharist was a Divine and ecclesiastical command binding on all, that although the Church might in exceptional cases refuse Communion to an individual or two because of unworthiness, she might never deny it in advance to a whole people, and that, consequently, the Indian Christians also should communicate, the more so as the Eucharist would work miracles of interior conversion among them also, if only they were well prepared (530 sqq., 550). Condemning certain offshoots of this rigorism, which excluded an enormous number of Catholics in India on the plea of religious immaturity, Alexander VII in his Constitution of 1658 strictly forbade such exclusion of natives (unless they were utterly unfit) in opposition to the command of Our Lord who summoned the weak and the lame to His feast; and he decreed that the Holy Viaticum should be brought to all dying persons of whatever station, even to the most wretched huts, since God recognizes no distinction of persons and for our salvation did not disdain the stable or the ignominy of the Cross (*Collect.* 1st ed., n. 708). In an Instruction of 1784 to the Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan, the Propaganda also blamed the excessive strictness of certain missionaries who, under the influence of Jansenism, excluded many from Communion although they had confessed and detested their sins: it stated that all grievous sinners (drunkards, usurers, etc.) might be excluded from the Lord's Table, but highest perfection might not be demanded from poor contrite mortals, especially in China where opportunities to receive the Blessed Eucharist were very rare (719). In another Instruction of 1817, the Chinese missionaries were enjoined, in accordance with the wish of the Council of Trent, not to withhold the Bread of Heaven from the faithful, but to exhort them to receive it frequently, so that, like the Early Christians, they might be strengthened for times of persecution (722). The Synod of Szechwan of 1803 accordingly commanded the missionaries to instruct the faithful frequently on the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, to warn them solemnly against sacrilegious Communions, to exclude scandal-givers from the sacrament, but to urge all the remainder of the faithful to communicate frequently (the women with covered heads) after proper preparation (20 sqq.). Pius X's inculcation of frequent, and if possible, daily, Communion has greatly emphasized the urgency of its reception in the mission field also. Citing this desire of the Pope and the Council of Trent, the Synod of Cameroon (20 sq.) recommended

the introduction of frequent Communion among the native Christians, and that the latter should be admitted to the sacraments at least every four to eight weeks; on the other hand, it advised that caution should be exercised in the case of neophytes and public sinners (parents and guardians who delivered their daughters or wards into concubinage or lived on the proceeds of their wicked traffic were to be excluded from the sacraments, and the faithful were to be urged to diligent preparation and thanksgiving). According to the East African Conference also, weekly and daily Communion ought to be fostered, not, however, to the neglect of the monthly Communion of all the Christians of the entire community, which should be especially striven for because of its inclusiveness (6). With regard to the time of reception and the age of the candidates, according to the *Rituale Romanum* and the Synod of Cochin-China (20 sq.), adult neophytes who are sufficiently instructed may be admitted after Baptism; according to the Hongkong Synod of 1909 (45), at least within the first year. According to the same Synod, the children are bound to receive Communion as soon as they possess the necessary understanding—that is, between the ages of ten and fourteen years. “Since the Holy Father has fixed an age of seven years for the reception of Holy Communion,” declare the East African Decrees, “and since experience has shown that at this age the Negroes can clearly distinguish the Holy Eucharist from ordinary food, we have no right to exclude the children from the Lord’s Table, although they should be strictly watched over during the reception of the sacraments” (6). Regarding frequent, daily, and first Communion, cf. Geyer’s *Handbuch*, 17 sqq. As excellent means for promoting piety and the permanency of the sacramental fruits, the Japanese Regional Synod of 1890 recommended a careful preparation and special outward reception of the first Holy Communion, with accompanying renewal of baptismal vows, with preparatory Spiritual Exercises and examination as to the knowledge of the candidates (66 sq.). The Synod of Cameroon moved similarly (21 sq.): regarding the Easter Communion, it orders that the faithful should be reminded of their duty in this matter (they should receive, if possible, at their own mission station, and those prevented by distance from receiving at Easter, must do so at the first opportunity); and the East African Conference recommends that the worthy and eager reception of the Easter Communion should be urged in the sermons and catechetical instructions and by means of the Spiritual Exercises (the Paschal Period in Cameroon extends from Ash Wednesday to Trinity Sunday and in East Africa from Passion Sunday to the Ascension). When the Chinese missionaries asked whether their Christians were bound to observe the precept of the Church regarding annual Confession and Communion, the Propaganda in 1645 answered in the affirmative with the qualification that the designation of the Paschal Period need not be maintained if some obstacle or serious danger interfered, but that in such cases the sacraments should be received, if at all possible, during the two or three

months preceding or following this season. The Synod of Cameroon makes it a further obligation of the missionaries to take the Viaticum to the sick, even to children, as soon as they are able to distinguish the Heavenly Bread (if they live more than one day's journey away, the priest should take with him only the requisites for the celebration of Mass), to recite with them the Prayers before and after Communion (and show them how to make the necessary preparations (23). The Synod of Nagasaki also desires that, wherever possible, the Viaticum shall be carried publicly, and that the faithful shall be exhorted not to deprive the sick of this Heavenly Food (67 sq.). The Synod of Szechwan likewise reminds the missionaries of their serious obligation to carry the Viaticum to the sick (if necessary, several times), and to children even before the otherwise customary age (27 sqq.). The *Collectanea* (1st ed.) of the Propaganda also contain a series of regulations regarding the Viaticum and the accompanying ceremonies (712, 716, 721, 723, 725, 728, 730, 732); also regarding the proper reservation and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament (Art. III, especially n. 758). Finally, in the second section, we find regulations regarding the Sacrifice of the Mass (place and time, rites and rubrics, altar, crucifix and candles, ornaments and vessels, duplication and application, Votive and Requiem Masses). Similarly Cochin-China, 21 sq.; Tonking, 78 sqq.; Bombay, 178 sqq.; Lahore, 51 sqq.; Agra, 59 sqq.; Verapoli, 10 sqq.; Shensi, I, 14, sqq.; Szechwan, 29 sqq., c. V; Libreville, 20 sqq.; Congo, 80 sqq. The Synod of Cameroon, 19 sq., discusses the renewal of the Hosts. Finally, cf. the *Monita ad Miss. Nankin.*, 361 sqq., and the Directories of Pondicherry, 140 sqq.; Cochin-China, 37 sqq.; South Burma, 23 sqq.; Taiku, 27 sqq.; Madagascar, 51 sqq., and cf. Warneck, V, 221 sqq., regarding the position of the Protestant Communion in public services, its liturgy and the necessary preparations.

Still more necessary than the Holy Eucharist is the Sacrament of Penance—in fact, according to the Council of Trent and the Synod of Szechwan, this is as necessary as Baptism for restoring to the state of grace neophytes who have relapsed into sin. The necessity of this sacrament for the pagan converts has also been contested. Acosta (560) reported one theologian who wrote that Confession was abolished among the Indians, but he himself, on the contrary, showed how indispensable it is, declaring that here the priest must display his wisdom and benevolence, and must master the vernacular, and asserting that it was the fault rather of the priest than of the Indians if their confessions were not sincere, and that priests should not be too severe in imposing penances (350 sqq.). Such also has been the opinion of the Propaganda: In its Instruction of 1736 to the Apostolic Visitor of West Tonking, it sharply condemns two abuses in particular of this mission: (1) the refusal of absolution to grievous criminals, for months or even for their whole lives, even when they have shown signs of contrition, and (2) the imposition of too heavy penances by many missionaries (*Collect.*, 1st ed., n. 971). In an equally circum-

stantial Instruction of 1784 to the Vicar Apostolic of Szechwan, it also condemned the imposition of heavy penances, the excessive postponement of absolution, and the absolute exclusion of certain criminals from the Sacrament of Penance (*ibidem*, n. 974). On the other hand, in its Instruction to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China, it combated the opposite extreme—namely, the practice followed by many missionaries of absolving all penitents without distinction (even relapsing and habitual sinners)—as contrary to the aim of the sacrament, the *Rituale*, and the theologians: in the absence of the necessary signs, it demanded the refusal of absolution and, if the existence of contrition is doubtful, its postponement (*ibidem*, n. 979). Other decisions of the Propaganda, which, however, have not had, as a rule, the pagan missions directly in view, have related to the Minister of Penance (jurisdiction and solicitation), to the nature, time, and place of the confessions (confessional, grating, etc.), to absolution and satisfaction, reserved sins, censures and indulgences (*ibidem*, nn. 927 sqq., pp. 328 sqq. *de poenitentia*). Because of the need of the Sacrament of Penance, the Synod of Szechwan (1803) urged the missionaries to instruct the faithful frequently regarding the nature of the sacrament and the method of receiving it; to warn them against its sacrilegious reception; to discharge their office of confessor dutifully and worthily; to obtain and preserve the necessary knowledge for this duty through study, to keep the literature on this subject always near them, and to invoke the Holy Ghost; to guard against excessive strictness and excessive leniency; to repulse no sinner, however great (unless he had been publicly excommunicated), provided only his approach to the sacrament was to some extent influenced by contrition (apostates should only be required to abjure their error in the presence of the faithful); to make possible and facilitate the annual record (including that of children) prescribed by the Church; to hear confessions always in the state of grace and with the right intention; to treat all penitents with equal kindness; to test, question, exhort, and instruct one another; to bear in mind, in the granting, refusing, or reserving of absolution, the regulations approved by the Church (compiled from the Fathers, *Canones*, *Tridentinum*, *Rituale*, and *Borromeo*); to accept nothing for the confession; to hear confessions in a proper place with a chair and grating; and finally, to exercise especial care in hearing the confessions of women (39—68). The Synod of Cochin-China (1841) likewise reminded the missionaries of their grave obligation to hear confessions (not *ex justitia*, because they are not pastors, but *ex caritate et officio sacerdotali*), and also supplied a series of casuistic regulations (with applications to local conditions) regarding the interrogation of the penitents, the giving of absolution and the imposition of the penance (24 sqq.). Similar regulations are to be gathered from the Synod of Nagasaki (1890) regarding the qualifications of the confessor, the dispositions of the penitent, the first confession, the external rite, public penance, etc. (69) sqq.). Cf. Bombay, 187 sqq.; Lahore, 49 sqq.; Agra, 59 sqq.; Verapoli, 15 sqq.;



Tonking, 85 sqq.; and Shensi, I, 24 sqq. The Synod of Cameroon (1906) discussed in greater detail the faculties (no reserved cases), the confessions of women and children, the instruction and interrogation (especially regarding fetishes), the refusal of absolution in cases of concubinage and secret societies (24 sqq.). Cf. Libreville, 25 sq., and Congo, 89 sqq. Similarly the *Monita ad Miss. Nankin.*, 416 sqq., and the Directories of Pondicherry, 64 sqq.; Cochin-China, 62 sqq.; South Burma, 33 sqq.; Taiku, 32 sqq.; and Madagascar, 64 sqq.

Lastly, Extreme Unction serves in the missions also as the sacrament of the dying. This sacrament was likewise usually withheld from the neophytes by the missions of the era of the great discoveries: in fact, it was regarded as almost a sacrilege even to think of administering Extreme Unction to the Indians. However, the Provincial Synod of Lima at once forbade the missionaries to allow the Indians to die without this means of salvation, and Acosta (563 sqq.) also championed the rights of the natives (*a quorum consortio et fructu cur obsecro excludantur novae stirpes Indorum, cum baptizati sint sicut et nos, et fidem eandem profiteantur, et in mortis discrimine sibi ab Ecclesia auxilium praeberi vehementer cupiant? Magnae hoc inhumanitatis in fratres genus est, cum praesertim si qui omnium mortalium, hi maxime cum extremi temporis tenentur angustiis, praesidio Ecclesiastico indigent*, 564). To the question whether the Chinese missionaries might omit the administration of this sacrament in the case of women, since it gave offense to the very jealous Chinese, the Propaganda answered in 1645 that this reason was not sufficient, and that consequently the missionaries should provide for the introduction of this rite, instructing the natives as to its significance and exercising prudence in its administration (*Collect.*, 1st ed., n. 1152). On the other hand, the Holy Office decided in 1656 that for urgent reasons the Extreme Unction might be omitted in China in the case of women (*ibidem*, n. 1153). The Synod of Szechwan (1803) urged the missionaries to be always ready for the administration of this sacrament, to exhort the faithful to summon them in sufficient time, to speak kindly to the invalid and his family, to observe the precepts regarding the rites (repetition; children, the mentally deranged), to give the plenary indulgence, and to instruct the faithful regarding the reason for uncovering the feet (in the case of women), and thereupon to learn to their great joy that "the prejudices and opposition of the Christians towards this sacrament will have disappeared" (69 sqq.). Cf. Bombay, 194 sqq.; Agra, 73 sq.; Verapoli, 18 sqq.; Tonking, 90 sq.; Cochin-China, 32 sq., and Shensi, I, 29 sqq. The Synod of Nagasaki also demanded the instruction of the faithful, the early and worthy reception of the sacrament, and, if its reception were impossible, the recital of the Prayers for the Dying by the faithful (72 sqq.). According to the Synod of Cameroon, the faithful should be reminded of the value of Extreme Unction; the missionaries should visit the sick frequently and proceed to the Extreme Unction as soon as possible, administering the

sacrament also to newly baptized adults and children in danger of death (26 sq.). Libreville (27 sq.). and Congo (92 sq.) acted similarly. Cf. also *Monita ad Miss. Nankin.*, 520 sqq., and the Directories of Pondicherry, 180 sqq.; Cochin-China, 99 sqq.; South Burma, 37 sq.; Taiku, 39 sqq.; and Madagascar, 73 sqq. To the chapter on Extreme Unction many of the Synods and Manuals have added a discussion of the exequies with which the Church crowns and concludes her activities for her children after their death. In Japan, the prayers are not, as a rule, to be sung outside the church; the mourners recite the Rosary alternately; the faithful contribute to the burial expenses, give the proper alms for the Mass, respect their dead, and care well for their graves (to avoid provoking the calumnies of the unbelievers, they may kneel on the graves), abstain from funeral banquets, and, in the absence of the priest, follow the rites according to the *Manuale Christianorum* (74 sq.). In Cameroon, all abuses are to be excluded from the funeral ceremonies: the dead are to be buried in cemeteries especially laid out by each station and maintained in good order; the faithful are to be reminded of their duty of praying for the dead; the ceremonies in connection with the burial are to be performed according to the *Rituale Romanum* (27). The East African Conference decrees that the burial shall be performed according to the *Rituale Romanum*, that a Pater Noster shall then be said, and in the case of a European burial, a funeral sermon delivered; and that, when the burial service is conducted by a catechist, the *De profundis* with the oration shall be recited; and finally, that, after private baptism, Christian burials shall be omitted only when such would endanger further admission into the state hospitals (6 sq.). Cf. Lahore, 41 sqq., and *Monita ad Miss. Nankin.*, 547 sqq. The Roman Propaganda and the Congregation of Rites have also issued for the missions several regulations regarding exequies and Requiem Masses, especially on their ritual side: for example, the Instruction of 1869 to the Chinese bishops, directing that they should guard carefully against the infiltration of anything superstitious into the funeral rites or exequies, but that, on the contrary, the precepts of the *Rituale Romanum* must be observed in all things (*Collect.*, 1st ed., n. 920). Warneck's *Begräbnisordnung* (Order of Burial) discusses the liturgical parts of the burial service, favors the acquisition of a cemetery, and combats the pagan custom of incineration (V, 242 sqq.).

Besides the sacraments which minister rather to the salvation of individual souls, there are the final two, Holy Orders and Matrimony, which promote the social life of the Church and thus the social mission aim. Regarding Holy Orders, all the more pertinent points were discussed in connection with questions concerning the native clergy. In strange contrast to the position taken in other matters, Acosta excluded the Indian neophytes from this sacrament, and defended the ecclesiastical decree to this effect, on the plea that the priestly dignity is too sublime for the crude Indians (565 sqq.). Since his day, however, the Catholic missions have adopted in principle

a sounder and more liberal attitude on this question, although very great difficulties and disappointments are encountered in the actual realization of the new ideal. The Decrees of the Propaganda and the Congregation of Rites, contained in the *Collectanea* (1st ed.), are thus frequently concerned with the detailed discussion of the *Sacramentum Ordinis* (the greater powers of the missionary bishops), its subject, its title of ordination (especially important and interesting are the long discussions which the Instruction of 1870, n. 1179, devotes to the *titulus missionis*: the candidates must bind themselves by oath to the missionary service), its ceremonies and the episcopal consecration (nn. 389 sqq., 1163 sqq.). The Synodal Decrees of Szechwan (74 sqq.), Shensi (I, 32 sqq.), Cochin-China (33 sqq.), Tonking (93 sqq.), Verapoli (21 sqq.), and Bombay (198 sqq.), also contain sections on Holy Orders, the preparation for this sacrament, its conditions and obligations, etc. Cf. also the Directories of Pondicherry (191 sqq.), Cochin-China (111 sqq.), and Taiku (42 sqq.). The regulations are analogous for the other Major and Minor Orders.

Equally difficult and important in the missions, both from personal and social standpoints, is the problem of marriage (upon which, according to the Synod of Cameroon, the religious future of a vicariate largely depends). Acosta (567 sqq.), at the conclusion of his work, referred to these difficulties, and gave a searching discussion of the Sacrament of Matrimony (the pagan marriage customs, the procedure with regard to the marriage of unbelievers upon their conversion, the explanation of the impediments to marriage, and the disposal of children in marriage). Numerous and lengthy decisions in the *Collectanea* (1st ed., 185 pages) are devoted to marriage: regarding the betrothal, the publication of the banns, the *impedimenta dirimentia* (*cognationis et affinitatis, publicae honestatis, criminis, disparitatis cultus, bigaminis, aetatis, clandestinitatis, impotentiae, vis et metus, raptus*) and *impedientia* (*mixtae communionis* and *ex lege civili*), dispensations to marry (authority, grounds, conditions, fees), the marriage celebration (act and rite), the *debitum conjugale*, the revalidation of marriage and the handling of matrimonial suits (409—594). The Synod of Szechwan deals with the instruction of the faithful, marriage with pagans, the espousals, clandestine marriages, marriage dispensations, and the interpellation (78 sqq.); the Synod of Cochin-China with the betrothals, impediments, ceremonies (opposed to pagan customs), marital obligations and dispensations (35 sqq.; cf. Tonking, 95 sqq.); the Synod of Bombay with marriages between Catholics, mixed marriages with persons of other Christian denominations, marriages between believers and unbelievers, marriages of neophytes, and the Pauline Privilege (202 sqq.; cf. Lahore, 54 sqq.; Agra, 66 sqq.; Verapoli, 23 sqq.); the Synod of Nagasaki with the instruction, betrothal, preparation, consummation, dispensation, and interpellation (75 sqq.); the Synod of Tokyo with the attitude towards earlier pagan marriages and dispensations (32 sqq.); the Synod of Hongkong with

the espousals and the marriage itself, especially the treatment of previous wives (45 sqq.); the Synod of Shensi with the espousals, Christian marriage, and marriage with unbelievers (I, 34 sqq.); the Synod of Cameroon with the investigation of the personal relations of the bridal pair, the publication of banns, the impediments in general, mixed marriages, the forbidden period, the betrothals, blood relationship, relationship by marriage and spiritual relationship, clandestinity, marriage with heretics, the natural marriage of the pagans, the *disparitas cultus*, the Pauline Privilege, and the interpellation, the invalidity and revalidation of marriages, and finally the marriage ceremonies (28—49); the East African Conference especially with the national custom of the bridegroom's gift to the bride (which is to be retained), marriages between non-adjointing tribes and between Europeans and natives, which are to be discouraged (1 sqq., n. 1). Cf. Libreville, 29—48, and Congo, 94—111. Analogous instructions are given in the *Monita ad Missionarios Nankinenses*, 446 sqq.; and the Directories of Pondicherry, 195 sqq.; Cochin-China, 133 sqq.; South Burma, 38 sqq.; Taiku, 45 sqq.; and Madagascar, 75 sqq. (1. Espousals, 2. Conditions, 3. Impediments, 4. *Privilegium Paulinum*, 5. Interpellation, 6. Divorce, 7. Dispensation, 8. Blessing). The missionary manuals of Borgomanero, Appeltern, Ybañez, Fabrègues, etc., devote extensive sections to marriage. In his monograph on marriage (*Questions pratiques sur le mariage dans les missions*, 1908) among unbelievers, Michel discusses at length the *Privilegium Paulinum* and the marriage of neophytes, and in connection with the latter, the freedom of the betrothed couple, the continuation of the pagan marriages, the impediments and dispensations, the marriage and marriage suits. Under the heading of *Eheordnung* (Order of Marriage), Warneck introduces questions of attitude toward pagan (polygamous or monogamous) marriages and the Pauline decision, the betrothals (betrothal of children), marriages within the Christian community, the marriage ceremonies, divorce and re-marriage (230 sqq.). Regarding the various forms of contracting marriage found among non-Christian peoples, cf. Grentrup in the *DMK.*, 71 sqq. While we cannot discuss all these details here, we may at least recognize that, notwithstanding all the fundamental features which it shares with the universal marriage legislation of the Church, there is yet a specific order and practice of matrimony on the missions which merits special treatment. But thus to enter into the questions of marriage and the family life would necessarily lead us into the various "mission-methodological consequences of a wide-spread Christianization" (Warneck, III, 270 sqq.) and to "socio-ethical problems" connected therewith, especially as to the position to be adopted towards slavery, polygamy, the caste system, and ancestor worship (Warneck, III, 286 sqq.).

In the literature of this "Missionary Pastoral Theology" should be included, besides the most recent Synodal Regulations and Pastoral Manuals, the writings on earlier mission practice: Streit in *BM.*,

I, enumerates among others the *Speculum conjugiorum* of the Augustinian Vera Cruz of 1556 for the marriage question (n. 74), the tractate of the Augustinian Agurto of 1573 concerning the administration of the Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction to the Indians (n. 116), the Baptismal *Rituale* of the Franciscan Zarate of 1683 (n. 142), the *Enchiridion* of Zurita of 1586 (n. 159), the *Advertencias* for the confessors among the primitive peoples of 1600 (n. 244), Bocanegra's work on the sacraments and the care of souls of 1631 (n. 450), the *Thesaurus Indicus* of the Jesuit Avendaño of 1668 (n. 618), the *Itinerarium* of Bishop Montenegro for the Indian pastors of 1668 (n. 622), the *Instruction of the Propaganda* of 1670 (n. 629), the *Method of Confession* of Villavicencio of 1692 (n. 720), the *Summa* of the Augustinian Perez of 1713 regarding the five sacraments of the Indians (n. 794), the *Manual* of Olabarrieta of 1717 for Indian communities (n. 809), the *Practica* of the Augustinian Hortiz of 1731 for the Philippines (n. 863), the *Instructions* of the Dominican Rio of 1740 for the Philippines (n. 898), the *Indian Pastor* of the Augustinian Dias of 1745 (n. 929), the two Pastoral Instructions of Velasco of 1766 (nn. 1007—9); also the controversial writings regarding the question of the sacraments (especially Baptism, the Eucharist, and Matrimony) among the Indians of the sixteenth century (cf. Register, p. 860), and the later Directories, especially that of the Oblates in Ceylon on Pastoral Theology and the Administration of the Sacraments (n. 1, 1897). Regarding the present time, besides the works of Zaleski on Indian and of Kervyn on Chinese missionary methods, the various Manuals (Borgomanero for the Orient, Appeltern for India, that of South Shantung, Ybañez, and Fabrègues for China) and the Collections of Regulations (e. g., *Règlement* for Manchuria of 1881, Laouenuan's Instruction for Pondicherry of 1883, the *Monita* for Nanking of 1899, the Directory for Bagamoyo of 1909, the Synopsis for the Picpus Fathers) claim our attention. Cf. the Indian Provincial Councils, Tit. VI, *De cura Christianorum* (c. 1, *De episcopi muneribus*; c. 2, *de sacerdotibus*; c. 3, *de praedicatione*; c. 4, *de missionibus et exercitiis spiritualibus*; c. 5, *de catechismis*; c. 6, *de confraternitatibus et societatibus piis*); also Coimbatour, t. II, c. 1: Hyderabad, t. I, c. 3, and Lahore, 28 sqq. (concerning Divine service, chant, processions, confraternities, spiritual exercises, pilgrimages); similarly, Tonking (1905), tit. IV, *De regimine christianorum* (106 sqq.). For China: *Synodus Yunnanensis*, S. I (*De catholica fide inter veteres christianos confirmando*) and *Decreta Synodi Pekinensis*, tit. II, c. 1 (*De disciplina fidelium*.) Regarding the Sacraments in general and particular, cf. these and other Synodal Statutes (for example, *Summa decretorum synodaliū Setchuen et Hongkong*, pars II, 63 sqq.) and Manuals (e. g., *Directoire de Pondichéry*, *Directoire de Madagascar* II, Geyer, n. 20, and Carlassare, *Missionarius instructus*, 1901, I). The exhortation of the *Directorium* of Taiku should be taken to heart: *Sacerdos remaneat anima iuvenis usque in finem, non tantum machina sacramentorum* (p. 11, n. 33). Individual sacraments are

treated by Michel (*Questions pratiques sur le baptême et la confirmation dans les missions*, 4th ed., 1907, and *Questions pratiques sur le mariage dans les missions*, 3rd ed., 1908). We do not possess on the Catholic side any comprehensive scientific treatment of the pertinent questions. These are treated, from the Protestant standpoint, by Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre*, chap. 47 (V, 179 sqq.), who also regrets the absence of coherent preliminary works. The Report of the Second Commission of the Edinburgh World Mission Conference discusses in the third chapter (93 sqq.) church discipline, in chapter 4 the "Development of Adult and Young Christian Communities" (Sunday, Children's and Family Services; House Visitations; Marriage and Burial, Confirmation or Communion and Associations for the Young).

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# Bibliography

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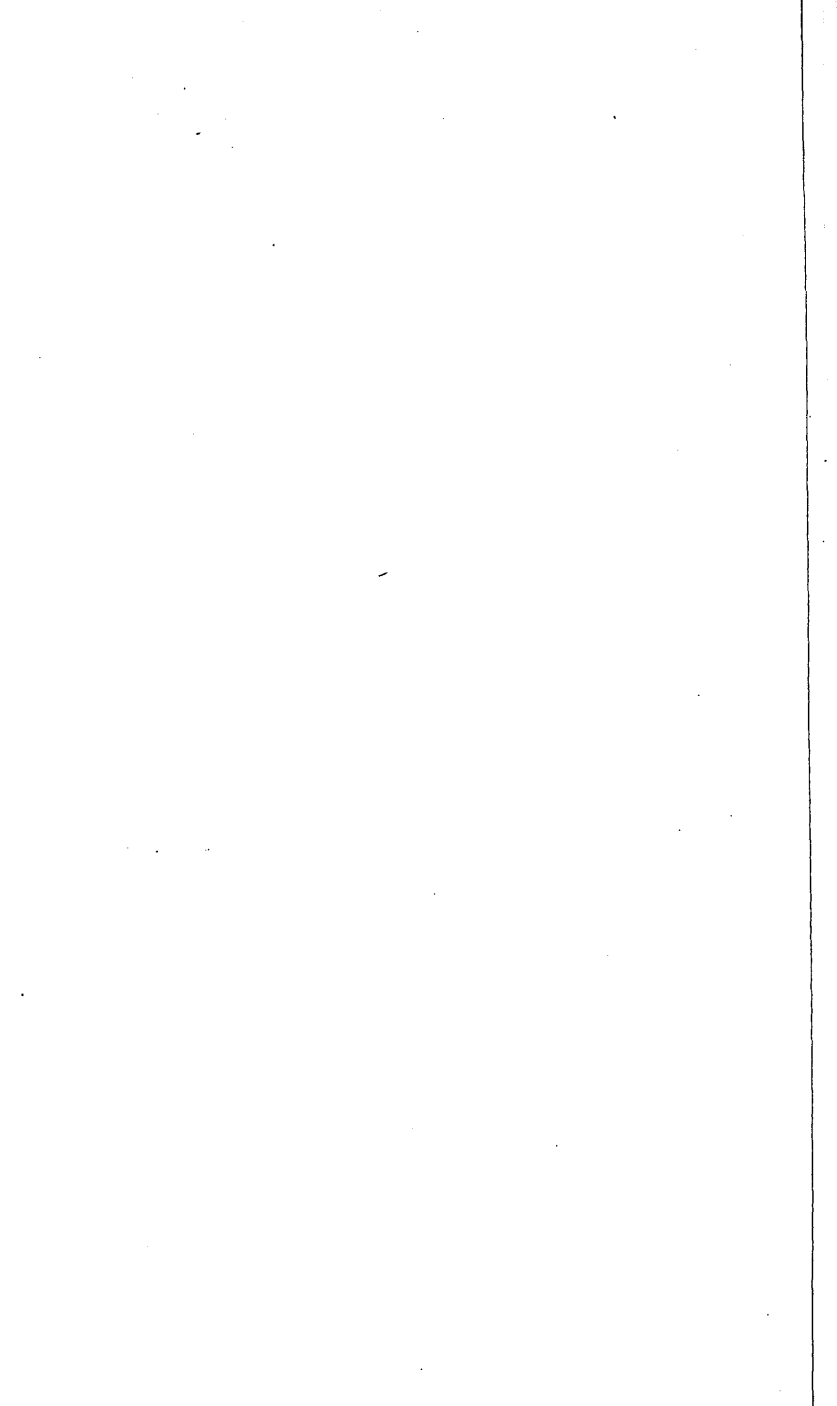
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